



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



3 3433 08164796 2

MICROFILMED

JUL 24 1916

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM
OF
COMPARATIVE
ZOOLOGY
AND
ANATOMY
HARVARD
UNIVERSITY





THE
A

BRITISH REVIEW,

AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

VOL. II.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1811.

**T. DAVISON, Lombard-street,
Whitefriars, London.**

CONTENTS

OF

No. III.

ART. I.	A Vindication of Mr. Fox's History of the early Part of the Reign of James the Second. By Samuel Heywood, Serjeant at Law	Page 1
II.	Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece	40
III.	Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters written A. D. 1809 and 1810. By William Jacob, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain, and in the Balearic Isles. By Sir John Carr, Knt.	60
IV.	The State of the Established Church ; in a Series of Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged, with an Appendix of Official Documents	90
V.	Voyage dans l'Amerique Meridionale, par Don Felix de Azara, Commissaire et Commandant des Limites Espagnoles dans le Paraguay, depuis 1781, jusqu'en 1801.—Contenant la Description géographique, politique, et civile de Paraguay, et de la Rivière de la Plata ; Histoire de la Découverte, et de la Conquête de ces Contrées ; des Détails nombreux sur leur Histoire naturelle, et sur les Peuples sauvages qui les habitent ; le Récit des Moyens employés par les Jesuites, pour assujétir et civiliser les Indigènes, &c. &c. Publiés d'après les Manuscrits de l'Auteur, avec une Notice sur sa Vie par le Traducteur Walcknaer, suivis de l'Histoire naturelle des Oiseaux du Paraguay, et de la Plata, avec des Notes par Sonnini	118
VI.	Sketches of the Internal State of France. By M. Faber	149
VII.	The Poetical Works of Anna Seward, edited by Walter Scott, Esq. Letters of Anna Seward between 1784 and 1807	171

CONTENTS.

	Page
VIII. Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire. By C. W. Pasley, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers	186
IX. Hindu Infanticide. An Account of the Measures for suppressing the Practice of the systematic Murder by their Parents of Female Infants; with incidental Remarks on other Customs peculiar to the Natives of India. Edited with Notes and Illustrations, by Edward Moor, F. R. S., Author of the Pantheon.	
Two Discourses preached, &c., and a Sermon preached, &c.; to which are added, Christian Researches in Asia. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D.; late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal	227

CONTENTS

OF

No. IV.

ART. X. De l'Influence des Femmes sur la Litterature Française, comme Protectrices des Lettres et comme Auteurs; ou Précis de l'Histoire des Femmes Françaises les plus célèbres. Par Madame de Genlis	Page 282
XI. Statistical Survey of the County of Cork, with Observations on the Means of Improvement, drawn up for the Consideration, and by Direction of the Dublin Society. By the Rev. Horatio Townshend, M.A. Rector and Vicar of the Union of Kilgariffe, in the Diocese of Ross, and of Carigaline, in the Diocese of Cork.	
Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, Knight of St. Patrick, &c. &c. &c. By Francis Hardy, Esq. Member of the House of Commons in the three last Parliaments of Ireland	306
XII. Bibliomania; or Book-madness. A Bibliographical Romance, in six Parts; illustrated with Cuts. By the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin	320
XIII. The Life of the Right Rev. Beilby Porteus, D.D. late Bishop of London. By the Rev. Robert Hodgson, A.M. F.R.S. Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to her Majesty.	
The Life of Dr. Beilby Porteus, late Lord Bishop of London, with Anecdotes of those with whom he lived, and Memoirs of many living and deceased Characters. By a Lay Member of Merton College, Oxford. Being a Tribute of affectionate Esteem to the Memory of a great and good Man, whose Writings enforced by the corresponding Sanctity of his Example, have awakened religious Feeling, and rendered all those whom they have reached at once better and happier	345
XIV. An Account of the Kingdom of Népaül, being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793. By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings	356
XV. Memoirs of the latter Years of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. By John Bernard Trouer, Esq. late private Secretary to Mr. Fox	384

CONTENTS.

	Page
XVI. A View of the comparative State of Great Britain and France in 1811; preceded by Observations on the Spirit and Measures of the successive Administrations since the Decease of Mr. Pitt	397
XVII. A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809; in which is included some Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Mission under Sir Harford Jones, Bart. K.C. to the Court of the King of Persia. By James Morier, Esq. his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Court of Persia. With twenty-five Engravings from the Designs of the Author, a Plate of Inscriptions, and three Maps; one from the Observations of Captain James Sutherland, and two drawn and corrected by Major Rennel, F.R.S.	
Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie et la Perse, fait en 1807 et 1808. Par M. Gardanne	410
XVIII. A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Sidmouth, upon the Subject of the Bill lately introduced by his Lordship into the House of Peers. By Thomas Belsham, Minister of the Chapel in Essex-street.	
Remarks on the Failure of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, relating to Protestant Dissenters	432
XIX. Self-Controul; a Novel	450
XX. An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a View of its past and present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Inquiry into our Prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occasions. By T. R. Malthus, A.M. &c. &c. &c.	454

iii
25
B
ii

THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

SEPTEMBER, 1811.

ART. I. *A Vindication of Mr. Fox's History of the early Part of the Reign of James the Second.* By Samuel Heywood, Serjeant at Law. London: printed for J. Johnson and Co, St. Paul's Church-yard; and John Ridgeway, Piccadilly.

A PUBLICATION by the Right Honourable George Rose, in the year 1809, entitled, 'Observations on the Historical Work of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox,' has given birth to the volume which we have now undertaken the task of examining. Mr. Rose in the introduction to his observations, after paying the usual compliment to Mr. Fox's acknowledged virtues, the fidelity of his friendships, and his social affections, remarks upon the tendency of those qualities, when long exposed to the habitual influences of party connections, to create a bias towards certain views and considerations of political actions and events, inconsistent with that strict principle of impartiality by which a historian should be governed. "He breathed," says Mr. Rose, "an atmosphere of party, by which the constitution and temperament of his own mind could hardly fail to be affected. And the bent of his mind was to apply every historical incident to the support of the principles which he had maintained in parliament." This argument of the writer of the observations Mr. Serjeant Heywood thinks ought to be considered as being quite as strong against Mr. Rose's qualification to appreciate Mr. Fox's work, as against Mr. Fox's ability to execute such a work with impartiality. "We may justly doubt," says the Serjeant, "whether Mr. Rose himself, having long breathed this atmosphere, is entitled to be ranked among the fortunate few who have escaped the contagion." "If the political influence," continues the learned Serjeant, "Mr. Rose alludes to, were con-

fined merely to the leaders of parties, he might perhaps be free from it. But he does not confine it to them, and there is no good reason why it should not extend to those who have filled inferior situations; on the contrary, they, surely, must be in greater danger, who are attached not only to the party by common principle, but to its leader by still stronger ties of personal interest, gratitude, and affection."

We are so far from a disposition to dispute the propriety of these remarks either of Mr. Rose or Mr. Serjeant Heywood, that we feel inclined rather to extend their application. There appears to us to be but too much reason to suspect that neither the writer of the History, or of the Observations, or even of the Vindication, has escaped the contagious influence of the atmosphere of party. We cannot (speaking in the language of Shakspeare) ascribe to either of them that 'dolphin-like' elevation of character, that shews its back above the element it lives in. We are very far, however, from imputing to either of these respectable names, least of all to Mr. Serjeant Heywood, the smallest taint of those baser characteristics of party feeling, which, beginning by vitiating the moral relish of what is great or good, just or true, abstractedly from the service in which we are engaged, or the society into which we are engrafted, ends with falsifying the qualities of actions, perverting the standard of moral appreciation in our minds, and destroying the springs of general usefulness. But we confess, that in perusing his book, we have sometimes seemed to ourselves to discern (perhaps mistakingly) marks of that prescriptive turn of thinking, and pre-occupation of mind, which betray the party-man. The writer is certainly not the vassal of a party, but we have sometimes doubted whether he maintains (if we may so express it) the jurisdiction of his faculties with that paramount independence of thinking which is the franchise of the true philosopher. We have always lamented the prevalence of party-spirit; we see it, with sorrow, usurping the place of national feeling in all questions of whatever moment to the peace and prosperity of the country, and can we wonder that it should extend its influence to the pages of history and criticism—of history and criticism concerning subjects of proximate interest, and composed by men of public life and associations? Although it will appear in the progress of this article; that we feel and are ready to allow the great success of the work before us, as a vindication of Mr. Fox's history from the particular animadversions of Mr. Rose, we must hazard the displeasure of the writer, by avowing our suspicions that the parliamentary and social habits of Mr. Fox had an effect on the

colour of his narrative; and the tendency of his reflections; not altogether friendly to the grave and legitimate purpose of history.

When Providence has bestowed upon an individual those original gifts which denote a destination to the noblest purposes, his country has cause to deplore the iniquitous mischance which gives his early and blooming talents to the selfish intrigues and narrow contests of party. Such a school may form the public man, in the vulgar view of that character, but the true patriot and virtuous statesman can never be the product of such a culture. When the young and ardent mind is made to receive the first elements of polity, in strict and inseparable conjunction with the ambitious objects of a particular set of men, to lisp its political creed in the idiom of a party, and to confound the great interests of a nation with the fortunes and fluctuations of particular bodies, rare indeed must be its native strength to burst these barriers, and run the race of honour with the patriots of antiquity. There is something so delightful to youth in jumping into honours, and in acquiring, without delay or drudgery, a beardless renown, that we cannot wonder that the shortest road should be selected which leads to distinction. The shortest method is to fall into the ranks of some disciplined corps, and without the knowledge necessary to appreciate its cause, to help to talk it into victory. The true value of measures is thus gradually lost in the contemplation of partial objects, and the tongue is suborned to celebrate feelings in which the bosom has no part. The profession of politics is embarked in as an adventure, or speculation of profit, not as a field of duty and beneficence.

When to youthful talents, and the recommendations of high birth, is joined, as too frequently happens, an exorbitant addiction to pleasure and expence, the natural propensity to party-politics is powerfully assisted. Minds of this turn are usually characterized by dispositions more than ordinarily social. But they are apt to build attachment, not on grounds of just and legitimate esteem, but on conformity of character and reciprocity of praise; on a coalition, in short, which gives to habits of dangerous example, the countenance of numbers, and the name and credit of virtue. But this is not the laboratory in which are to be found the ingredients proper for the composition of a patriot; this is not the soil in which the plant of virtue can grow to the altitude of the great statesman. We speak not of party in power, or party in opposition, but of the quality of party itself; and its sure tendency to force into the mind bigotry in the shape of principle, and ambition in the disguise of patriotism. To whatever side, to whatever body of men the youth of birth and

talent devotes himself, independently of measures, he ceases to present himself to his countrymen in an attitude of real dignity, and exchanges the charter of intellectual freedom for what Lord Shaftesbury very justly calls a mean, shifting, and gaudy servitude.

We are not, however, so visionary as to think that each man ought, substantively, to depend upon himself in his endeavours for his country's good, and stand alone, like Pompey's pillar in the desert. If in many of those things which are of the most individual interest, man still finds society his proper element of action; in a concern so eminently social as the business of a commonwealth, it were an absurdity to expect that we should act in independence of each other. "Political arrangement," said a great man and statesman, "as it is a work for social ends, must be brought about by social means; mind must conspire with mind." We can suppose a case, too, where corruption, incapacity, and radical error, systematically displayed by an administration, under a misjudging and misguided monarch, may justify systematic opposition, and an almost indiscriminate party-hostility. The casual instances of virtue and discretion which such an administration may, by starts, exhibit, will be so far from redeeming the whole of its conduct, that they may really contribute to make it more injurious; just as a literary work of general mischievous tendency may more effectually accomplish its purpose by mingling secondary truths with substantial errors. It may be observed, too, in defence of party under the limitations, and justified by the motives above alluded to, that there is some security against rash projects, and speculative ardour, in the necessity of conciliating others, and maintaining the harmony of co-operation; for, as large bodies can seldom agree among themselves except in fundamentals, measures of excess, unless they grow out of the principles admitted by all, are too apt to endanger the solidity and strength of the mass, to be ventured upon by single persons. No union can be compact nor steadily operative to a common purpose, unless the complexional peculiarities, and speculative differences of the individuals composing it, are compressed and kept down to the level of those principles in which the suffrages of all unite.

We do not mean to deny, therefore, that situations may be supposed in which there may be considerable advantages springing out of political confederations. Their value must depend upon the necessity by which they are begotten, and the spirit by which they are informed. Where public virtue is a prevailing sentiment among a people, and the nation's welfare has the nation's heart, the contention of political bodies may be pursued with little hindrance to the business of the country; while it may

sustain and exercise some of the best feelings and faculties of our nature. But for this to be the case, we must suppose a very particular conjuncture of national affairs, and a very rare elevation of national character. We must figure to ourselves the return of those glowing æras, when the love of country was the great master-principle of public action, keeping in due subordination all the selfish passions. The diffusion of luxury, the difficulty of supporting appearances, the pressure of public burthens, the power attendant upon wealth, and the increase of official patronage, have hardly left us the just estimation and reverence of public virtue. The profession of it is applauded and suspected, the exercise of it is admired and pitied. A great statesman of the last century was accustomed to rally the young politicians of his day, whose budding patriotism was so soon to blossom in ambitious dependence. Modern patriots do not expose themselves to this sort of raillery. At the moment of emancipation into life, with his memory bursting with quotations from the amatory and epic poets of antiquity, and comparatively but little furnished from the stores of the philosophers and historians, ere the rotatory succession of his diurnal tasks at school and college have given a moment's place to quiet thought and mellowing reflection, incumbered with his learned trappings, and reeling under his borrowed treasures, the young candidate for distinction, having decided upon his party, and learned its creed and its vocabulary, rushes confidently into the councils of his country, and untrembling touches the ark

“of her magnificent and awful cause.”

In such a career his fortune may advance, but his mind can scarcely receive a proportionate enlargement; or mount by such steps to that elevation, from which the prospect of humanity expands itself over centuries, and brings man under the view in all his varieties of condition.

Where objects of selfishness and vanity engage the thoughts in the outset of political life, it is of little consequence to dignity of character whether the party in power, or the party in opposition is adopted. When, however, the choice is made, if that choice is on the side of government, something may be said in justification of a systematic adherence. In measures of doubtful expediency, (and great must be the number of such in every state) modesty of sentiment, as well as a principle of duty, will incline the patriot politician to the side of government. If it be right in a monarchy to reverence the king, it is right also to respect the power with which the constitution invests him; and, as a general proposition, we fear not to affirm, that it is our duty

to respect the servants of his choice. Furthermore, we venture to declare, that unless in verity and good conscience we believe them to be wholly incapable, it is but reasonable to give them credit for seeing somewhat further than others into the consequences of measures, which may often rest upon facts, the knowledge of which is confined to themselves. This is very distant from a blind devotion to government, which if disinterested, is imbecility, and if selfish, belongs to what is most abject in the constitution of our minds. But the hypocritical abuse of the language of patriotism to the purposes of a party out of power, and therefore in opposition to government, has always appeared to us to be one of the most mortifying proofs of the littleness of ambition. All the selfish arts which are practised in the pursuit of greatness are of the same wretched description; and one of the lowest and vilest of these is the cajolement of the populace, by perfidious misrepresentations of the measures of the government, by advantages taken of the jealousy of rulers so natural to the governed, by inflaming discontent, and fostering delusion. But the climax of dishonour is only then accomplished, when Britons, in the progress of their party zeal, become capable, not only of viewing, with vindictive complacency, the calamities of their country, as the steps to their own preferment, but of endeavouring to wound their political adversaries through the very sides of the commonwealth.

1. That party principle, if *principle* it can be called, has been strong enough to carry men to this unenviable state of feeling; we must have been very idle or stupid observers not to have been long ago convinced. We have, indeed, long ago been convinced that the following bad consequences result from the prevalence of party principle. First, that it instructs those who execute the business of government, not to rely upon the goodness of their measures. But on something they must rely, or the councils of the country must be in perpetual oscillation. They must, therefore, rely on some attractions to their cause beyond the mere intrinsic recommendations of virtue and ability. Thus, indiscriminate opposition is the best apology for the corruptions of power.

2dly. That it instructs all that are within its influence, in the practice of tampering with great and noble sentiments, until they forget, at length, their real import and value; and the dignity of virtue is debased by the abuse of its authority.

3dly. That it instructs the people to distrust, if not despise, political men, whether in or out of place; and by degrees to look to their own understandings for expounding their rights, and, perhaps, to their physical strength for asserting them. And,

Indeed, to what other conclusion are they likely to come, when they see that the opposition to measures has no reference to the interest of the nation; but that they are approved or condemned by the same men, as they happen to fill the benches of power, or scold in the ranks of opposition.

But beyond these mischiefs, arising from the prevalence of party spirit, a small part only of which we have affected to enumerate, there are moral evils produced by it which circulate their influence through all the classes of society. There is among the members of a party such a spirit of favouritism towards each other; each has so strong a motive to uphold the character of the rest of the body, and to defame the individuals in the opposite interest, that between a spurious benevolence, and an unjust hostility, the actions of men receive names and constructions which confound the distinctions of virtue and vice. A leader or active supporter of a party may be grossly immoral, with little loss of character among his political associates, while the virtues of a political opponent, if their *existence* cannot be denied, are assumed as the test of hypocrisy, and are thus converted into crime; but where facts are too stubborn and notorious to be distorted or misrepresented, at last comes the grand reserve and final shift of profligacy—the distinction between private and public character.

We will close these general observations upon party with declaring ourselves to think, that a member of the legislature is as much bound in conscience to deliver a sincere and impartial sentiment, on every question coming under the consideration of parliament, as a judge is bound to decide impartially in the administration of distributive justice; and that the people have a right to a full and *fair* exercise of the talents of those, who compose the great deliberative assemblies of the nation.

We have delivered our sentiments thus generally on the state and character of party politics, of which we cannot but entertain a very low opinion; that we might, as far as possible, repel from ourselves the degrading suspicion of our being in any other interest than the broad interest of the nation; and we think that this opportunity has fairly been afforded us by the present subject of our consideration. We will now enter upon the scene opened by the book before us.

Mr. Rose, at the same time that he gives Mr. Fox credit for perfect rectitude and impartiality of intention in the execution of his historical work, declares himself to suspect his statements and reflections to have been rendered chargeable with incorrectness, by the influence of a strong political bias; “which political bias every thing in his situation and habits tended to in-
g-

crease and confirm." Mr. Rose tells us, in his introduction to his observations, that the particular interest which he felt in the story and character of Sir Patrick Hume, whom he considers as having been unfairly dealt with by Mr. Fox, led him first to examine Mr. Fox's narrative, the authorities by which it was supported, and the reflections with which he accompanied it; on the attentive perusal of which he perceived, or thought he perceived, an uniform leading cause of partiality, both in the narrative and in the reflections. A certain political bias seemed to him to pervade the whole; a bias so strong and so marked, that it might seem, says Mr. Rose, to be doubtful, whether the history was not written rather to support the system, than the system adopted from the consideration of the history; and these general observations he endeavours to support by a variety of particular instances from the work of Mr. Fox.

Mr. Serjeant Heywood entertains an opinion on the general point, diametrically opposite to that of Mr. Rose. He considers his friend Mr. Fox as raised, by the dignity and equity of his principles, far above the influence of party prejudices; and as sustaining the duty and fidelity of an historian, without the smallest taint of party principles. This is only *the opinion* of the learned serjeant, and from this opinion we shall venture, with great respect, a little to differ; but we have no hesitation in admitting the success with which he has answered Mr. Rose on all the specific points of controversy, and the great ability, fairness, and industry, which have been displayed by him in that investigation. As we still think that Mr. Fox was, to a certain degree, influenced by the associations and habits of his political life, in the colouring of his narrative, (though we are far from imputing to him any deliberate intention of misleading, and as little doubt his respect for historical truth as the serjeant himself), we think it proper first to explain ourselves a little on this point; and then endeavour to do the serjeant justice as to those particular passages of Mr. Fox's work, which he has so ably vindicated from the censures thrown upon them.

No man will deny, whatever may have been his friendship for Mr. Fox, that that distinguished person drew his earliest breath in the atmosphere of party; and we presume it will be as little denied, that the greatest part of his political life was passed in opposition to government, and in a systematic endeavour to bring the administration of affairs under the guidance of a body of men, united with him as their leader, and bearing his very name as the badge of their political incorporation. We shall not enter into any descriptive character of the uncommon powers of his mind; they have been enlarged upon to satiety; and we

should, perhaps, be deemed very fastidious, if not unfeeling, were we to express, in adequate terms, the sickening effect produced on our minds by the piles of laboured eulogy which have been amassed on this subject, in which there is little else but fulsome common-place and affected hyperboles. We shall only with hearty sorrow lament that an intellect, dipped in the colours of heaven, should so soon have put on the uniform of a party; and, though coupled with dispositions of the heart, framed for the widest circle of beneficial action, should have been doomed, by a perverse arrangement, to consume its strength in fighting the battles of unsuccessful ambition.

The social attractions of Mr. Fox's character, his taste for pleasure and thirst of popularity, his high birth and affability of disposition, all waited upon his ambition, and propitiated his passage to distinction, which way soever he shaped the course of his politics. Nursed in the lap of ministerial favour, and after six years adherence to ministers, retreating into the arms of an opposition, composed of persons of sound but sanguine sentiments, and who, though not unsatisfied with themselves, were compelled to acknowledge the ascendancy of his genius, from the child he became the champion of party, and in a manner pledged to a perpetuity of opposition, by the popularity which hung upon it, and by which it was his delight to be distinguished. We are no friends to the measures which were the objects of Mr. Fox's attacks, from the year 1774 (which was the period of the commencement of his opposition to ministers), to the resignation of Lord North; but we consider him from that moment a most decided party man, or rather party leader, with the prejudiced zeal, though not with the narrow spirit which usually belongs to that character. Let us not be misunderstood: we are not backward to admit the great qualities of Mr. Fox. To do justice to some of them, is beyond our power. His speeches in parliament have deservedly been compared to the greatest efforts of Athenian or Roman eloquence. The language must be carried to the same excellence in which it has been there displayed, to do justice to their beauty and sublimity, their pregnant simplicity, their energetic purity, their masculine density, and their unaffected vehemence.

From the many excellent qualities of his heart, as we take them from the uniform testimony of all who mixed with him in his ordinary hours, we cannot withhold the tribute of our admiration. Though we never respected his sentiments on the French revolution, and should certainly not select them as evidence of the gentleness of his disposition (for against cruelty and barbarity tenderness is fierce, and ferocity is forbearing);

yet, who can contemplate his self-government and forgiving generosity, when the debate on that subject dissolved his political and private friendship with Mr. Burke, without cherishing a fond esteem for this part of his character.

That with all these amiable qualities and extraordinary endowments, his conduct was blameable in many points, both moral and political, cannot be denied, unless by the blindness of friendship, and the extravagance of party-idolatry. He was, doubtless, a great man; and his conduct, as well as his opinions, in all respects and on all subjects, had great influence on the conduct and opinions of his countrymen. The merits of such a person, therefore, are amenable to the justice of history and the sentence of posterity: we have all of us a deep interest in the due appreciation of a character like that of Mr. Fox: it is the property of history and his country. Party biography is not the proper vehicle for carrying it down to succeeding generations. It has been said of him by his friends, that his vices were all of a description to be capable of existing together with the greatest virtues. We do not set up for the censors of the age, nor have we any pleasure in contemplating, much less in exaggerating, the infirmities of the great; but we regard it as a fond and foolish practice, to soften a man's vices out of compliment to his virtues; still worse to represent his virtues as allied to his vices, as investing them with an immunity from censure, or as altering, in any degree, their true character and essential nature. Instead of qualifying, they really aggravate, the evils which belong to them, by shading their turpitude and extending their influence; and when we say this, nothing but stupidity can mistake our meaning; or suppose us to deny that, in the general appreciation of character, the virtues of a man are to be weighed against his vices. But let it be recollected, that to be *fairly* weighed against his vices, they must both be distinctly seen and acknowledged with an eye divested of the films of prejudice; they must be laid in the scales as they subsist in truth and in fact, not as they are found in the flimsy sketches of ephemeral eulogy.

The felicity of Mr. Fox's temper was a boon of nature; and *as such*, can never be ranked, by his country, in equal estimation with those forbearing and controlling virtues, which raise the mind of the patriot above the pitch of ordinary humanity. Great things are done by the gratuitous endowments of nature; but *his* is the noble and beneficent course, whose conduct, as a statesman, exhibits a pattern of feelings corrected by thought and principle, whose love of his country is a love of its *mind* and *character*, no less than of its

glory; and who, amidst the elegant commerce, and even the festive gaieties of private life, maintains the dignity of public sentiment by the conservative influence of his own example. It would be inconsistent with historical fidelity to pass over, in the life of Cæsar, his early attachment to unprincipled persons, his profligate extravagance, or his amour with the Egyptian queen. Mr. Fox was not a violator of the laws, nor do we charge him with any thing dishonourable in his conduct; but his departures, such as they were, from decorum and temperance, and the line of exemplary morals, ought no more to be suppressed or softened than the vices of Cæsar. In all probability, he would himself have been ashamed of the indiscriminate rhapsodical praise which has incumbered his memory. To the manly remonstrances of a virtuous friend, we can conceive it possible that he would have unveiled his early transgressions, and admitted his weakness and error. His understanding would have disdained to patronize the vices, which the effeminate sophisms of his friends, by endeavouring to disguise, have made more conspicuous; illustrating, by the inconsistencies of their panegyrics, the danger to sound sentiment and correct principle, arising from an example, of which the vicious and faulty parts were, perhaps, alone within the reach of imitation.

We could not forbear throwing out these few observations on a subject, not immediately connected with the object of this article, though naturally arising out of the topics which it incidentally presents to our consideration. It was impossible to contemplate the effects of Mr. Fox's political habits on the character and tendency of his history, without yielding to the temptation of glancing at his general character; and protesting against that praise which, not content with embalming his memory, has presumed to canonize his faults. We will now consign his virtues and his *failings* also to the impartial page of history (if any such shall record the transactions of these times, and give life to the embryon lessons of wisdom which they contain); where we trust his name will stand a memorial, as well of the great possibilities of the human intellect, as of the tendency of party struggles, and a lax education, to check, if not to defeat, the bounties of benignant nature.

To revert therefore to the subject immediately under consideration, we have no hesitation in saying, that Mr. Fox's historical fragment bears plain indications of the bias of his political sentiments. We are of opinion with Mr. Rose, that men who mix in parties are generally unfit for the office of historian. If they write the accounts of their own times, *quorum pars*

magna fuerunt, they are apt to endeavour to interest posterity in their quarrels; and if they write of antecedent events, their purpose will naturally be so to dress up those events, that contemporary transactions may take, by reflection, a colour favourable to their own political views. We have already, and we hope with sufficient distinctness, observed, that we do not impute to Mr. Fox any misstatements of facts; but we cannot but suspect him of those natural prepossessions which are almost inseparable from party-spirit; and we think that the bias of these prepossessions is discernible throughout his history. It was said of the excellent Plutarch himself, that in his biographical parallels, notwithstanding all his integrity and candor, it was plain enough he was a Greek.

History, to be the handmaid of philosophy, and the mistress of moral instruction, should be as chaste in respect to characters, as events. Her office has been well compared to that tribunal of the Egyptians mentioned by Diodorus, in which men and princes after their deaths were either acquitted with honour, or delivered over as criminals to posterity. Historical truth is not more sacred than historical justice. It is only by a due appropriation of praise and blame, that history becomes philosophy, teaching by examples, and capable of transfusing the virtues of one generation into another. To this its retrospective efficacy, we might add, that while it maintains the credit of strict impartiality, it operates usefully on that imposing grandeur of sentiment, which stretches the interests of the ambitious beyond the grave, and gladdens the prospect of eternity with the anticipation of a bright and lasting reputation on earth. When she is thus clear in her great office, it is her privilege to bring strength out of weakness, and to turn a superstitious vain glory into an accessory to improvement. A secondary hope of immortality is encouraged, which purifies the dregs of selfishness and sense, and if it cannot, like the religious hope of a heavenly futurity, raise us above the world, while we live in it, it is nevertheless strong enough to refine and exalt the worldly man in the choice of worldly objects.

The general impression which we have expressed ourselves to have received, from the perusal of Mr. Fox's work, of his having written it under the influence of party feelings, lays us, as we conceive, under no obligation to give any specific reasons for our being so impressed. Mr. Fox gives no other reason for his own conviction, that Hume entertained a childish admiration of kings. Our impression arises from an accumulation of little indications, most of which would be too minute to particularize. The side which an historian takes, will as often become apparent from

little turns of expression, and even from his occasional silence, where observation would naturally be excited, as by opinions more declaratively announced, or a more decided colouring of the narrative. Although the prepossessions of Mr. Fox's mind are discoverable chiefly from these incidental, involuntary, and even negative indications, we will nevertheless give some of our reasons for forming this judgment of his work.

Would a mind that had received no warping from habit or party-predilection be content with remarking on the trial and condemnation of Lord Strafford, that "the prosecution, or rather the manner in which it was carried on, was less justifiable than their former proceedings," meaning the proceedings of the long parliament, of which he had just before spoken in terms of decided commendation? Could not the lofty character, impressive deportment, and sad end, of that much injured nobleman, win from the generous nature of Mr. Fox one gentle word of commiseration?

We are far from being disposed to justify the imperious conduct of Lord Strafford, and the tendency of his disposition to arbitrary counsels. They greatly derogated from his other estimable qualities. That he exercised some acts of discretionary jurisdiction in times of great turbulence and disorder, at a period of our history in which the boundaries of our constitution were but ill-defined, in a country ill-affected and incompletely conquered, (for such at that time was the state of Ireland) must be admitted and deplored; but as even at this epoch of improved and settled polity, it would be gross injustice to condemn a man to death upon a general charge of *endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws*, so at a period of such constitutional inaccuracy as that in which this transaction took place, such a proceeding deserved the execration of every just and impartial mind. Miserable and disgraceful were the methods used to ruin this nobleman. Bound by an oath of secrecy, the committee proceeded against him less like public accusers, than plotting conspirators. Privy counsellors were suborned to act the part of informers: words torn from the context and incidentally used at their meetings, where freedom of speech and advice is so essential to the utility of their consultations, were accepted as evidence of treason, upon the testimony of his bitterest enemies. The testimony of the friends of the earl was excluded by pretended prosecutions, and groundless imprisonment. Still however an accusation, thus supported and carried on, yielded to the prevalence of truth, enforced by a pathos and dignity on the part of the accused, which it is impossible for guilt to assume. After a trial and acquittal before the tribunal of his peers, a bill of attainder, carried through

parliament by artifice and violence, and forced upon the king by the same unrighteous means, accomplished the ruin of this devoted person. Now, we cannot help thinking, that if Mr. Fox had not for the greater part of his life been the leader of a party in opposition to the government, he would have found other words to describe this transaction than the terms of apathy in which he has conveyed his opinion.

The prosecution of Lord Strafford, and the manner in which it was carried on, Mr. Fox, as we have observed, considered as less justifiable, than the former proceedings of the long parliament, which former proceedings he had, in another place, very emphatically commended. The execution of the king he calls a far less violent measure: so that, if a consistent construction be given to his expressions, this act of regicide would seem to have been considered by him as a crime of small magnitude. It must be admitted, that he does in cold and calculating language disapprove of the proceeding. But does he not disapprove of it on grounds of inexpediency, rather than on the ground of its inherent turpitude? It is to be remarked, too, that the whole discussion of the expediency of the measure seems evidently to have been built upon the consideration of it as an act of the people at large, whereas in truth it was, as Mr. Fox in the passage immediately preceding allows, the act of Cromwell alone. It could not surely, in *any* view, have been *expedient* that the projects of Cromwell should have been carried into effect, and the ancient monarchy destroyed? One does not therefore see how the question of expediency could properly arise, or be applicable to the case as it really stood predicamented in fact. "The army," as Mr. Fox had a little before observed, "were the masters of the parliament, and being entirely influenced by Cromwell, gave a commencement to what may, properly speaking, be called a new reign." And he adds, "that great and respectable as were the names of some who sat in the high court, they must be regarded; in this instance, rather as the ministers of the usurper, than as acting from themselves." Now if these great and respectable persons were not acting *from themselves*, they had not the excuse of honest enthusiasm, and if they were acting in obedience to the usurper, it is plain they were not acting under the authority of the people: then, it seems, these *respectable* persons were the executioners of the bloody purpose of an individual.

It can scarcely be denied, because all history proclaims it, that Charles was sacrificed to the ambition of Cromwell, and that the army, or rather the cabal of officers, was the means of bringing it about, against the feelings of the nation. But even supposing it was the act of the people, by their representatives,

what right had they to plead the justice or necessity of it, after treating with Charles as their rightful monarch, and actually declaring, by their vote, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the house to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. As the king had not forfeited his right to be trusted, by any instance of insincerity since this treaty was on foot, (if suspicions of insincerity alone could be a reasonable ground for declining such a compromise) they were precluded from breaking with the king, on this pretext, by their own acts. At all events, was not an act of parliament, ratified by the king, a sufficient security against the imputed insincerity? But however this may be, it is to be recollected that the state of the facts was not such as to afford a proper ground for the question on the broad national basis of expediency, and that Mr. Fox by admitting that the king was sacrificed, not to the *people*, but to the *usurper*, and by arguing, *upon that admission*, the question, whether the execution was just and necessary, warrants the inference that he was of opinion (though we are far from seriously thinking he was of such opinion) that it might have been justified by necessity, though in fact the nation had no part in it.

The other point on which Mr. Fox rests the question of justification is this, "Was the example of it likely to be salutary or pernicious?" He does, to be sure, allow that as an *example* it was wholly needless, as it could be of no use to set an example to kings, when it was intended that the office of king should be abolished. And he admits that there was no ground upon which we could be authorized to inflict death, for the sake of example to other nations, or, in other words, to take the criminal justice of the world into our hands. But, surely, the plea of example fails, unless there is in the first place a justification for the punishment in the quality of the crime itself. So that one really perceives nothing in sound political morality, or common justice, to lay a ground for the second point of view in which Mr. Fox has chosen to consider the question. Since, therefore, in page 116 of his work, he takes it for granted, that example is the only legitimate end of punishment, (in itself a pretty large assumption) and that where the example is not likely to be salutary, every punishment inflicted by the magistrate is cruelty, and every execution murder, the execution of Charles *upon his own reasoning* was nothing short of the crime of murder; and as such should seem to deserve to be denounced in stronger terms than Mr. Fox has used upon this occasion.

As for ourselves, we must confess our weakness in having read with tears the account of that prince's sufferings in the least favourable of his historians, and that to these emotions, the com-

stancy and sublimity of his end have added in no small degree. The equality of mind with which he met every reverse of fortune, his magnanimous meekness contrasted with the dastardly exultation of his adversaries, the silent anguish of his heart which changed the hair to grey "upon his discrowned head," but was unable to alter the character of his soul, are images which fill, and will continue to fill our minds with much loftier conceptions of grandeur, than the pomp and dignity with which the great transaction of his trial and condemnation is coupled in the contemplations both of Mr. Fox and Mr. Hume. Nor can we help being greatly surprised that any person should consider the court which condemned him as consisting of the delegates of a great people, sitting in judgment on their supreme magistrate, after having characterized them as the ministers of an usurper.

Of this *usurper* Mr. Fox speaks in terms of gentle reproach, scarcely, we think, rising to the level of his character. "Upon the whole," says he, "the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of genius. And *among such*, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy."

For ourselves we are inclined to believe, that in the early part of Cromwell's life, and even in the out-set of his political career, he might be sincere in his religious professions.

It is inward pravity which generates hypocrisy,—the conflict between our secret inclinations and the awe of man. It is not to be supposed that there is, substantively, any natural propensity to play the hypocrite for hypocrisy's sake. It is a vice which grows out of situation and habit. In Cromwell it probably proceeded from his inordinate ambition, which being unable to overcome the influence of religion, or entirely to wrest it from its early hold upon his fears, or imagination, succeeded at length in turning it into a subserviency to its own purposes. And we may learn from this instance, among others, that the best way to avoid hypocrisy, is to preserve the mind free from the pollutions of vice, and that inward corruption, which makes us cowards before man, and traitors to God. That Cromwell was a base hypocrite cannot be doubted; but it seems less proper to say, that his hypocrisy tainted his moral character, than that it was the natural companion of his other vices, and, particularly, of his cruel and aspiring temper. We shall not, for we have neither room nor inclination for it, enter into the character of this extraordinary man, for extraordinary he certainly was; but when it is considered that Cromwell practised all the usual methods

of sanguinary ambition, and coupled with these the odious vice of hypocrisy, it will appear that Mr. Fox has laid upon him a very gentle hand, displaying the temper of an apologist in the execution of historical justice. And this again we cannot help considering as a consequence of Mr. Fox's party politics, which, as we have before observed, are so apt to place between the mind, and almost every subject of public consideration, a distorting and discolored medium.

Mr. Fox, on the subject of the popish plot, declares the whole affair to be disgraceful to the nation. He thinks it a shocking transaction; but he inclines "to impute to the greater part of those concerned in it, rather an extraordinary degree of blind credulity, than the deliberate wickedness of planning, and assisting in, the perpetration of legal murder." We do not dispute the candour and fairness of this reasoning, but we cannot help thinking it probable that Mr. Fox, if his mind had been politically disengaged, would have marked with more distinctness, that the whigs ought to be greater sharers in the opprobrium, whether more or less, of that transaction, than any other public characters of that day.

Mr. Fox takes particular pains to shew, that the belief of the plot was *universal*; and observes, that the unanimous votes of the two houses of parliament, and the names, as well as the numbers, of those who pronounced Lord Strafford to be guilty, seem to put this beyond doubt. But can it be imagined that a persuasion so absurd would have become so general through the nation, if the voice of party had been mute, and no political industry had been on foot to promote it? Can it be imagined, that the treatment of Lord Strafford was the mere result of this *blind credulity*, and that the behaviour even of Russell himself, in respect to that nobleman, was the pure offspring of this infatuated belief? We are certainly not among those who think that the plot was a story fabricated by Lord Shaftesbury, and the whig party; but can it be doubted that advantage was taken by party-men of the general belief of it, or that it was adopted as a political weapon against the tories, by many whose minds were too strong to listen to a tale, "so impossible to be true, that it ought not to have been believed if it had come from the mouth of Cato." It adds some little, we think, to the force of these observations, that Mr. Fox in another place says that, "upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one observation forcibly occurs, and that is, that the great strength of the whigs consisted in their being able to brand their adversaries as favourers of popery." And we cannot help producing the rest of a passage which contains no unprofitable lesson, if well under-

stood and applied. "That of the tories," continues Mr. Fox, "(as far as their strength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the crown) in their finding colour to represent the whigs as republicans. From this observation we may draw a farther inference, that in proportion to the rashness of the crown, in avowing and pressing forward the cause of popery, and to the moderation and steadiness of the whigs in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England of changing an ignominious despotism, for glory, liberty, and happiness."

The subject of the invasion by Argyle and Monmouth called forth the most animated exertions of Mr. Fox's genius. It is, doubtless, written with considerable interest. The characters of the two leaders are drawn with much discriminative force; and great acuteness is shewn in the investigation and comparison of facts, and authorities; but we cannot help being again of opinion, that the tenor of this more laboured part of the work affords similar indications of party habits and associations.

No one can despise more than ourselves the nonsensical and almost blasphemous doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the obligation of the subject to passive obedience; and we most heartily hold to the opinion, that all magistracy is for the people's good. With respect, however, to the justification, which the times afforded to the resistance of Argyle and Monmouth, we doubt, with Burnet, whether, upon the whole, the misgovernment of James was of a nature to justify the sort of resistance made to it by Argyle and Monmouth. We so far agree with Mr. Fox, as to think, that the probability of success arising from the favourableness of the juncture, and the definiteness of the objects in contemplation, nay, further, the probability of ultimate settlement, after the attainment of the primary purposes, ought all to be weighed together in estimating the justifiableness of resistance. It is by these considerations that we are led to disapprove of the enterprize of Argyle and Monmouth, and to hold it unworthy to be compared with the great and well-concerted scheme, by which, in three years afterwards, the national recovery from popery and arbitrary power was finally accomplished.

We must however confess, that we do not entirely approve of the manner in which Mr. Fox treats the question of resistance. We have in a former article expressed our opinion that it is a question which, after the competency to resistance, under supposable circumstances of provocation, has been once well established by precedent, ought to be very sparingly and guardedly discussed, lest by familiarizing it to the thoughts, it may, by degrees, come to present itself as too feasible in practice—as a cor-

rective remedy, rather than as a desperate resource. It appears to us that the point is discussed by Mr. Fox too much as a question of expediency. In considering the prudence, or imprudence, by which such a measure may be characterized, he seems, a little, to lose sight of the importance of representing it as worse than unjustifiable, unless on occasions manifestly involving the existence of our fundamental liberties, and after every constitutional resource has been tried in vain.

Though Mr. Hume appears to us to have carried the necessity of silence in respect to this ultimate and extraordinary jurisdiction of the body of the people somewhat too far, we cannot but agree with him that as all legitimate "government is founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by these speculations, the reverence which the multitude owe to authority, and to instruct them before-hand that the case can ever happen, when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the licence of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged that the doctrine of *obedience* ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into a state of abject servitude. When the exception really occurs, even though it be not previously expected or descanted upon, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint, however great, imposed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience."

We might, if we were not afraid of trespassing too long upon our readers, support our reflections on the strong political bias under which Mr. Fox appears to have written his history, by the production of numerous other instances more or less striking; but we feel sensible that it is time to bring these observations to a close. We cannot, however, avoid adverting to the charge, with which Mr. Fox's work has a tendency to load the memory of Clarendon, of being privy to the king's receiving money from Lewis the Fourteenth. This degrading surmise is thrown out upon mere hearsay, in one negligent sentence of the work: nor does the historian think it worth while to bestow a page upon the consideration of its title to be believed. He contents himself with saying that, so it is said, but what proofs exist of this charge he confesses he knows not. As little can we avoid a comment upon the smooth and tranquil manner in which the infamy of those *whig* ministers who were personally and actively engaged in these base money transactions with the French court is touched upon. As it was impossible to extricate them from the obloquy of the

fact, an apology is made for them in language which heavily and awkwardly performs the task, by laying the blame on the times, rather than the men themselves. To such difficulties are even the most candid reduced, when, insensibly to themselves, they are viewing the conduct of men through the medium of party prejudices.

For the poor bishops who attended Monmouth on the scaffold, and who appear in Mr. Fox's work in colours so odious, though we are far from approving their conduct altogether, yet something we think might be urged in mitigation. If the character and condition of the times are to bear a part of the reproach of men's political or moral misconduct, (and in the case of Sunderland, Churchill, and Godolphin, Mr. Fox was of opinion that it should,) we crave a little of the same allowance for bishops of the established church, who, living in times anterior to the full practical development of religious toleration and christian liberty, and before the prejudices in favour of divine right and non-resistance had given way to free discussion, and a more reasonable application of scriptural maxims, might be somewhat over-strenuous and pertinacious in pressing a recantation on these points upon the conscience of Monmouth, without deserving all the censure and contempt with which this historian has treated them. That they were political bigots we do not deny, but their mistakes in conduct may not have arisen from want of compassion, still less from the spirit of that church to which they shewed themselves, in a few years afterwards, so disinterestedly attached but from an anxiety, however in some particulars misdirected, for the general state of the soul of one, who was so soon to be removed above the reach of earthly compassion, to a crisis more important in the view of these well-meaning servants of the church. Nor let it be forgotten, though Mr. Fox seems scarcely to have recollected it, that though Monmouth was gentle, brave, and sincere, he had been long indulging a criminal intercourse with another woman, (while his duchess was living) and avowed it on the scaffold without any expression of remorse.

On the whole, therefore, we feel ourselves compelled to declare an opinion contrary to that of the learned serjeant, on the general question of Mr. Fox's impartiality, in the conduct of his otherwise excellent production. We think his history was written, in a great measure, (nor do we take upon ourselves to condemn the motive,) to be the vehicle of an immortal eulogy upon the whig-principles. We most devoutly hope, that those who now claim the inheritance of this proud distinction will acknowledge an obligation to confirm by their conduct the testimony of their great leader and organ, who, in apologizing for Monmouth's opposition

to his father's government, observes, that "something may be attributed to his admiration of the talents of some, to his personal friendship for others; among the leaders of the whigs, more to the aptitude of a generous nature to adopt, and if I may so say, to become enamoured of, those principles of justice, benevolence, and equality, which form the true creed of the party which he espoused."

As Mr. Serjeant Heywood's book is designed as a complete answer to the publication of Mr. Rose in all its parts, to the introduction of Mr. Rose he has opposed a very well written preface. And as Mr. Rose has set out with claiming the merit of impartiality, the learned serjeant has begun with an endeavour to remove him from this ground: but in this endeavour we think there is some little unfairness imputable to him. When Mr. Rose intimates that his opposition to Mr. Fox has died with the object, it was too much to construe such a declaration into an admission, that his opposition was to the person and not to the principles of Mr. Fox. Being for so many years the strenuous friend of Mr. Fox's great political rival, and engaged in perpetual contest with Mr. Fox on the subjects within his department, or on which he had bestowed his attention, it was natural for him to feel towards Mr. Fox while alive, that animosity, which is so apt to be engendered by the constant irritation of dispute. As long as that animosity remained, he could scarcely have criticised any political, or indeed any other work, of Mr. Fox, with the requisite impartiality of personal feelings. This sort of disqualification, he means to say, lasted no longer than the source from which the irritation that occasioned it arose. And this seems to be an avowal deserving rather commendation than censure.

In the passage immediately succeeding, the learned serjeant finds fault with Mr. Rose for saying, that there was a time when he hoped to have seen a junction of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; but that in reading Mr. Fox's history, he had conceived a doubt how far their co-operation could have been permanent; because "the political principles of Mr. Pitt certainly would not have accorded with those of Mr. Fox, in the manner in which he has developed them," and then qualifying that observation by saying, that, "however, Mr. Fox might not have acted according to the demonstration of his principles in his book." The inference which Mr. Serjeant Heywood draws from these observations of Mr. Rose is, that they impute to Mr. Fox a concealment, during the greater part of his political life, of those principles which his book has developed; whereas the meaning of Mr. Rose, as he has expressed it, seems to be no more than this; that, though looking to the history of parties, it was not extravagant to hope that in the cri-

tical state of the times, an union might be formed of the talents of these two great men for the service of their country, notwithstanding the apparent obstruction from their long parliamentary opposition to each other; yet that when he looked at the principles deliberately avowed by Mr. Fox, in a work that was to record them to posterity, he thought a solid co-operation between Mr. Fox and his great friend very improbable. Whether he was right or wrong in this opinion we do not pretend to decide; we mean only to vindicate the passage from the imputation of absurdity. Mr. Serjeant Heywood then observes, that Mr. Pitt could not but be acquainted with Mr. Fox's principles when he made overtures to introduce him into power. All this sounds well, but we are afraid that on these occasions the expectation of a coalition proceeds rather upon the mutual knowledge which party men possess of each other's weakness and want of well-founded principles, or, in other words, of the greater respect felt on each side for men than measures, than on any particular acquaintance with each other's principles.

We should fatigue ourselves and our readers if we were to attempt to arbitrate between Mr. Serjeant Heywood and Mr. Rose, in all the minuter differences between them. Some of the disputed points are in themselves almost trifling, and only derive an importance from the skill which the serjeant has shewn in the discussion of them; for it must be admitted, and indeed we do most willingly admit, because we entertain a very high respect for the character and talents of Mr. Serjeant Heywood, that he has employed upon this contest the energies of a powerful mind, rendered more than ordinarily interesting by a dignified display of affection for his lost friend. Yet in some of his endeavours we think he has failed, and principally from his evident anxiety to leave Mr. Rose not an inch of ground to stand upon. The quotation from Barillon's letter of the 7th of December, 1684, produced by Mr. Fox in his Appendix, page viii. does appear to be open to the charge of mistranslation. The word 'pays,' as it seems to us, can never be properly translated 'mother country,' as in Mr. Fox's version; and that, when we are to chuse between 'mother country' and 'colony' in translating it, we feel no hesitation in preferring the latter. The passage in which it occurs consists of a piece of advice given to Charles by his tory ministers, in which they maintained, that his Majesty could, and ought to govern countries so distant, in a manner which should appear to him most suitable for preserving or augmenting the strength and riches of the 'mother country,' as Mr. Fox translates the French word 'pays,' or of the 'colony,' as it is translated by Mr. Rose. We have said we give the preference to Mr. Rose's

translation, and we think that his translation gives a much more reputable and salutary character to the advice; but we are far from suspecting that Mr. Fox was capable of any insidious perversion of the sense to serve any party object. The error, if it be one, seems wholly attributable to inadvertency.

We confess that the learned serjeant first brought us acquainted with the many inaccuracies of Mr. Rose's work, and were not a little astonished by the discovery, considering the official habits of that gentleman. They are certainly numerous; and we should be doing great injustice to his opponent if we did not express our admiration as well of the diligence and sagacity with which he has detected them, as of the nervous and perspicuous style in which he has made the communication. The serjeant must, however, forgive us for declaring, that we should have been, in general, better pleased if the sarcasms which accompany these communications had been spared; and that it appears to us that in some instances he has laid a little too much stress upon unsubstantial mistakes. The frequent error of Mr. Rose in alluding to passages as contained in Mr. Fox's history, which are either the words of his editor, or cited from private letters of Mr. Fox, seems very unaccountable. This sort of blunder, however, frequently occurs.

"He must be a very partial reader," says Mr. Rose, "who can complain of a free examination of a work in which such a man as Hume is characterized in the following words: 'He was an excellent man, and of great power of mind, but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable; nay, it is in my opinion quite ridiculous, and is more like the foolish admiration, which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.'" Now, certainly, this character of Hume by Mr. Fox is not found in Mr. Fox's historical work, but in a private letter cited by his nephew in the introduction.

Mr. Rose makes a defence for Hume, which does not deserve, in our opinion, the contempt which his opponent endeavours to throw upon it. "That Mr. Hume had prejudices," says Mr. Rose, "I do not dispute; but they were the prejudices of system, not of party. Viewing with the eye of a philosopher the origin and progress of the British constitution, he probably thought he discovered in it more of the monarchical, and less of the democratical preponderance, than common opinion had sometimes ascribed to it. That this general opinion occasionally influenced his opinions, and even coloured his narrative, I admit: but in his details of this very portion of the British history, which Mr. Fox has chosen as an era in the settlement of

its constitution, his account of the conduct of King James, and his reflections upon it during his reign, appear to me to be as severely reprehensive as could well be expected; although in giving his character on his abdication, he shewed him more favour than he probably would have done if he had known all that has since transpired." Mr. Serjeant Heywood considers this character of Hume, as an historian, by Mr. Rose, as perfectly agreeing with what is stated above to have been said on that subject by Mr. Fox, and therefore as affording no ground for the remark, of Mr. Rose, that Mr. Fox's manner of characterizing Hume's partiality for kings, was a special reason for subjecting his work to a free examination. We have thus stated the question on this point between the parties, and we will leave the reader to judge how far the serjeant is justified in his animadversions.

A similar instance of erroneous quotation is afterwards produced by the serjeant, which will certainly reflect some discredit upon Mr. Rose's accuracy. We will state it in the words of our author, as they will at the same time afford the reader a specimen of the style and manner in which his comments are expressed.

"Another instance tending to shew the careless manner in which the observations have been written occurs respecting a quotation, supposed to be made from Mr. Fox's work respecting Lord Bolingbroke. It is stated to begin thus: 'Mr. Fox says, Bolingbroke in particular had confounded, &c.' Here Mr. Rose has made two mistakes: for neither in the historical work nor in any published letter of Mr. Fox is this paragraph found, and the passage to which it is presumed allusion is made, for he has omitted to refer to it, contains no assertion, but an inference only. By turning to the sixth page of Lord Holland's preface, the reader will find that the words quoted were written by him, and contain only an inference, which he, and not Mr. Fox, had drawn from his own observation. The sentence begins, 'it could not escape the observation of Mr. Fox, that, &c. and that Lord Bolingbroke in particular had confounded, &c.' For the justness of the remark Lord Holland alone is responsible, but the terms in which it is expressed preclude the idea that he intended to state positively that Mr. Fox entertained the opinion; he only infers that such must have been his opinion from the conviction impressed upon his own mind. This quotation serves as the introduction to five pages of extraneous matter, consisting chiefly of what Mr. Rose had heard the late Lord Marchmont say, he had heard the late Lord Bolingbroke say. Under what influence or bias these mistakes were made it is not

very material to inquire; but they do not exhibit a favourable view of the official accuracy to be expected in the ensuing pages of the work in question."

We cannot but think with Mr. Serjeant Heywood, that there was no reason to disapprove of the periods into which Mr. Fox has divided the history of this country before the era at which he takes it up, viz. 1st, from the accession of Henry the Seventh to the year 1588; 2dly, from the year 1588 to 1640; and, 3dly, from 1640 to the crisis with which he commences his work. We may make, if we please, a mere mechanical division of history, for the thing is quite arbitrary, but it seems more rational and useful to fix upon certain points of time at which the mind naturally pauses to reflect upon the immediate and remote consequences of events. Mr. Fox has assigned these periods with reference to those events which have induced important changes in the political, intellectual, and moral state of the people, rather than to those of greater absolute magnitude, but which have not been attended with consequences so permanent. The serjeant has defended the propriety of Mr. Fox's distribution of his historical periods with great sense and clearness, and as his observations are instructive and useful, we will extract the passage for the benefit of our readers.

"The commencement of the first period objected to, is fixed at the year 1588, and ends at the year 1640. To this arrangement Mr. Fox was naturally led by the consideration, that the preceding period, from the accession of Henry the Seventh to 1588, was one, in which the political state of the country was materially changed by regulations, of which tyranny was the immediate, and liberty the remote consequence. The next succeeding period he describes as one, in which, by the cultivation of science, and the arts of civil life, during a season of almost uninterrupted tranquillity and peace, there was a great general improvement in the people, but particularly in their manners and style of thinking. The distinction between the two periods cannot be mistaken by an attentive reader. Mr. Rose makes no objection to the commencement of this period, but would extend it so far as to include the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and gives four reasons for objecting to its concluding earlier. The first is, because there was no change of system in the government of Queen Elizabeth during her whole reign. To this it may be answered, that the second period is selected, not on account of its political features, but the general improvement of the people, which advanced more rapidly, because there was no change. And we may ask, how the steadiness of her government can be used as an argument on either side, or render her reign more fit to be placed in one period or the other?—The next reason is, that the authors, to whom Mr. Fox justly attributes the astonishing progress of literature, wrote in her reign. They certainly did, and for that reason,

the part of her reign, in which the effect of their writings began to be felt, is included in the same period with the reign of James the First, and part of that of Charles the First, under whom the improvement she had introduced was still making regular progression. The third is a remarkable instance of that sort of incoherent reasoning, to which Mr. Rose has frequently recourse. He says, it does not appear why our tranquillity having been uninterrupted should have influenced Mr. Fox's decision in this respect, 'because our being at peace or war could have no effect on our constitution.' Can this have been seriously thought, and deliberately written by Mr. Rose, who has taken a most active part in the politics of this country for the last thirty years? Without entering into the discussion of disputable and temporary questions, can it be denied that the burdens necessarily laid upon the people to maintain wars, and the tyrannical pressure of the feudal system in periods of public hostilities, did not add to the influence of the crown, and operate to the depression of the other branches of the legislature? And has our constitution, in modern times, undergone no changes, owing to those burdens? Has the funding system introduced no alterations? Desperate indeed must be the cases, in which the House of Commons could now be justified in disregarding the claims of the public creditors, and withholding the supplies; or the crown advised to give its negative to a bill which should have passed both houses of parliament. But, farther: does Mr. Rose doubt that a series of years, passed in uninterrupted tranquillity, must be favourable, in any reign, to the pursuits of literature? And, if so, might not this circumstance powerfully influence the mind of Mr. Fox in fixing the limit of the period in question? And may we not suspect that Mr. Rose here is arguing more for victory than conviction, and looking more to the fame of defeating his adversary, than the justice of the cause, for which he combats?—The fourth objection is, that 'as little should the observation of Mr. Fox respecting the additional value that came to be set on a seat in the House of Commons have been a guide to him.' Mr. Fox had not in contemplation, as Mr. Rose seems to have had the pecuniary price paid for a seat in the House of Commons; he meant that, in the general estimation of mankind, its members were become more honourable and respected, and a seat more the object of ambition than it had been before. He did not allude, as to a market price, for a commodity, which cannot legally be sold at all. But what is the amount of Mr. Rose's argument? That in the year 1571, a seat having been purchased for five pounds, Mr. Fox's observation, that, at a subsequent period, an additional value was set upon one, is not well founded. This is certainly not very conclusive reasoning; for a seat might be sought after in 1571, and yet be more an object of anxiety in 1588, or 1640. But here we have a striking instance of carelessness in this most accurate writer, for the sum given for the seat, in the case alluded to, was not five pounds, but four pounds, and the story is told not in the fifth volume of the Journals, which he refers to, but the first."

Mr. Rose objected to the observation of Mr. Fox, that "the execution of the king was a far less violent measure than that of Lord Strafford," and Mr. Serjeant Heywood also meets him on this point. We have before stated our opinion on the passage, and to that we adhere; for it is to be recollected that Mr. Fox leaves it to conjecture, to discover his grounds for the observation. He himself enters into no explanation of it. But if we were to presume to supply a reason for him, we might say, perhaps, that with reference to the existing state of things when these acts were respectively perpetrated, the execution of Lord Strafford is to be considered as a flagrant breach of criminal justice, while the forms of the constitution were standing, and the laws of the land in force; whereas the murder of Charles was committed after the constitution had been previously overthrown, and a military despotism substituted in its place; so that not absolutely, but relatively speaking, he might mean that the execution of Charles was less violent than that of Strafford.

In respect to the solemnity and publicity of the trial of Charles the First, we have already disagreed in our view of it from both Mr. Fox and Mr. Hume. We have considered it as a spectacle rather degrading than splendid, under all the circumstances. We are disposed, however, to agree with Mr. Fox and his vindicator, that the publicity of that transaction was a circumstance rather subtracting from its iniquity. But as we do not discover that Mr. Fox has grounded upon it any positive praise of Cromwell, it does not appear to us that there was any justification for the following observation of Mr. Rose. "If such *high praise* was, in the judgment of Mr. Fox, due to Cromwell for the publicity of the proceedings against the king, how would he have found language sufficiently commendatory to express his admiration of the magnanimity of those who brought Lewis the Sixteenth to an open trial?"

The above inference of Mr. Rose attracts a very strong comment from the author of the Vindication, who complains of it as a very unfounded and unjust insinuation against the memory of his friend. He asks what high praise was there in saying that it was less base to execute openly, than to assassinate privately; and observes, that "what Mr. Fox had said of Charles the First, he might, alluding to its publicity, perhaps have said of that of Lewis the Sixteenth; namely, that it was less atrocious than if he had been murdered in private; but Mr. Fox could have been at no loss to find language sufficiently strong to convey the degree of praise, which, on such a view of the subject, belonged to the judges who condemned him." Mr. Serjeant Heywood thus con-

times the defence, and a very effectual defence we consider it, of his late distinguished friend.

" Mr. Rose seems to think, that because Mr. Fox said something in extenuation of the execution of Charles the First, if it amounts even to extenuation, he must have said much in actual praise of that of Lewis the Sixteenth. But many reasons may be given why he should have condemned, as in fact he did condemn that act, without offering any thing in extenuation of it; it could be less excused by the plea of necessity, either from the character of the individual, or the circumstances of the times; it was less provoked by previous animosity and warfare; and ever less remarkable for that appearance of splendour or magnanimity, which publicity can confer even on an atrocious act, among other reasons, because it was not the first instance of such an exhibition, and was obviously an imitation of that of Charles the First.

" But we will not detain the reader by the further discussion of fallacious suppositions and hypothetical arguments, when the statement of a few plain facts will put an end to all speculation. For Mr. Fox has expressed and enforced his sentiments in the House of Commons, repeatedly, and upon the most public occasions. His declarations may, possibly, have escaped the memory of Mr. Rose, though at the time they were made he must have been present to hear them, and they were circulated, and made the topic of conversation and party dispute in every corner of the kingdom afterwards. At that period Mr. Rose was not only a member of the House of Commons, but in an official situation, which required his regular attendance upon its sittings. Mr. Fox had conceived, that his speeches relative to France had been grossly misrepresented, and in consequence of his complaints, a more than ordinary attention was paid, both within the House and without, to his words and expressions, whenever any event, connected with the revolution in that country, was under discussion. An anxious wish to vindicate himself from these aspersions induced him to take more than one opportunity of declaring, in the House, his opinion upon the event to which Mr. Rose alludes.

" A register of parliamentary debates may not be always accurate in minute circumstances, or stating the precise expressions of a speaker, but it is not likely that the general substance of a speech should be mistaken, especially if the recollection of living witnesses confirms the written account. The Parliamentary Register states, that upon Thursday, 20th December, 1792, on the bringing up of the report of the Committee of Supply, granting 25,000 seamen, Mr. Fox said the proceedings with respect to the royal family of France, ' are so far from being magnanimity, justice or mercy, that they are directly the reverse, that they are injustice, cruelty, and pusillanimity,' and afterwards declared his wish for an address to his Majesty, to which he would add an expression, ' of our abhorrence of the proceedings against the royal family of France, in which, I

have no doubt, we shall be supported by the whole country. If there can be any means suggested that will be better adapted to produce the unanimous concurrence of this House, and of all the country, with respect to the measure now under consideration in Paris, I should be obliged to any person for his better suggestion upon the subject.' Then, after stating that such address, especially if the Lords joined in it, must have a decisive influence in France, he added, 'I have said thus much, in order to contradict one of the most cruel misrepresentations of what I have before said in our late debates; and that my language may not be interpreted from the manner in which other gentlemen have chosen to answer it. I have spoken the genuine sentiments of my heart, and I anxiously wish the House to come to some resolution upon the subject.' And on the following day, when a copy of instructions sent to Earl Gower, signifying that he should leave Paris, was laid before the House of Commons, Mr. Fox said, 'He had heard it said, that the proceedings against the King of France are unnecessary. He would go a great deal farther, and say he believed them to be highly unjust; and not only repugnant to all the common feelings of mankind, but also contrary to all the fundamental principles of law,' &c.

'The execution of the king of France took place on the 21st day of January, 1793; and on Monday, 28th January, 1793, a message was presented to the House of Commons, laying before it the correspondence with Mr. Chauvelin, and the order to him, 'in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris;' and also communicating the necessity to make a further augmentation of his Majesty's forces by sea and land. Upon this occasion, Mr. Fox said, 'With regard to that part of the communication from his Majesty which related to the late detestable scene exhibited in a neighbouring country, he could not suppose there were two opinions in that House; he knew they were all ready to declare their abhorrence of that abominable proceeding.'

"Two days afterwards, 1st February, 1793, in the debate on the message, Mr. Fox pronounced the condemnation and execution of the king to be 'an act as disgraceful as any that history recorded: and whatever opinions he might at any time have expressed in private conversation, he had expressed none certainly in that House on the justice of bringing kings to trial; revenge being unjustifiable, and punishment useless, where it could not operate either by way of prevention or example, he did not view with less detestation the injustice and inhumanity that had been committed towards that unhappy monarch. Not only were the rules of criminal justice, rules that, more than any other, ought to be strictly observed, violated with respect to him; not only was he tried and condemned without any existing law, to which he was personally amenable, and even contrary to laws that did actually exist; but the degrading circumstances of his imprisonment, the unnecessary and insulting asperity, with which he had been treated, the total want of republican magnanimity in the whole transaction, (for even in that House it could be no

offence to say that there might be such a thing as magnanimity in a republic) added every aggravation to the inhumanity and injustice.' ”

We shall not enter into the remainder of the discussion of Mr. Rose's complaints of Mr. Fox's general manner of treating the subjects of the king's execution, and Cromwell's usurpation and character. We have already made some observations upon it, and shall be sorry by dwelling upon it any longer to incur the imputation of a childish admiration of kings. Our prejudices are certainly strong in favour of mixed and limited monarchy; and though we flatter ourselves we yield neither to Mr. Fox nor Mr. Serjeant Heywood in the disposition to resist a tyrant, we feel for monarchs as we feel for men. As participators of the common lot of human infirmity, they are intitled to the common measure of charitable allowance. If there is a childish admiration of kings, there is also a prejudice against them fit only for the declamation of boys. Who does not despise the cant of Pope when he sings thus to his patron ?

“Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things
To low ambition, and the pride of kings.”

The character given of General Monk in the historical work is certainly not favourable, but we cannot think it an unfair one, and entirely agree with the judicious observations of Mr. Serjeant Heywood on the inference which Mr. Rose has drawn from it, to the disparagement of Mr. Fox's attachment to limited monarchy. The serjeant, in a very manly tone of feeling, calls upon Mr. Rose to point out a single instance in the historical work, from which it can be fairly inferred that he was not sincerely attached to a limited monarchy, and “though none can be found,” says he, “we will not rank this among the unjustifiable artifices of a political partizan, to calumniate and injure the character of the principal opponent of his party, but lament that Mr. Rose should, under an influence he might not be sensible of himself, inadvertently insinuate that, which, upon reflection, he must be sorry he ever wrote.” Mr. Rose is here also accused of a direct perversion of Mr. Fox's words into a sense which he never intended they should bear. The words of Mr. Fox were these. “It is impossible in reviewing the whole of this transaction not to remark, that a general who had gained his rank, reputation, and station, in the service of a republic, and of what *he, as well as others called, however falsely, the cause of liberty*, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch without a single provision in favour of that cause.” Here, says Mr. Serjeant Heywood, Mr. Rose has laid hold of the expression, “in favour of the cause of liberty,”

and accompanied it with the words "as Mr. Fox expresses it," as if this was *his* description of the cause in which Monk had been engaged, instead of the description of it by Monk himself, and others of his time. Our readers will judge for themselves in respect to the propriety of these animadversions of the author of the *Vindication*.

With respect to the character of Monk we do not go quite the same length with Mr. Fox in his charges, nor with Mr. Rose in his excuses. If Monk restored the monarchy without any provisions for the security of the people's rights, we think it is stretching candour too far to suppose him to have conceived, that the restoration of the monarchy would have implied all the limitations of its ancient constitution; for we are really at a loss to know what code was to adjust these limitations. We think with Mr. Serjeant Heywood, that the reigns of the Tudors or the Stuarts could not supply the proper models; and that Monk had formed any opinion of the limitations which existed during the time of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, is not easily to be imagined. We cannot help thinking, however, that the serjeant has not allowed enough for the influence of the crisis in which Monk found himself, which was certainly one that demanded great promptitude, and excused some little precipitation. Our author remarks that the army was all powerful, and entirely devoted to the will of Monk; but of this, we think, some doubt may be reasonably entertained. He declared in the House that he would not answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay was put to the sending for the king. Burnet says, that to the king's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errors of his reign; and we are not insensible to the advantages which might have resulted from such an arrangement with him; but it is to be remembered, that Lord Clarendon was strongly against propositions, and is said to have possessed the leading men at home with such an opinion of the king, as inspired them with perfect confidence in his moderation and integrity; and what imposed upon Lord Southampton might have made a similar impression upon Monk. The difficulty too, and consequent delay in settling the propositions, ought not to be forgotten.

We feel with Mr. Serjeant Heywood that no republicanism can properly be inferred from the opinion of Mr. Fox, that "a restoration is usually the worst sort of revolution." That observation was certainly meant to be general, not pointed to the restoration of Charles II., or at all implying an opinion that he ought not to have been restored. When properly understood it

is a very strong additional ground of objection to revolutions; which, considering that there is so little a prospect of ultimate advantage from them, even after their immediate consequences are over, are the more to be avoided. In one view certainly the restoration of Charles was a misfortune to the country, though no doubt a misfortune infinitely outweighed by other considerations, for it certainly re-established the former abuses of government to a very great extent. It was, however, an incalculable blessing, inasmuch as it gave peace and order to the country, and a form of government which contained within itself the principles of its own amelioration.

Upon the whole, however, we are not inclined to respect the character of General Monk. We think there does appear but too much reason for suspecting him to have received letters from the Marquis of Argyle, which might affect his life, and to have produced them to the parliament which was sitting in judgment on the marquis. That he was one of the commissioners for trying the regicides is certain; and considering his former career of action, and the intimacies formed under it, this fact seems to be enough to condemn him in the courts of humanity and honour. Mrs. Hutchinson says of him, that "Monk after all his great professions now sat still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to set vengeance on foot as any man."

The dispute relating to the question as to the period at which our constitution attained its perfection does not appear to be very important. Mr. Fox states it to have nearly arrived at that acmé in the reign of Charles II., at a period too of that reign, when the administration of the country was at its lowest point of depression; and from this he draws a corollary in derogation of the maxim, that measures, and not men, are to be attended to. The truth seems to be, that the constitution was nearly, but not entirely, at its height of theoretical perfection at the period assigned by Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox's inference did not require that it should have absolutely reached its maturity of perfection, supposing that inference to be in other respects a just one: but this we are by no means disposed to concede; for it seems to us to lead to dangerous results, and to justify all that spirit of party, the existence of which we have already deplored. The administration was certainly corrupt, while the constitution was in a very advanced stage towards its perfection. No constitution can be so framed as to avoid all disturbance by bad men. Occasional eclipses will happen. But during the transient interval of bad government to which Mr. Fox alludes, the constitution

was accumulating a force which finally overcame the pressure, and bursting through the resistance opposed to it, stood forth more confessed to the eyes of mankind.

The remarks of Mr. Serjeant Heywood upon Mr. Rose's mention of Sir Edward Coke's two inaccuracies are proofs of his correct and examining mind.

The question of the establishment of the right of the Commons, in regard to impeachment, seems to rest rather upon a verbal than a real difference between Mr. Fox and Mr. Rose. It is true, as Mr. Rose says, that the king was not restrained, till after the Revolution, from exercising his right of pardoning, so as to stop an impeachment by any express law; but Mr. Serjeant Heywood thinks it is enough to justify Mr. Fox in his observation, that in Lord Danby's case this right was peremptorily negatived by the Commons, and that therefore *the doctrine* seems then to have been established.

The most difficult part of Mr. Serjeant Heywood's undertaking, and that in which he has exerted the greatest spirit and ingenuity, is his defence of Mr. Fox's endeavour to prove that the great and primary object of James II. was the establishment of arbitrary power, and not, as has been commonly supposed, the establishment of the Catholic religion, of which his only purpose was to obtain a full toleration. Mr. Fox attributes great importance to this distinction for this reason. "If this reign," says he, "is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our king; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart kings, as well prior as subsequent to the restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught generally the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we in any considerable degree abate of that vigilant and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church, in James's case, from its grasp."

Now we do not feel any disposition to deny what Mr. Fox

inculcates—the necessity of maintaining a watchful observance of the conduct of the prince, whether he be strictly protestant in principle, or inclined to the catholic faith. Power, in human hands, is so liable to be abused, that to preserve the wholesome rights of the governed will always, we are well persuaded, require their constant and unremitting watchfulness. But because this is a very wholesome doctrine to inculcate, we are not to strain the interpretation of any passage of history to support it. We have no doubt that James was a bigot both in religion and politics; and without inquiring whether his attachment to the popish religion, or to arbitrary power, was uppermost, they were evidently so allied in spirit, and were so blended in the mind of that prince, that we cannot think that the conclusion of Mr. Fox has any logical support from his premises. His inference has no such support, unless the religious principles of James were entirely separate from his political principles; for without this separation, how could he reason from the case of James the Second to that of any protestant monarch? In the article of our first Number, in which we treated of the catholic question, we considered the point, whether James's primary views were directed to the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, or of arbitrary power; and shall, therefore, not enter again into that subject. We do not consider Mr. Serjeant Heywood's endeavours to shew the ascendancy of the love of power in the mind of James at all satisfactory, although we give him the greatest credit for ingenuity and research. He contends, that all that James desired was a *toleration* of his religion; and he enters with uncommon address into the exposition of the French word '*établissement*;' but we must have a faith in him strong enough to remove mountains of contrary evidence, before we can subscribe to his opinions on this subject. The Catholics have demonstrated, on many recent occasions, what they really understand by toleration; and if at any time they have been equivocal, their Protestant friends have explained them; and our readers have had many opportunities of judging whether by *toleration*, in the sense in which it is now used, any thing very short of *établissement* is really intended.

We have had a notable definition of '*toleration*,' a little time ago, in a very celebrated periodical work*; to which we refer our readers, if they doubt the luxuriance into which that word may be made to expand under proper cultivation†. What James himself designed by toleration, may be guessed at from

* See Edinburgh Review, No. XXXIII. page 1.

† See the article on the Catholic Question in No. I. of this Review.

the fact of his having dismissed the Duke of Queensberry, and the Earl of Rochester, on account of their refusing to become Catholics; and appointing Catholics to the high offices in the state. We cannot help asking, for it really forces itself upon us, what is there to prevent any future prince of this country from doing the same, if that which the Catholics of the present day contend for, and which is so modestly in sound, but emphatically in sense, called *emancipation*, be granted by the legislature?

It is true that James retained some Protestant advisers in his counsels; but modern events have proved, that Protestants in profession may be very zealous friends of the Catholics, especially if those Protestants do not happen to be attached to the Church of England. During his brother's reign, James might have contemplated little more than the toleration of the Catholic religion; and as far as the interests of Catholicism were comprehended under general toleration, Lauderdale and Queensberry were not bad instruments for promoting these objects. The cruel measures of the Duke of York for enforcing the test in favour of the Scotch Episcopalians are an excellent comment upon his real intentions in respect to the Test Act when King of England.

Mr. Serjeant Heywood seems a great deal too much to rely upon James's *declarations* as testimony of his true designs; we, on the contrary, cannot help looking to his acts as a better and safer criterion. After the dismissal of Queensberry, we believe he retained in his councils only those who were avowed Catholics, or prepared to assist his schemes in favour of popery.

James's conversion seems to have taken place in 1669. His long and industrious concealment of his conversion was occasioned by his fear of the passing of the Test Act. This act was passed about six months after his conversion: he received, however, the sacrament, according to the rites of our church, in 1672, about Christmas. On the 15th of the June following he openly avowed his reconciliation, and resigned his employments. To this religion James sacrificed a kingdom. He had certainly two objects in view; but let it never be forgotten that these objects were connected in spirit and principle, and it can not greatly signify which had the strongest hold on his affections. This much is certain, that at the beginning of his reign the parliament was slavishly forward in offering the means of acquiring absolute power. The bigoted prince, by the strong current of his prejudices, was precipitated upon the rock of superstition. Charles concealed his religion, because it interfered with his schemes of power. Why did not James pursue a simi-

lar course? because, though he loved power, he could not sacrifice to it his zeal for the Catholic religion, in which he really seemed to think the felicity of his future life was involved. It is said that he embraced popery, to confirm his interest with foreign powers; but it should be remembered, that Charles declined the proffered assistance of Colbert, declaring that nothing was so likely to occasion a revolt of the whole nation, as to shew them that he could support his authority by foreign forces. Strange infatuation! that knowing so much, he should have acted as he did!

The comments of the serjeant in p. 216, on the strong expressions of Mr. Rose in denouncing the conduct of the royal brothers, we do not think are correspondent to the candour with which his remarks are in general characterised.

The bill for the preservation of the person of James did certainly alter very materially the law concerning treasons. It will hardly be disputed by any lawyer but that Mr. Rose was mistaken, if he meant to include in his general proposition, that the conspiring to levy war against the king is a substantive act of high treason, within the statute of Edward the Third. We believe it to be perfectly established, upon the authorities of Mr. Justice Foster, Lord Chief Justice Holt, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, that conspiring to levy war may be an overt act of compassing the king's death, where there is evidence of a purpose and design thereby to destroy the king or to depose him. The temporary statute of James, above alluded to, made the bare conspiracy to levy war a substantive act of high treason.

The commencement of the doctrine of the divine right of kings in this country seems very properly to be assigned by the serjeant to the æra of the Reformation. We regret our want of room to lay his reasoning before the reader. Not that this was a genuine fruit of the Protestant religion, God forbid! but we are to recollect that the genuine effects, and if we may so say, the natural vegetation of Protestantism, was anticipated in England; and it was a great misfortune to it, that such a tyrant as Henry the Eighth had any hand in watering its roots. Thinking of the divine right of kings as we do, we cannot disagree with Mr. Fox in his observation, that it was a disgrace to the country that Charles the Second was permitted to prosecute his misgovernment to the end.

We have already thrown out some observations on the general character of the Duke of Monmouth. We shall yield, therefore, to our want of room, by making no further mention of him; except that it is absolutely due to Mr. Fox to class the

account, which he has given us of that unfortunate nobleman, among the best specimens of biographical writing. The delineation of Argyle's character, and the narrative of his misadventures, interest us no less; he has chiselled out the statue with the strokes of a Phidias, and has made it a monument of his own genius, while any relish of chaste diction and natural pathos shall exist in this country. Something, however, he has left wanting (which he might easily have supplied from existing documents), to the perfect delineation of that great man. Instead of ascribing all Argyle's excellent qualities to his natural disposition, it was due to the cause of religion to give them to a higher origin. From Woodrow we learn that, for several years previous to the last act of his life, Argyle had become fully impressed with the sublime truths of the Gospel, which had shed its most amiable influences on his mind. There can scarcely be a more interesting picture of the specific effects of Christianity on the heart of man, than that which his letters, during this period, present. They show him to be as much above other heroes, as Christian courage transcends constitutional bravery, or that which springs from the impulse of human motives. We will not enter into the difference between Mr. Rose and Mr. Serjeant Heywood, on the comparative merits of Montrose and Argyle. Clarendon seems to suggest the best distinction, by saying of Montrose, that he was more admirable than amiable. Argyle, with equal courage, possessed more of that softness, which, in our opinion, gives infinite attraction to heroism.

We cannot help being convinced, by Mr. Serjeant Heywood's reasoning, that the torture was at one time intended to be inflicted on Argyle. The torture was then in common use in Scotland; and some of the words of the warrant for Argyle's execution bear strong symptoms of such an intention. The words are these: "That you take all ways to know from him what concerns our government most." As we have indulged ourselves in but few extracts in this article, our readers will readily excuse us for presenting them with the serjeant's interesting detail of the instances, in which torture to extort confession has been used in England.

"Passing over Mr. Rose's observations upon the use of torture in Scotland, it may be remarked that he does not seem to be perfectly acquainted with the history of torture in the southern part of this island. To the law of England he is certainly justified in saying, from the highest authority, that it is utterly unknown; but he is not accurate in stating the case of Felton, who murdered the Duke of Buckingham, to be the only instance of an attempt to exercise it here, except when there was a design to introduce the civil law in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and except also the actual

application of the rack in some cases of treason in Queen Mary's time, mentioned in a note preceding his Appendix. If Mr. Rose had referred to Mr. Justice Blackstone's Commentaries, as we find him doing upon other occasions, he would have learnt that the use of the rack was not confined to the few instances mentioned by him. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, the rack or brake had been placed by the Earl of Exeter in the tower, when he and the Earl of Suffolk had formed the design of introducing the civil law into England. It was called Exeter's daughter, and remained afterwards in the Tower, 'where it was occasionally used as an engine of state, more than once in the reign of Elizabeth.' It may be suspected, from Mr. Rose having borrowed in part the expression of Blackstone, that he was aware of the before-mentioned passage, but misunderstood it. Though the use of the rack does not appear to have been known in this country until the 26th year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, and though it was never authorized by the law, yet to borrow the expression of Mr. Justice Blackstone, as 'an engine of state,' it was occasionally used to extort confession from state prisoners confined in the Tower, from the time of its introduction, until finally laid aside in consequence of the decision of the judges in Felton's case. One Hawkins was tortured in the reign of Henry the Sixth. And it is surprizing that the interesting case of Anne Askew, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, could have escaped the memory of Mr. Rose, the Lord Chancellor Wrottesley went to the Tower to take her examination, and, upon the lieutenant refusing to draw the cords tighter, drew them himself till her body was nearly torn asunder*. In Mary's reign, Mr. Rose has observed that several persons were racked in order to extort confessions, which was upon occasion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion. And Barrington mentions that in Oldmixon's History of England, (p. 284.) one Simpson is said to have been tortured in 1559, and a confession extorted,

"In the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the rack was used upon state offenders, among others, Francis Throgmorton; in 1571, upon Charles Baillie an attendant upon the Bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador, and upon Banastre, one of the Duke of Norfolk's servants, and Barker another of his servants was brought to confess by extreme fear of it. In 1581, Campion the Jesuit was put upon the rack, and in 1585, Thomas Morgan writes to the Queen of Scots, that he has heard D. Atslow was racked in the Tower twice about the Earl of Arundel. This is the last instance, which I have found, of the actual application of torture, to extort confession.

"For the greatest part of this reign, the application of torture in the examination of state offenders seems to have been in common use, and its legality not disputed. Mr. Daines Barrington says, that among the MS. papers of Lord Ellesmere is a MS. copy of

* There is a small book printed in black letter containing an account of the treatment and trial of Anne Askew, which contains many curious particulars.

Instructions to him, as the lord president of the Marches, to use it on the taking of some examinations at Ludlow; and Sir Edward Coke himself, in the year 1600, (the 43d of Elizabeth's reign) then being attorney general, at the trial of the Earls of Essex and Southampton, boasted of the clemency of the queen, because though the rebellious attempts were so exceeding heinous, yet yet out of her princely mercy 'no person was racked, tortured, or pressed to speak any thing further than of their own accord.' And in the Countess of Shrewsbury's case (10 Jac. 1.) when chief justice, in enumerating the privileges of the nobility, he mentions as one, that their bodies were not subject to torture in *causa criminis læsæ majestatis*. Barrington justly observes there was a regular establishment for torture, for, at his trial, in the first year of James the First, Sir Walter Raleigh stated that Kemish had been threatened with the rack, and the keeper of the instrument sent for. Sir William Wade, who with the solicitor general had taken his examination, denied it, but admitted they had told him he deserved it; and Lord Howard declared 'Kemish was never on the rack, the king gave charge that no rigour should be used.'

"Barrington mentions that Sir John Hayward, the historian, was threatened with the rack, which Dr. Grainger confirms; and the former also remarks that it is stated in King James's Works, that the rack was shewn to Guy Fawkes when under examination.

'Down to this period we do not find the legality of the practice had been questioned, though it has been said by higher authority, as will be stated presently, that some doubts had been suggested to Queen Elizabeth. State prisoners were confined usually in the Tower, and commissioners attended by the law officers of the crown, were sent to examine them, who applied the rack at their own discretion, or according to the orders of the privy council or the king, without any objection being made to their authority.

"In the third year of the reign of King Charles the First, Felton was threatened with the rack by the Earl of Dorset in the Tower, and Laud repeated the threats in council; but the king insisted upon the judges being consulted as to the legality of the application, and they being unanimously of opinion that it was illegal, it was never attempted afterwards. The answer, which Felton made to Laud's (then Bishop of London) threats, is well worthy of attention; when Laud told him 'if he would not confess he must go to the rack,' he replied, 'if it must be so, he could not tell whom he might nominate in the extremity of torture; and, if what he should say then was to go for truth, he could not tell whether his lordship (meaning the Bishop of London) or which of their lordships he might name, for torture might draw unexpected things from him.'

"In the year 1680, (32 Car. 2.) Elizabeth Cellier was tried at the Old Bailey before Mr. Baron Weston, for the publication of a libel, in which many circumstances were related for the purpose of inducing a belief that Prance, when a prisoner in Newgate, had been tortured there, and he was produced to prove the falsehood of the publication. The learned judge in summing up the evidence to the

jury said, 'But you must first know the laws of the land do not admit a torture, and since Queen Elizabeth's time there hath been nothing of that kind ever done. The truth is, indeed, in the twentieth year of her reign, Campion was just stretched upon the rack, but yet not so but he could walk; but when she was told it was against the law of the land to have any of her subjects racked, (though that was an extraordinary case, a world of seminaries being sent over to contrive her death, and she lived in continual danger) yet it was never done after to any one, neither in her reign, who reigned twenty-five years, nor in King James's reign, who reigned twenty-two years after, nor in King Charles the First's reign, who reigned twenty-four years after; and God in heaven knows there hath been no such thing offered in this king's reign; for I think we may say we have lived under as lawful and merciful a government as any people whatsoever, and have as little bloodshed and sanguinary executions as in any nation under heaven.' The learned judge may have been mistaken when stating Campion to be the last person racked, for in Murden's state papers, as before observed, one Atslowe is mentioned to have been tortured four years afterwards. Mr. Baron Weston states that, upon a suggestion made to Queen Elizabeth of the illegality of the practice, it was discontinued in her reign; and thus we may account for Campion being racked with so little severity, as to be able to walk afterwards and to manage the conferences with protestant doctors during his confinement in prison."

We have at length brought this long article to a conclusion; but we cannot take leave of Mr. Serjeant Heywood, without unfeignedly thanking him for his truly interesting and instructive researches. His matter is curious without being tedious, his diction is chaste without being frigid; and, upon the whole, we know of no writer who, as far as we can judge from the specimen now before us, is better qualified to carry on to its completion what was so well begun by his departed friend.

ART. II. *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.* Millar. 1811.

WERE we to estimate the value of a literary publication by the extent of the work, or the ability of its execution, the subject of this article would not have obtained a place in this Review. Yet these few pages, loosely filled and badly written, with Mr. West's two Letters to Lord Elgin in an Appendix, excite reflections and hopes of no common interest. They create, at the same time, most pleasing and most painful sentiments, by bringing at once under our view the eminence and the abjectness of the arts. They present to us, however, a most interesting prospect of their revival, and of their triumphant success in Great Britain at no distant period of time.

: This publication relates, that much has been performed by the exertions of Lord Elgin, in redeeming the specimens of sculpture and architecture which remained in Greece, and in transmitting them to England. On reading this splendid account, it is matter of some curiosity to know the name and character of the author. The publication is anonymous; yet, if the whole be not a fabrication, which incontrovertibly it is not, the writer, if not the hero, of the tale is some one mentally connected with his lordship; for he determines not only what Lord Elgin performed, but he presumes to specify what Lord Elgin "conceived." (p. 18.)

This folletto, or familiar of his lordship, begins by informing the public, that in the year 1799, when Lord Elgin was appointed his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, he happened * to be in frequent intercourse with Mr. Harrison, an architect of eminence in the west of England; who had there given various very splendid proofs of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. He proceeds to state that Lord Elgin wished to be informed by Mr. Harrison, in what manner the study of the architecture and sculpture of ancient Greece might be made most useful to the arts in England. Mr. Harrison answered, that the most exact measurement of Grecian buildings could never excite, in the young artist's mind, an adequate conception of the details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as might be conveyed by casts.

Mr. Harrison might better have said, that neither casts, nor even the originals in their unconnected state, could afford to an artist an adequate conception of the combinations or general effect of Grecian, or, indeed, of any other buildings.

Lord Elgin, in conformity to Mr. Harrison's advice, has executed, as far as circumstances would permit, all that was possible in this respect to serve the artists of Great Britain. When the originals could not be transmitted, he has produced the best evidence the nature of the case would admit; he has brought before the tribunal of artists attested copies—sensible representations of the works themselves. "Most of the bas-reliefs, and nearly all the characteristic features of architecture in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the moulds of them have been brought to London." (p. 6.)

* Why expressed as a casualty?

The entire charge of this undertaking was defrayed by Lord Elgin; this we think necessary to mention, for such was not his lordship's design at the commencement: as preparatory to his own actual proceedings, he applied to government to send out English artists of known ability, capable of collecting information concerning the existing specimens of architecture and sculpture in Greece (p. 3). This the government prudently declined. We make this remark emphatically, because we have heard that application has been again made to government, to purchase the relics of the arts gleaned by Lord Elgin's industry from ruined Greece; and that the request has been partly acceded to, though the parties differ considerably respecting the equivalent—government having offered 30,000*l.* and Lord Elgin requiring to be paid *only* what they cost him, that is, double or treble that sum. Whether this report be true or not, we cannot determine; but a suspicion arises, that though the professed motive for publishing this "Memorandum" be to promote a subscription to have engravings and casts made of the various articles brought from Greece, and thus to multiply their means of serving the artists and the arts in England, the latent purpose is to excite a popular feeling in favour of Lord Elgin's claims to remuneration. That Lord Elgin should be repaid, if his fortune will not permit him to enjoy the independent glory of presenting gratuitously these riches to his country, is undoubted; but this should be performed by his opulent countrymen, who delight in contemplating works of art, or who apply them to add loveliness to luxury.

We have heard it said, indeed, that the riches of England depend on the arts; and, therefore, such collections are of public importance. The opulence of England depends, in some measure, on the arts; and all things connected with them are of public importance. But, it may be doubted whether the arts of painting and statuary, to which the epithet 'liberal' has, perhaps, been too exclusively applied, are of such political consequence, that those at the head of state-affairs can be justified in diverting a portion of the national revenue to their indirect or probable advancement. Surely he must be a dilettante of the first water, to borrow the phrase of a great man and auctioneer, 'now no more,' who would have the produce of taxes, so hardly spared by the labourer and the mechanic, applied, in these times of debt and difficulty, to purchase fragments even of Grecian art.

For these spoils of Greece, not wrested by war and violence, but fairly gained by industry and barter, the English are

greatly obliged to Lord Elgin. Without his exertions, many of the most precious specimens would have been transferred to France, whose agents had already removed some portions of Grecian magnificence to that country; and who remained at Athens, waiting the return of French influence at the Porte, to renew their operations.

Europe at large is indebted to Lord Elgin; for his efforts were not merely directed to a contest between England and France on this occasion, but between ignorance and art, between philosophy and superstition. The zeal of the early Christians in this respect co-operated with the triumphs of Mahomet; and the arms of his followers, in obedience to their religion, directly attacked every artificial resemblance of animate or inanimate nature. The iconoclastic fury of the Mahometans has not been extinguished after ten centuries of profligate indulgence in destruction. This, with other causes, has tended to make every succeeding age more deficient in the remains of ancient sculpture and architecture. To mention a single instance. When Wheler and Spon visited Athens in 1676, the temple of Minerva, called Parthenon, was entire; but in the year 1687, says Stuart (vol. ii. p. 3), "Athens was besieged by the Venetians under the Proveditore Morisini and Count Korningsmark; when an unlucky bomb falling on this admirable structure, reduced it to the state in which we saw it." Stuart reached Athens in 1751. Let us however observe, that hostility to the arts is not among the crimes of the descendants of the ancient Greeks; they rejoice in their ancestry, and in many respects show themselves not unworthy of their progenitors. They cannot sing with Pindar, nor paint with Apelles, nor carve with Phidias; yet they cherish the arts with such fondness, that it is customary with the peasants to place, in a niche over the door of their cottages, any fragment of sculpture they discover in cultivating their lands. The same retrospective affection is declared in more important matters; for though they cannot make war on the Great King, or repel the aggressions of his successor, they talk familiarly of the exploits of their ancestry in the heroical ages. Here *our* fleet lay, said a Greek to Guy, a French traveller; alluding to the confederate armament that sailed to Troy in Homer's song. The spirit of Greece is *not dead, it sleepeth*. May it be England's glory, under God's providence, to complete the miracle; and rescue from their abasement that people, whose fathers, by their celebrity in every art, exalted humanity.

It is reasonable to suppose that the account of Lord Elgin's pursuits is favourably given by the author; and though we do

not wish to detract from his lordship's merits, some remarks are made in the "Memorandum" with such extravagance, that we cannot avoid making a few strictures upon them.

We are told that Canova deprecated restoring some mutilations of the figures, saying, "that it would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel." (p. 40.) From the works of that great artist, as well those that are finished, as those that are now in progress, which we have seen, we would say it was a compliment in the Asiatic lapidary style, and should not have been reported to the world. We are also told, that "one of the groups of female statues so rivetted and agitated the feelings of Mrs. Siddons, as actually to draw tears from her eyes!" We admit that the stage-effect of such a display of tears would have been good; but if our author witnessed them, we would venture to ask him, whether he ever heard of Cicero's censure of one, who said he saw with his eyes?

The author seems to be unreasonably offended with those who have called certain vases Etruscan. He asserts, that they are referable to the Grecians who colonised Italy. To substantiate this he writes, that "those (vases) found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Ægina, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the indubitable claim of the Greeks to the invention and perfection of this art: few of those, in the collections of the King of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some which Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them." (p. 30.) This we conceive is no proof; as those in Lord Elgin's possession, known to be Grecian, are admitted, by this statement, to be inferior to those in the possession of others, and hitherto called Etruscan. Besides, where is the necessity for believing that the Etrurians derived this art through Greece? Strabo states, that Etruria was colonised by the Greeks as early as the Trojan war; a period of time when no one, we suppose, imagines that the Grecians excelled in forming ornamental vases of any kind; yet, shortly after this event, the same geographer speaks of Pisæ, a town in Etruria, in the following terms, which we give in the Latin version:—

"Civitas autem ipsa felix quondam fuisse videtur, neque hoc tempore sane ignobilis, aut obscura est propter frugum copias, sanorum opera, navalem materiam, quæ priscis armis ad maritima utebantur discrimina." (Lib. v. vol. ii. p. 405.)

A more favourable account could not be given of Athens, considering the age to which this description refers. There are also other reasons to support the propriety of the common

opinion. It is notorious that the Greeks learned the rudiments of the arts from the Egyptians; and it is reasonably proved by Count Caylus (*Recueils d'Antiquités*, tome i. p. 70), that the Egyptians traded with the Etrurians. If, therefore, the vases called Etrurian are to be attributed to the Grecians, because the Etrurians learned this art from the Grecians, the merit of the manufacture should be attributed to the Egyptians, who gave the first design of them to the Greeks. But it is quite whimsical to ascribe the whole merit of any production to those from whom an art may be originally derived. How absurd would it be to refer the reputation of the Silesian weavers to the Spaniards, because some of the terms of their manufacture are of Spanish derivation; or that of our silk-weavers to the Italians, for the same reason; or the tapestry of the Gobelins at Paris to the Saracens, because those formerly employed in that fabric were so denominated.

As an Appendix to the Memorandum, two Letters are added, from the President of the Royal Academy; who hints, that in consequence of Lord Elgin's endeavours, Athens has been transported to Piccadilly. The president also hopes that these specimens of the arts brought from Greece "will be the means of enlightening the public mind, and correcting the national taste to a true estimation of what is really valuable and dignified in art." That this hope will not be gratified, we suspect; and one reason for our suspicion is the use that Mr. West has made of them. It is as follows:

"From the centaurs in alto-relievo (says he), I have taken the figures of the most distinguished eminence, and formed them into groups for painting; with these, and female figures of my own, I have composed the Battle of the Centaurs.

"From the equestrian statues in relievo, I have formed the composition of Theseus and Hercules in triumph over the Amazons, having made their queen Hippolita prisoner.

"From the large figure of Theseus, I have drawn a figure of that hero. Before him, on the ground, I have laid the dead body of the Minotaur, &c.

"From the figure of Neptune, I have composed Neptune reclining, with his left arm upon the knees of Amphitrite; and with his right he strikes the earth with his trident, and creates the horse, &c."

This summary he concludes with an account of his composition of Alexander and his horse Bucephalus. We trust the president will introduce himself, according to the story of Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrr. Hypot. lib. i. p.*), in the character of Apelles in a rage, composing the foam with a sponge!

Then we are to conclude, that to paint minotaurs and centaurs, and Alexander and his horse, is really valuable and dignified in art. Poetry and painting have been called sister arts, and they have been employed by many writers, ancient and modern, to illustrate each other. When poetry revived in Europe, the subjects were taken from antiquity; and the different theatres of Europe represented Orestes, Jocasta, Hecuba, and heroes and heroines of that cast. This servility has ceased; and no one at this time pretending to poetry seems disposed to revive it, except John Joshua, Earl of Carysfort, who, though admitting "that heroic tales of antiquity have lost their currency," dramatises Mithridates, Polyxena, and similar stories. Indeed, so entirely is mythology banished from our poetry, that to name the powers of nature after the Pagan hierarchy has been condemned by critics. Yet now we have Mr. West prospectively announcing the improvement of English taste in his art, and giving, as specimens to ameliorate the national feeling, paintings of Neptune, and Theseus, and Hercules, and amazons, and monsters, and "chimeras dire." This is to imitate the ancients *κατὰ τοὺς*; making their footsteps the measure of our motions. Such subjects are unsuited to us, either as poets or painters. What was historical to them, is worse than mythological to us. If these be the auspicious efforts which are to enlighten the public mind on the subject of painting, and if Mr. West's account of his own advance may stand for that of his brother artists (and Barry began with painting Jupiter and Juno, and ended with painting the birth of Pandora), painting is at least two centuries behind poetry in the good sense of its respective devotees. Indeed, modern painters have only reached the schoolboys class; while modern poets, we except two outrageous violators of measure and imagination, have been for some time inscribed among those who have attained manhood. What Strabo (lib. ii.) said of the Numidians, that they could not cultivate their fertile fields until the wild beasts, which infested them from the interior of Africa, "*ferarum immanium nutritrix*," were destroyed, may be applied to our painters: the obtruding monsters of Pagan antiquity must be extirpated from the domain of the arts, before our artists can fulfil the destination of their genius.

How has the president availed himself, on another occasion, of the models of antiquity? He says, addressing Lord Elgin, "The subject of our Saviour receiving the blind and sick in the Temple to heal them I have conducted on those dignified principles of refined art, which I found so superior in the Athenian sculpture, with which you have enriched your country,"

He speaks "of the visible signs of that internal life;" and that "it was the representation of these emotions of life which the philosophers among the Greeks recommended to their sculptors, at a period when their figures were but little removed from Egyptian statues." This is most true; but there was another object which the ancient artists represented, we mean action. This makes no part of the design of Mr. West's painting: "the subject," says this artist, "is our Saviour receiving the blind and sick in the Temple to heal them;" and not according to the directors of the British Institution, in their advertisement for subscribers to the intended engraving, "Christ healing the sick in the Temple." It is not so, nor so stated by Mr. West. The picture signifies barely their redemption; for though the central figure shows hope and confidence, all the surrounding figures are inert. The painting displays nothing doing, nothing done; whereas the ancient statuary and painters represented a scene of action; and the Italians have imitated them, as in the cartoon of Michael Angelo, which represented an event in the war between the Florentines and Pisans, mentioned by Vasari; and as in the cartoons of Raphael, in which Ananias is struck to the earth; or Elymas the sorcerer is struck blind, and seen groping his way in the dark. Love of action has been carried to excess by the French school of David, though Lenoir praises the chasteness of that artist's designs; and though Mons. Real, in his Exposition of a French Code of Laws*, praises the simplicity and severity of all the arts in modern France; and, as a specimen of the austere character of its rhetoric, stops not in his career of praising Bonaparte, till he pronounces him Hercules. The modern French school, to use a revolutionary phrase, displays its figures, on all occasions, with an imposing attitude; their models seem to have been instructed by ballad-masters of the opera. How superior, in these respects, to both the French and English artists, were the ancient masters in the art; whether we consider the retiring modesty of the Venus, or the vehement animation of the Apollo! If Mr. West had intended to express the artist's skill, or the power of our Saviour, the blind should show signs of returning sight, the frantic of returning reason, and the sick of convalescence.

* "Au moment où s'élaborait le nouveau code criminel, les idées de ce style sévère et simple; que de grands talents avaient introduit dans les beaux arts étaient emparées de tous les esprits." *Motifs du Code d'Instructions Criminel*, p. 198.—This is, however, quite mild, to the rhetoric of another orator. "Le grand et le bon peuple, fier d'avoir un monarque si grand pour l'univers et si bon pour ses sujets, qui ne veulent plus le louer que par leur amour et le récompenser que par leur bonheur." *Exposé des Motifs, &c.* Code de Commerce, p. 26.

Mr. West has observed, that the philosophers of Greece gave instructions to the artists of their country, and that they availed themselves of their advice. There was one canon of the art, which, though it was of the first importance with the Grecian artists, Mr. West either never heard of, or wholly despises. They held, that no expression should offend the beauty of form; they preserved grace in figures suffering the utmost anguish—as in the dying gladiator. Even in the Laocoon, the *χαλόν* and the *πρεπον* are preserved, which conforms to the doctrine of philosophy in moral life. “To grieve,” said Chrysippus, “may be the part of a wise man, but not to be excruciated.” (*Apud Stobæum Sermo*, vii. p. 87.)

Against this rule Mr. West has transgressed, as have many moderns. Michael Angelo led the way, who drew from Danté. Not that we should conclude that he could have rivalled Phidias in statuary, who was directed by the sketches of Homer; and we have seen that Mr. West, some years since, and Mr. Fuseli last year, drew their figures of Satan without the least regard to Milton's description of that personage, which vastly transcends Homer's portrait of Jupiter in the attributes of tremendous majesty.

Michael Angelo lived at the dawn of the arts, but Mr. West has no such excuse. Indeed, he himself says, “that he has had the singular good fortune, by his lordship's liberality, to select from the first productions of sculpture which ever adorned the world in that department of art, which neither Raphael, nor any of the distinguished masters, had the advantage of seeing, much less of studying, since the revival of the art.” Yet has this artist offended most egregiously against the above-mentioned principle of the ancients, in this celebrated picture. The execution of the artist must be admitted to be admirable; yet, still we cannot quite subscribe to the propriety of exhibiting the inmates of hospitals on canvas, unless, as in Raphael's cartoon of the beautiful gate of the Temple, the countenance of the patient shews that the healing principle is already on its road from the heart to the extremities, or other unequivocal symptoms of renovated life are displayed.

We cannot help thinking also, that Mr. West has exhibited his art at the expence of effect, which in a painting should be single, by introducing a multiplicity of figures. In a design of Michael Angelo on the same subject, the prominent figures are not one-eighth so numerous. By this he avoided the necessity of introducing an episodical group, or any character which might disturb the harmony of the scene, as Mr. West seems to us to have done by his Jewish priests and Judas.

Michael Angelo, by treating the subject in a different manner, exhibits our Saviour at large, whereas in Mr. West's painting he seems pressed by the throng. We conceive that the leading personage in a painting should be distinguished by his station; if he appear crowded, a feeling of difficulty and incommodiousness is excited in the beholder. Crowding should not be admitted, except where difficulty and confusion are intended by the artist—as is the case in battle pieces, and similar subjects. This, however, is a small objection, compared to that which may be made to the general loathsomeness of the objects presented to us. We do not know what can be offered to excuse the artist: it was his own choice, and intended, as we have heard, as a present to his native city in America. To assimilate painting to poetry, Crabbe, one of the favourite poets of the present day, has been justly censured for indulging in that fault, which we have attributed to Mr. West, of exhibiting figures that are positively offensive: yet is the painter, (though Titian indifferently calls his painting of Perseus and Andromeda a poem,) a greater offender on such occasions than the poet; because one speaks to the imagination, and the other to the sight. Thence, what is agreeable in poetry may be the reverse in painting: and, for the same reason, a representation on the stage will please, which would displease in real life. This is admitted by Vernet in his *Theory of Agreeable Sensations*, c. 4, though he mistakes the cause—the true cause being, that the effect is moderated in its scenic exhibition. Thus also, that which would offend, if exposed to view, would be amusing if related.—

Things which offend, when present, and affright,
In memory well painted, move delight.

Lucretius has versified the plague of Athens, and other Roman poets have followed his example; but what Grecian or Roman painter would have dared to exhibit that scene to the people? If any had, we doubt whether the art of Apelles and Polygnotus would have excused him; and we know that Phrynicus, who composed the capture of Miletus, was fined a thousand drachmæ by the Athenians, on account of the sorrow he excited among them by his dramatic exhibition of that catastrophe. (Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 21). To such sentiments we must accede, believing with the ancients, that objects either odious or horrible should not be publicly exhibited, though Lord Kaimes might call this effeminacy of spirit, as he has termed the objections made to the frequent murders acted on the English theatre. (*Elements of Criticism*, c. 22.)

Yet we do not mean to say that the ancients never transgressed

in presenting what was offensive to taste and feeling: there are proofs of the contrary, but they were by no means so common as they have been among the moderns—for, what are all the murders of the Innocents, the martyrdoms, the slayings, the flagellations, and the crucifixions? However dignified, noble, and impressive they may be in their appropriate situations in the churches, they cannot, perhaps, be denied to be the transgressions of the art, though the greatest painters are among the offenders.

So much should painters avoid these subjects, that many legitimate passions should be excited only to a moderate degree. Herodotus (lib. iii. c. 14) relates a circumstance explanatory of this proposition. Psammeticus beheld his son pass to execution, and his daughter reduced to slavery, without emotion; but on beholding an old acquaintance asking alms, he struck his head, and shed tears. This induced the conqueror to ask, why he betrayed his feelings on the inferior occasion? He answered, "My domestic misery exceeded my power of expressing my grief; but this man's misery," &c.—What is excessive overpowers, producing astonishment, stupefaction, insanity.

There is a violation of sentiment which owes its origin to the ancients, and has been continued by some moderns, which we wish to notice,—the introduction of the Caryatides* into architecture. Vitruvius mentions, that the inhabitants of Caryæ, a city of Peloponnesus, had in remote times joined the Persians against Greece, and that the Greeks, after the expulsion of the Persians, having declared war against them, took and destroyed their city, slew the men, and enslaved the women; and to aggravate the infamy of this people, they made the chief women continue to wear their ornamented dress during their captivity: yet this accumulated vengeance on the unoffending women did not satiate the conquerors, as their architects placed the women of Caryæ as statues, instead of columns in the public edifices. That the Caryatides owed their creation to the worst of passions, we make no doubt; but where is the propriety of the imitation of them by the moderns, as in the instance by Goujon in the Louvre? This is worse than stupid; the Greeks had their revenge, and terror to plead as their excuse, and the Roman buildings were generally conducted by Grecian artists: yet so jejune is our invention, and so dull is imitation, that to load female figures with a heavy entablature has been considered ornamental in architecture. These remarks on the Caryatides seem obvious; yet at present we only recollect a single writer who has incidentally condemned the use of them. Vitruvius has not no-

* One of the Caryatides was brought over from Athens by Lord Elgin.

used it, nor Perrault his French translator, nor Dappa*, though he condemns the use of drunken men in upholding buildings. (Life of Michael Angelo, p. 198.) This however is only capricious, while the other is monstrous. Let me add, for due praise should be mingled with merited reproof, that an improvement has been lately effected in this respect. Instead of Caryatides supporting edifices, we are now treated with mermaids supporting salt-sellers. On this invention, (so active are our enterprising countrymen when they receive encouragement,) certain city artists of ardent fancy have, with surpassing taste and skill, greatly improved; we have been informed, but we do not pledge our responsibility for the fact, that they exhibited donkies with panthers of salt at the Prince Regent's fete, in opposition to the mermaids, and to the discomfiture of their rival artists with their ancillary salt-sea monsters.

All things monstrous seem to us unworthy of the arts of design. Horace censures such motley forms, as man and horse, and woman and fish. Yet such incongruities are not unknown in statuary and painting, witness the sphinxes, and satyrs, and minotaurs subdued, and centaurs embattled. Why did not Mr. West imagine a battle between St. George and the Dragon, or rather between the Blefuscudians and Lilliputians? Either story is more our own, and the latter would have the additional merit of novelty on canvas; for we verily believe, that the fights between the cranes and pigmies escaped the masters of design both of Greece and Rome.

Among monstrous things, to place the wings of a bird on a human form, is not the least offence against decorum. Yet it is common to most painters of after times in their delineation of angelic forms; though not unknown to ancient artists: and Plato, in his Phædrus, (p. 1225, *opéra omnia*) speaks of the soul pulling its wings; on which occasion, he says, it feels the same prurient path that children do when cutting their teeth. Hogarth, in his Analysis, had long since reprobated this practice; yet Mr. West has displayed angels in the last exhibition so attired. It is worse than vulgar; it is repugnant to nature, actual or imaginary; it depreciates the power of the messenger, to give him the appointment of a bird; it is useless; it is to feather an arrow directed by miraculous command—

Chaf'd by the speed, it fir'd, and as it flew,
A tail of following flames ascending drew.

* This author says, that M. Angelo had some strange notions concerning the coincidence between the proportions of architecture and those of the human form, for which he cannot account. May it not be referred to Vitruvius, lib. iii. c. 1.?

Painters have added to this absurdity, by exhibiting the wings of their angels always unsheathed, even when those to whom they are appended tread the firm earth—thus they resemble Spenser's monster, "half flying, and half footing," in their transit. Painters should have learned from winged animals, to whom these their creatures are related by their pinions, that even ostriches, when they walk, furl their wings; for they and all birds employ their wings not for ornament, but use. Indeed, such plumed sprites are only fit for an Asiatic mythology; for the Grindouseers, who are described by Sonnerat, "as having wings, and flying in the air with their wives." Our fairies, and witches, despise such appendages; the volatile attribute of the former being, as we conjecture, a conical bonnet, and the latter being satisfied "to ride in the whirlwind" on a broomstick. At all events, painters should dress their angels with wings only on extraordinary occasions, till the happy time arrive prophesied by Bishop Wilkins, whose expectation it was that in the next age flying would become so customary, that it would be as usual to hear one call for his wings when he was going a journey, as it is now to hear one order his boots.

Many monstrous representations, we imagine, arose from allegory. Our poets dealt largely in such mysteries, so did our painters: modern poets have not followed their predecessors, though modern painters have, to whose art this fantastic extravagance is much less agreeable. Allegorical figures in painting, or poetry, may be employed as decorations, but they cannot without great offence make the principal persons of the fable. A painting, or a poem, in one continued allegory, must be obscure; and to paint in allegory is to write in cypher.

It is observable, that allegories have frequently lost their aerial character, and have after a period of probation been naturalized into the world of realities. While we resist the assertion of Chrysippus, (Cicero de Natura deorum, lib. i.) Harduin, (Apologie d'Homere, p. 306.) and Terrason, (preface to Diodorus Siculus, p. 8.) that all the Pagan fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, and Homer, represented the powers of nature, we agree that many originally did so. By time and repetition allegories were reputed historical relations; as metaphors, by frequent use, have been received as common instead of appropriate expressions: yet this will not excuse many representations of the ancient artists; and nothing can account for moderns enduring these gross impertinences, except a superstitious and besotted submission to their remote predecessors. Similar conceits in other systems are treated with the utmost contempt. "The Kshetri," says Moore, (Hindu Infanticide, p. 2.)

"is fabled to have sprung from the arm of Brahma, and the word means protection." Callee, says Maurice, (*Hindostan*, vol. i. part ii. p. 184,) sprang from the eye of Durga, the warrior goddess, when oppressed in battle by the demons and giants. Such recitals strike us as absurd in the extreme, yet the same is the tale of Paganism, and their artists have added to this hideous nonsense by embodying it on marble. The author of the "Memorandum" states, "that the tympanum over each of the porticos of the Parthenon was adorned with statues; that which was over the grand entrance of the temple from the west contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jupiter. In the centre of the group was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty of the sovereign of the gods; on his left were the principal divinities of Olympus; among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand, which had cleft a passage for the goddess." (p. 13.)

Many shadowy appearances, the mere creatures of unauthorized fancy, cannot be portrayed without offending the nature of their being. In opposition to this rule, Mr. Fuseli has committed infinite extravagances. Claude chose the evening and morning for displaying his designs; Rubens painted in the glare of mid-day; Rembrandt in the gloom, and other artists have pursued occasionally the same course. But Mr. Fuseli disdains to be classed with any artist, unless Heraclitus be reputed of this description, who was called *εχθρῆτος*, the obscure, (Clement. *Stomata*, lib. v. p. 571). For Mr. Fuseli has not merely wandered into the regions of allegory, but of unmixed horror; ghosts, witches, death's heads, and all spasmodic abortions, are of the family of this artist; the proper associate of the author of the *Tales of Terror*.

We have thus dared to state, in opposition to the performances of artists, ancient and modern, what we conceive *not* to be "really valuable and dignified in art," and in opposition both to the practice and opinion of Mr. West. We think, that nothing can be dignified in art, which is itself deficient in dignity; and that monsters, and mythology, are peculiarly obnoxious to this rule, or rather, they are in direct hostility to it. Aristotle recommends the young to study chiefly the paintings of Polygnotus, and of those artists who are *ethical* in their designs. Such may enlighten the public mind and correct the national taste, and such are truly valuable and dignified in art. But, perhaps, our readers will think it high time to vary a little the course of our investigation.

The "Memorandum," and Mr. West's letters, call on the public to patronize the fine arts. Mr. West's words are, "you

may be assured, my lord, that unless England establishes the means of cultivating the exalted class of arts within herself, she will never be intitled to participate with Greece and Rome in the honour they acquired in the fine arts." To what means does the president allude? Does he refer to Mr. Shee's project in his *Elements of Art*, of having professorships of painting established in the universities? or to have public galleries furnished and upheld at the expence of the nation? Were these the means adopted by the Grecians, for, as to the Romans, their best artists were Greeks, or of Grecian education? No—but the ancient Greeks were themselves excellent models for the painter and statuary. Stuart speaks of the inhabitants of modern Greece in the following terms: "There is a great sprightliness and expression in the countenance of both sexes, and their persons are well proportioned. The men have a due mixture of strength and agility, without the least appearance of heaviness; the women have peculiar elegance of form." (Stuart's *Athens*, vol. i. p. 10, preface). This is a capital reason why the Grecians should excel in the arts of design; nor can any artist where these living models do not exist attain distinction in painting the human figure. The Dutch artists, to turn from history to landscape, may paint flats, and stagnant waters, and opaque skies. But to represent on canvas the precipitous daring of Salvator, or to diffuse the mellow splendour of Claude, is wholly beyond their power, for their country affords no studies to direct their judgment, no scenes to inspire their imagination. The Grecians were not merely such, as Stuart describes them, vigorous and elegant in their proportions; but by means of their gymnastic exercises, and the frequent and general use of the bath, they displayed their finished forms in every attitude which could indicate grace, power, or passion.

Their artists were also indefatigable in their studies: the uninterrupted assiduity of Apelles has been proverbial—"Apelli, (qui omnes prius genitos futurosque superavit) fuit alioquin perpetua consuetudo, nunquam tam occupatam diem agendi ut non lineam dicendo, exerceret artem." And we are told, that the same may be said of Michael Angelo. When in the height of his reputation, says Duppa, (p. 25.) "he was indefatigable by observation and study, to improve and elevate his style." Of this there is no doubt; and there is another coincidence between the greatest modern and ancient genius in the art of design. Not satisfied with their superiority to their contemporaries, they laboured to surpass their own unrivaled productions. "Apelles inchoaverat, aliam Venerem Cois, superatus etiam suam illam priorem." This figure, which Apelles did not live to finish, some silly people

said that the painter had left as a defiance to posterity, to complete. The same many have said of two statues of Michael Angelo in Florence; which in fact the artist, improving beyond his own productions as he proceeded in his works, abandoned in order to execute still happier efforts. In one most important point, the ancient artists differed from Michael Angelo, they ultimately confined themselves to a single art; at least, none at the same time equally cultivated painting, statuary, and architecture.

The ancient artists of eminence laboured their productions for many years; Agathoreus, the Vouet of the ancients, said, he valued himself on the readiness of his execution. "I," said Zeuxis, "boast the slowness with which I execute mine." (Plutarch Pericles). Such also was the conduct of Phidias, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔργον ὅσον ἔδωκε καὶ σχολῆς πλείονος εἰς τὰ ἔργα.* (Themistius Orat. 25. p. 309.).

The same is related of Protogenes, who employed seven years in executing the painting of Jalyus, (Plutarch Demetrius). Those artists who are hasty in their performances can only attain a transitory reputation, like the improvisatori, who in their way left Tasso without any pretensions to poetry. Tasso, who will live longer than the whole herd, with all their imitators in Italy, France, and Britain; one of whom boasted, that he outran the press in the hurry with which he composed his vanities.

The ancients had no notion, as some moderns have, that it is practicable to paint, or write, or speak, or administer public affairs, without long preparation and perpetual study. They had no extravagant idea, that the same man could indifferently suit any situation; they had no conceit that genius could perform what it pleased by a spontaneous energy; they boasted no such trifler, or if any such existed, his name has not reached our times, as De Piles, who in his Principles of Painting writes, "that in the pieces of Rubens, art is above nature, and nature only a copy of that great master's works." They knew the servitude of art to nature. Their utmost power was to observe, select, and dispose, those beauties which were lavished through the visible world; Under this impression, and by such means, they presented to their own, and all future ages,

A combination, and a form indeed,
Where every God did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.

It deserves to be everlastingly repeated to all artists and to all men, that the force of genius, to be fully effectual, depends first on education, then on the science imparted. To commence painter without science, says Leonardo da Vinci (*Trattato della Pittura*, lib. i. c. 23), is to navigate without a helm or compass.

Let the most creative genius give to others all those things for which he is obliged to them, and how small will be his property in his own productions! Many have been considered the authors of inventions (which, observe, are commonly accidental), because those who preceded them were forgotten. It has been said by Johnson, that we owe to Gay the ballad opera. It may be so; but it is certain that the Beggar's Opera was first acted towards the end of the year 1727, and it is equally certain that a pantomime was exhibited at Drury-lane Theatre before that period, the hero of which was the notorious John Shepherd. The scenes represented "real places of action," says the author (*Select Trials at the Old Bailey*, vol. ii. p. 147), and the composer was Mr. Thurmond. To this pantomime succeeded a farce, in three acts, having the same hero, entitled, *The Prison Breaker*; which, though printed, was not acted. Some time afterwards it was intermixed with songs and catches, and was performed at Bartholomew Fair, by the name of the Quaker's Opera.

To exemplify this position, we will offer an instance more immediately suitable to our present subject. Vasari (tom. ii. p. 262,) said that Van Eyck, a Fleming, was the inventor of painting in oil; but Malvasia (*Felsina Pittrice*, lib. i. p. 27,) has shown that oil paintings were executed in 1407, some years before the time fixed by Vasari. Dominici (*Vite de Pittori Napol.* lib. i. p. 107), penetrates further into antiquity, and proves that paintings were executed in a similar substance at Naples so early as the year 1300; and Lessing quotes, from a manuscript written in the tenth or the eleventh century, certain instructions for tempering colours with oil. Invention, when not the effect of casualty, merely advances the improvement of others. Consider the equestrian statue of Peter the First at St. Petersburg, if it be compared to the lubberly figures in our public squares, it is creation; but compare it to other statues in Europe, and Falconet will only enjoy a rational triumph. Regard the mode of supporting the horse by the hind legs and tail, as represented by an equestrian statue at Salzburg, a work otherwise of little note; and the equestrian statue at Madrid of Philip the Fourth, cast by Pedro Tacca, of Florence, from a design of Diego Valasquez. Considering these only with the posture of Marcus Aurelius on horseback at the Campidoglio, in Rome, and the writhing serpent, which popular opinion has made familiar, and the equestrian statue of Peter the First, that prodigy of art, animation, nay, of actual flight, must be reputed, in effect, as the work of many artists combined in one form, by a single but superior mind.

Another cause, and if not the greatest, one which was blended with all others, of the superiority of the fine arts at Athens, was

the nature of the government. The Athenians, we know, excelled all other nations in oratory, in statuary, in architecture; and there are many reasons for believing that they equally excelled in painting and music. If this be true, and if it be also certain that there is a consent and harmony among all the arts, it is a problem worthy the solution of our wisest men, how the Athenian, the worst government, according to their apprehensions, should boast architects, statuary, painters, orators, historians, &c. of such power in their respective departments, that it is the object of the enlightened to collect a few fragments of their designs from Attica, and a few pages of the works of their scholars from Herculaneum.

Having stated some of those particulars which tended to advance the arts in Greece, let us briefly mention a few causes, which have opposed their advancement in Great Britain. It may perhaps be said, that England does not afford such models as Greece; at least, in the same abundance, for the use of the statuary and painter. A celebrated artist of Italy, in a letter to Balthazar Castiglione, attributes the backwardness of the arts of design partly to the deficiency of living models; his words are:—"Ma essendo carestia di boni giudici et di belle donne, &c." (Descrit. Pitt. di Raf. p. 242.) We suspect that our judges are far less admirable for their skill, than our females for their beauty.

Without good models we repeat, that all the statuary and paintings of Greece could not make a good artist; for they could not impart that which they do not and cannot possess. Any work taken exclusively from them is only a copy of a copy. There is a freedom and spirit in a first draught, that the same artist cannot preserve in a copy, even of his own performance. It has been often affirmed and frequently felt, that those painters who make ancient sculptures their peculiar study show a monumental coldness in their pictures. Ancient statuary should be studied, as the rules of science exemplified; but the paramount study, the master of the ancients and moderns, is the living world.

It is not only necessary that there be good models in a nation, but an abundance of them. Morland's wife and sisters were almost his only female models; hence arose his want of variety in his female figures. Even had these women been beautiful and well proportioned, want of variety would have limited the reputation of this artist; besides, where good models are not numerous, there is the greatest probability that the artist will begin to copy from an inferior description, because the cheapest and most obvious. This educates a bad style and a vulgar taste,

which will never be reformed even when means and occasions may command the best. Rubens never could correct his early impressions. His Graces may receive the name with which Henry the Eighth complimented his wife Anne of Cleves on first seeing her: his Pegasus, in the Lichtenstien gallery at Vienna, is a mere Flanders draught-horse.

Admitting that human nature is in the highest degree lovely in Great Britain, how are artists to take advantage of it? how is human nature to be recognized by them? we admit no gymnastic exercises, and who can regret the circumstance, unless it be one whose moral taste yields in strength to his taste for the fine arts? The ladies, indeed, by their modern modes of dress, have done their best to remunerate the artists by models of the *female figure*, for the loss which they have sustained of *male studies*, by the abolition of gymnastic exercises. It is for the profession, however, to determine, whether the number of originals for those *ethical designs* so strongly recommended by Aristotle be not thereby diminished. The rarity in Great Britain of beholding *man as he is*, in order to enable artists to honour their profession, is acknowledged in the following passage from the "Memorandum." "From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make at the request of professional men, a strong impression had been created that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, cannot so effectually be promoted as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works; the distinguishing merit of which is an able, ingenious, but exact, imitation of nature." Whether the contrivance be more absurd, or the language in which it is related be more perplexed, we leave to the judgment of others; yet still this proves the want of living models in Great Britain.

Artists are also prevented from adopting national subjects on account of the national dress. They are thus placed in a miserable dilemma, either of appealing to the taste of their countrymen on subjects not interesting to their feelings and habitudes, or of exhibiting men in buckram. Survey Lord Nelson's Death, by Mr. West, in the last exhibition; the figures seem stuck into the canvas like the compartments of wainscoting, and when mingled with other figures of a picturesque description, as in Mr. West's Death of General Wolfe, they are only less offensive than William Penn, in his Quaker dress, amidst the immortals in Barry's Elysium.

Many have attributed the backwardness of the arts in England to the established religion, which is too simple in its principles, and too pure in its general character to offer to the fine arts.

an opportunity to display their powers to the same extent as the latitude of the Romish churches in this respect allows. It has also been remarked in corroboration of this opinion, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, though the dean and chapter had acquiesced, did refuse a proposal to decorate St. Paul's with subjects taken from the New Testament. But those who censure those ecclesiastics do not sufficiently observe, that Barry, who made this proposal, was, though an English artist, an Irish catholic, and perhaps it might be thought that in a matter of that kind, a person of his persuasion could not be safely trusted.

Some have also imagined that the fine arts are not promoted by the constitution of the British government, which is founded on reason and experience, and wholly unlike those heady republics which so many writers from Dean Swift to Sir William Young have convicted of infinite errors without one counter-vailing excellency. These points have been frequently urged; we mention them, without insisting on their applicability. Yet we cannot avoid admitting, that the prudent part of our economy, as a commercial people, as calculators of profit and loss, affects in no inconsiderable degree the perfection of the arts of this country. We must however also admit, that there are splendid exceptions in both respects to this observation. It is true we read of various subscriptions for the distressed and the forsaken, general in their nature, and considerable in their amount. Yet still perhaps it may be said, that though the English are not selfish, there is something like that feeling pretty prevalent among them, at least in their encouragement of painting. Witness at every annual review at Somerset House the costly portraits of hundreds whose names have never been published, except in the shilling catalogue on that occasion. This being so, how can the artists escape the contagion? That they are so infected, we repeat; if not, to what are we to attribute the eternal claims and lamentations of artists and diletanti, of Mr. West and Mr. Shee, of Lord Elgin and Sir R. C. Hoare, concerning schools for the arts, establishments for the arts, patronage for the arts? This theme is beneath any man who pretends to regard a liberal profession. Nor can any satisfactory reason be assigned for this querulousness, unless we consider the countenance afforded to such inglorious wailing by our charity schools and our colleges, which the law says are eleemosynary corporations, whose members subsist by the charity of their founders. Artists should know that profit and glory are seldom companions. All men pretending to elevated pursuits should know or learn the same. Let us then hear

no more of want of patrons. Johnson placed patrons among the miseries of authorship—

Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,
Pride, envy, want, the *patron*, and the jail.

Let us hear no more of want of patronage. The same author thus concludes an allegory on that topic, "The SCIENCES after a thousand indignities retired from the palace of PATRONAGE, and having long wandered over the world in grief and distress, were led at last to the cottage of INDEPENDENCE, the daughter of FORTITUDE, where they were taught by PRUDENCE and PARSIMONY to support themselves in dignity and quiet."

ART. III. *Travels in the South of Spain, in Letters written A. D. 1809 and 1810, by William Jacob, Esq. M. P. F. R. S.*
London: Johnson. Miller. 1811. 4to. pp. 437.

Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain, and in the Balearic Isles, by Sir John Carr, Knt. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones. 1811. 4to. pp. 374.

"THE practice of emptying old musty folios," or the contents of *threadbare* pocket-books, into "new quartos*," although it has been deprecated by critics of every class for the last twenty years, seems now to be so established a right in the art of book-making, that we are not without our fears that any further opposition to the practice would be considered as the effusion of an heated imagination, or the promulgation of *new doctrines*. The endeavour of our fraternity to correct the evil, is at least an attempt not less disinterested than the noble efforts of the faculty in behalf of vaccination; for if the *reading part* of the community had any sort of security that every new publication would be confined to the quantity of original matter which its author has to impart, they would doubtless purchase the book itself, and read it through; as the mass of publications would then be within their pecuniary means, as well as within compass of their hours of study. But if (even *physically speaking*) there must be a period to a system in which the *tourist* through modern literature, having paid down his two or three guineas for the privilege of being carried through the next stage, finds himself slowly transported through an African desert, with scarcely an Oasis to refresh his sickening brain, it is not wonderful that they should have recourse to the *aéronauts*

* See Advice to a Young Reviewer (p. 6.), and first Number of British Review (p. 5.).

of literature, who profess to waft them with an eagle's flight far above the barren surface of the desert, and only to land them occasionally on those recreating spots, which, to do our modern authors justice, they generally contrive to scatter with more or less frequency over the provinces through which they conduct us.

A review, therefore, in honest hands, pretends not to be "a substitute for all other kinds of reading," but with a reader of judgement is only a substitute for imperial, hotpressed, empty quartos. It is, in some sort, necessary to those who are desirous to avoid wasting their time and money in experimental reading; and perhaps it is difficult to point out a greater benefit to general literature in its present state than the honest application of the learning, taste, and talents of a set of gentlemen possessing those qualifications, to the object of directing the public attention to such books as really deserve it, and of extracting the quintessence of others which require to be submitted to the refining process. But in proportion to the advantages resulting from this duty when *honestly performed*, are the actual danger and mischief, where a review is so conducted as to countenance the observation, that "the secret history of reviews involves a disgusting account of party malice, commercial rivalry, personal spleen, and unprovoked malignity;" and where, instead of procuring impartial and independent accounts of books, the purchasers of criticism incur the disappointment of finding only opinions dictated by party views, or the selfish motives of gain or ambition.

We have been led into these observations from the train of reflection which the two quartos before us suggested to our minds, and we shall now proceed to exemplify some of the foregoing principles from the books which we have undertaken to examine. We shall hope to do it with no rude hand, for they certainly are worthy of kind consideration, inasmuch as many interesting and amusing passages are to be found in them, particularly in Mr. Jacob's work. Both, however, are constructed upon a plan with respect to which we think it right to make a few observations for the benefit of future literary adventurers to the peninsula.

It will, perhaps, be conceded without difficulty that there cannot be a more unfavourable moment for giving a general description of the customs, habits, manners, commerce, and polity of a country, than when it is in a convulsed and revolutionary state: for at such a period there must of course be a general departure from the accustomed course and relations of society. The great interest one naturally expects to derive

from the accounts of an eye-witness concerning a country in the state just alluded to, must arise from his quickness in catching the transitory impressions of the passing events upon the settled habits and characters of the natives, with which we must be supposed to be previously acquainted, or from the extraordinary acts of heroism and disinterestedness, of zeal and patriotism, which the natural exaltation of mind at such periods is sure to produce. To these sources of interest in the present case of Spain, where, if we mistake not, the sense of injury has sunk deeper into the soul, and grated more harshly on the chords of national feeling, than in almost any other instance; we were entitled to add the expectation of a narrative replete with characteristic instances of proud retaliation and revenge.

That the travels before us do really contain matter of this description we have great pleasure in admitting; but, contemplating the bulk of the volumes, we cannot help suggesting that it is comparatively scanty and unimportant; that many well-informed persons who have quietly remained by their fire-sides could have produced nearly as much from correspondence and conversation with Spanish travellers; and that what they do contain might well have been compressed into volumes of the size of the popular and entertaining publications of Mr. Semple. For we have not the conscience to wish, that all future travellers in the peninsula should hold out similar temptations to the public to survey their works through the optics of the reviewers.

We opened Mr. Jacob's book on the tiptoe of expectation, and felt secure of meeting with abundant proofs of the unconquerable energy of the Spanish people, of their devotion of heart and soul to the good cause, exemplified by unequivocal instances of patriotism and valour; which indeed he had previously given us some reason to think were in his possession. We know not how far the partial disappointment of these hopes indisposed our minds in general, and obscured our judgement with respect to some trifling portion of what really met the eye. Our's might perhaps have been a little jaundiced; for, knowing, as we do, that the French officers who returned to their native country after the early campaigns of the war on the Peninsula declared their conviction, from the inveterate hatred of the Spanish people towards the French, that they could never be conquered; that the common expression among these officers, when speaking of the Spaniards, was "*ce sont des Démon, et non des Hommes*;"—We looked to Mr. Jacob for a description of these supernatural beings, and of the feats which have earned for them such an expressive epithet from personages by no means very angelical in their own dispositions. But behold! instead of the

feats of demons, we are regaled with a description of saints painted by Murillo, whose works have been described by fifty other travellers, or of statues and paintings by another artist, whom Mr. Jacob has been pleased to honour with his patronage—one Alonso Cano, whose works, though certainly not without their merit, have never, we believe, attracted so much good description from any traveller before. These criticisms are given, however, as every thing from Mr. Jacob's pen must be given, in the style of a gentleman far from being deficient in taste or literary attainments, and may perhaps be amusing to some classes of readers; (which we think is very reasonable commendation, unless Mr. Jacob should unfortunately possess an alderman's appetite for praise)*.

We must dispatch at once all that we have to say further of a less agreeable nature, that no cloud may hang over the brighter and much more extensive portion of our criticism. We think, then, that the buildings of Cadiz and Seville, the rock and apes of Gibraltar, the productions and trade of Malaga, the city, palaces, and valley of Granada, and the history of the Moors and of the bull-fights in Spain, have all been treated by preceding travellers, who had means of knowledge and observation superior to those of Mr. Jacob, in a manner quite full enough to satisfy public curiosity. Townshend, Swinburne, Bourgoing, Laborde, and others, whose travels have been in every body's hands for the last two or three years, have left us nothing to wish for on these subjects; and any original facts or anecdotes concerning them might have been addressed to the English reader, without recalling to his recollection what the above-mentioned authors had more fully impressed upon his memory. It may be said, however, of these reminiscences, as of Mr. Jacob's criticisms on statues and pictures, that they are agreeably related, and will prove both amusing and instructive to those who may not have consulted the original works. Thirteen engravings adorn Mr. Jacob's book; with the exception of two or three which we shall hope to notice in our progress, they represent the public buildings of Seville, Malaga, and Granada; accurately, we make no doubt; but insulated architectural façades are not to us very interesting subjects for the pencil.

The Travels of Sir John Carr are written in the same good-humoured manner in which the histories of most of this active and enterprising knight's peregrinations are composed, and with

* Those who only know Mr. Jacob from his title-page may learn from us, that he adds to his qualifications of M. P. and F. R. S. that of being a respectable alderman of the city of London.

which the public are well acquainted. They will not therefore expect much depth of thought or reach of judgement. Without a very profound knowledge of the language, but with great liveliness and perseverance, he has contrived to skin the surface of things, to collect anecdotes from the English with whom he fell in, and to render as good an account of that portion of incident and conversation which he could understand, as many full-grown English tourists, under similar circumstances, would probably have done. His account of the troubles of Valencia, of the attempt upon that city by the French Marshal Moncey, of the second siege of Zaragoza, and of the attacks of the French on the peaceful and singular mountain of Montserrat, are intrinsically interesting in spite of the narrator. Moreover, we cannot but highly applaud the charity which has induced him to reveal some things, and the delicacy of certain restrictions which have induced him to conceal others from the curious and inquisitive reader. "It forms another department of my endeavours," he says, "to facilitate the progress of those who may follow me, by noticing the distance, costs, modes of, and other matters incident to, travelling." (p. 3). This is certainly very charitable.

"Treated as I was, with kindness and even confidence in many distinguished families, it is to be expected that several private anecdotes came to my knowledge, which would illustrate manners and even events, and certainly contribute to the *entertainment* of the reader. But as the publication of them might embarrass those with whom they originated, and distress those to whom they apply, I have cautiously abstained from admitting them here." (p. 3—4). This is equally delicate and considerate. We cannot help, however, a little quarrelling with a suppression that appears quite inconsistent with Sir John's views of facilitating the progress and adding to the satisfaction of future British tourists in the Peninsula. Notwithstanding the enormous sale of Spanish grammars, of the "*Tesoro Espanol con Notas*," &c. &c. we believe that our countrymen in general are yet so ignorant of the Spanish language, that it was an unpardonable omission in our knight not to reveal either the name of the *confidential interpreter*, through whose organs those "private anecdotes" were transfused, or by what alembic or alchymical process the secrets were otherwise distilled into his ear, without the vulgar medium of a language mutually understood.

Under the patronage and protection of his red cockade, this "Chief of domestic knights, and errant," contrived to pick up several entertaining anecdotes which he might *lawfully reveal* with some of which we shall in due course amuse our readers.

But there is one hint which we cannot possibly avoid submitting to him in this place. Upon scrutinizing his work, we think that he will find one or two places, particularly in p. 19, 20, p. 90, &c. where he has been led into the mistake of retailing low wardroom stories and phrases, intermixed with oaths and ribaldry, as very entertaining jokes. We are the more surprised at this mistake, as we should have thought that the knight's intercourse "of kindness and even confidence" with the most distinguished families of so many countries must have taught him long ago that the indulgence of such a style of narrative sins no less against good taste than against good manners; that it is no less vulgar than wicked. Of this he may rest assured, that in our own country, no one ingredient can be so likely to exclude his writings from those circles of good society, in which he informs us that his materials were collected. There is also to be found a most filthy and unnatural story of a monkey, which is alone more than sufficient to banish the book from every table, where it's repose could by any possibility be disturbed by the hands of a young and innocent female. Sir John Carr appears to possess the talent of sketching with taste and spirit; and of six well-executed engravings which adorn his volume, we think that five at least are highly interesting. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers an account of such parts of the works before us, as may tend to inform their judgement concerning the progress and probable result of the noble struggle in which Spain and Great Britain are jointly engaged.

The limits within which a British traveller in Spain was necessarily confined, in the summer and autumn of 1809, did not extend beyond the southern and south-eastern provinces. An alderman and member of parliament, or any other character equally responsible to the public for his own personal security, could not with a safe conscience extend his curiosity beyond Andalusia and Granada---while a more humble knight, responsible for his safety to none but his bookseller, (we sincerely beg pardon for this liberty, more especially as it just occurs to us that he has made a present of his person, an engaging portrait of which we remember to have seen in his *Irish Tour*, to a very discerning lady,) and bound by the rules of his order to encounter more adventurous hazard, might fairly perhaps be expected to extend his researches through Murcia, Valencia, part of Catalonia, or even to that terra incognita, "the Balearic Isles." Our two authors, as we shall see, were exemplary in the discharge of their several duties in these respects, Mr. Jacob having been conversant chiefly with seats of government, national

councils, and great commercial cities; while Sir John Carr expatiated with bolder flight through remoter regions, penetrating even *within hearing* of the very outposts of the French army in Catalonia. For these reasons therefore, as well as from the national bent of their minds, we may look to the former principally for an account of the promise held forth by the spirit and patriotism of the higher orders and of the persons in power, and to the latter for an account of distressed damsels and doughty feats of arms, and of the nature and quality of those materials which the government of Spain, in whatever hands it may be, might call into action. Our readers will have the goodness to recollect, that the battle of Talavera was fought in the summer of this year, that the French were in undisputed military possession of the whole of Spain north of the Sierra Morena, and that no ostensible check appeared to impede their future progress to the southward of that chain of mountains.

The first important circumstance which Mr. Jacob could not help observing, was the want of unity and energy in the central Junta, among whom was no leader, nor any man of talents sufficiently eminent to acquire for him the necessary preponderance. With the French at their gates, and with the power of raising as many men as they pleased, and nothing wanting for their equipment but musquets, of which there was a great scarcity, a manufactory of them was resolved upon; but instead of converting to the purpose several buildings which would have served very well on the spur of the occasion, the government proceeded to *erect a handsome building in the first instance*; so that fourteen months after the commencement of the manufactory, during which thousands of arms might have been finished and sent to the men enlisted and ready to use them, not a single musquet was produced. (p. 35.) The consequence of which was, that the recruits at Xeres, who, had they been provided with arms, might have been employed in securing the Sierra Morena against the inroads of the French troops, were amusing themselves with murdering the prisoners of that nation taken in Dupont's army, and residing in that town upon their parole. (p. 43.)

At Seville, Mr. Jacob's account of his introduction to Marquis Wellesley, then our ambassador to the Junta, is followed by the relation of a circumstance which we remember to have heard at the time it occurred, and the remembrance of which has never ceased to renew in our minds the poignant feelings of regret originally caused by the useless and pernicious delay of six months in his lordship's departure from England on his import-

ant embassy. A delay, which, in our estimation, not only prevented the probable preservation of Spain at the period of the battle of Talavera, but on the occasion which we are about to relate, again rendered nugatory one of those bright occasions which so seldom occur in such a contest, by preventing his lordship from becoming acquainted in time with the faithless and inefficient materials of which the administration of the government to which he was accredited was composed. Padre Gill, and the other leaders of Seville, who were the first movers in the struggle against France, disgusted with the Junta, and despairing of its conducting the defence of the country with requisite skill and energy, formed a plan for its overthrow; and with the assistance of the patriotic and most respectable citizens gained over several regiments, and even the guards of the Junta, and prepared a vessel to carry off the members to Manilla. Every thing was ready, and the plan so arranged that success was certain, when some of the chiefs proposed to consult the English minister, in full assurance of his aid to their patriotic designs, and that to neglect consulting him would be to suspect the good faith and insult the integrity of their best friend. The plan was therefore communicated to his lordship. That he was thus placed in very difficult and embarrassing circumstances there can be no doubt; uncertain, as he probably was from his late arrival, of the treachery and incapacity of the Junta, which afterwards became so fully apparent to him, he did not feel himself justified in becoming a party to the overthrow of an administration with which he was commissioned to communicate; and as he did not think it a safe policy or worthy of himself to act as if he were ignorant of the plot, he had no alternative but to reveal the whole to the Junta, who by removing the conspirators prolonged their own deadly influence over the councils of Spain at this most critical juncture, till they had sacrificed the remainder of it, and were driven at the point of the French bayonets into merited obscurity.

Now, we have no hesitation in believing, that if Lord Wellesley had six months sooner possessed the "carte du pays," and had consequently been fully satisfied that all the efforts of the Junta tended only to paralyze and check the ardent feelings and energies of the people, instead of fostering and calling them into action, which was undoubtedly that which he was principally instructed to bring about; we are certain, we say, that under such conviction, his lordship would never have considered his government as bound in alliance to a weak and treacherous administration, acting in the name of Ferdinand, against the interest of their sovereign and the nation; but that he would at once have

thrown himself upon the good sense of his country, and assumed the responsibility of co-operating in such measures as would have accorded with the spirit and real objects of the alliance between the *British and Spanish people*, (for in that light we must consider it.) Notwithstanding the unpleasant discussions at home to which such conduct operating upon the gall of party spirit might have given rise among his political enemies, we cannot but give the noble marquis full credit for the clear-sighted energy and disinterested patriotism, which must have prompted him to depart from the letter of his instructions in order to preserve their spirit, and to set at nought any fear of the vulgar clamour of disappointed faction, which might suggest itself to his mind as the probable consequence.

In hazarding this opinion we are aware that we are assuming for his lordship no slight disregard of personal feeling in his zeal to serve his country: for he may certainly number himself with those benefactors to popular governments, who, like Mr. Hastings in our own times, and various others who are embalmed in our historical and classical recollections, have been remanerated by public calumny, and personal suffering, for eminent public services. Is it to be conceived, that, *generally speaking*, such ingratitude must not infuse into the firmest mind some apathy and indifference towards the country which has exhibited it, even though that country be still the object of his patriotic attachments? That such disappointment of the just expectations of ambition must not alienate it from objects of patriotic enterprise, and drive an ardent spirit, not supported and controlled by genuine principles of the highest nature, into the paths of private indulgence, if not of irregular gratification?

But to return to our subject. Whatever may be the real cause, we can never sufficiently lament the effect which was produced by the prolongation of the power of the central Junta, after they had lost all the confidence of the patriotic party in Spain; for it is our firm and most decided conviction, that had an active and efficient government been erected at that precise moment under the patronage and direction of Lord Wellesley, for the formation and conduct of the patriotic armies, the French would never have been able to penetrate through the Sierra Morena; but that that barrier would to this day have continued insuperable, and would have protected from injury the delightful regions which have since been exposed to rapine, plunder, and extortion; and have saved from the ruffian hand of the spoiler the fretted alcoves, and tessellated pavements, and marble fountains of the Alhambra, and from worse than Moorish violation, the peaceful

natives of those enchanting vallies which encircle the ancient seats of the caliphs. A kingdom of no small importance would have afforded its resources to the sacred cause, and a nucleus of no small promise would have remained, from which might have sprouted a green and vigorous plant, whose branches might one day have covered with their protecting influence the whole surface of the Peninsula.

Before we take leave of Marquis Wellesley, we must present our readers with the following account by Sir John Carr of his lordship's landing at Cadiz, in August, 1809, upon his first arrival from England. They will probably agree with us in thinking, that the ceremony of trampling upon the French flag had better have been deferred by the Spanish master of the ceremonies, till the said flag had ceased to wave triumphantly over the finest castles and fortifications of the country.

"On landing, a French flag was spread over the steps for his Excellency to tread upon, and he was drawn in the Consul's carriage to his hotel by the delighted and enthusiastic multitude. The Marquis, with his usual munificence, wished to distribute money among the people, and for this purpose presented a purse of ounces to a man who had mounted the coachbox of the carriage. The person harangued the crowd, and desired to know whether they would accept the gift; upon which they unanimously declined it. The sentiment by which they were moved was certainly a noble one, and seemed to impress his Excellency with a high opinion of the Spanish character. Indeed, in Cadiz, the admiration of the English and the abhorrence of the French were every day more and more conspicuous." (Carr's Tour, p. 109.)

A determination to pay attention to every circumstance which can elucidate the general character of the Spaniards induces us not to omit the following passage from Mr. Jacob's work, which we have no doubt contains a just representation of the moral condition of the several orders of society.

"I should, however, be sorry to see this practice (confession) abolished till some better were introduced in its stead; for though it be obvious that the profligacy of the higher classes is not corrected by their religion, and whatever dominion they may allow their priests over their faith and their rituals, they allow them very little over their morals, yet, with the middle and lower ranks of society, who form the most virtuous and moral class of the people, they have a beneficial influence. With the higher order, the great struggle of the confessor is to keep the mind free from doubts, to enforce submission to the dogmas and ceremonies of the church, and prevent the inroad of heresy. With the other classes there is no such task; they ne-

ver read books written by foreigners, nor ever converse with them; they have no doubts on points of faith, no scruples in matters of ceremony, and the task of the confessor is more directly addressed to the formation of the moral habits of society, honesty, and veracity. On these points they have evidently been successful; for I have never been in any country where the mass of the people has approached the conduct of the Spaniards in these respects; in chastity, as far as I can judge, they have not been so successful; whether the evil arise from the celibacy of the clergy, the voluptuous climate, or the remains of Moorish manners, I cannot determine; but there is, in this respect, a degree of profligacy extending to all ranks in this country, which I trust will ever remain unexampled in our own. A priest, with whom I was conversing on this subject a few days ago, assured me, that of the numerous females who came to him for absolution, he seldom found any who confessed the violation of any commandment, but the seventh."

Mr. Jacob, during his stay at Cadiz, did not omit to notice a fact which, while it adds considerable authority to the celebrated report on the high price of bullion, tends also to throw light on the tardy and inefficient process by which all supplies for the patriotic armies were provided, or any commercial or fiscal operations upon a large scale performed. Though Cadiz is their most commercial city, it seems that there are no bankers there, nor any substitute for money in circulation; "and as silver is the common medium of exchange, any person, who has a considerable sum to receive, must take porters or a cart to bring away the money. The dollars are generally kept by the merchants, tied in bags containing one thousand each, which without much examination pass from one to the other." (*Jacob's Tour*, p. 187.) Our author is certainly entitled to the thanks of the bullion reporters for affording this additional argument in their favour, that the adoption of their plans would immediately find employment in the trusty occupation of portage, for many unfortunate persons whom the commercial barbarism of the enemy has deprived of the ordinary sources of their industry.

During Mr. Jacob's residence at Seville, he visited the president of the Junta, Rivero, who was also auxiliary archbishop of Seville.

He found the prelate's deportment grave and dignified, his conversation decisive and intelligent; and after a second interview left him with the impression, that although he might have been placed at the head of the government by intrigue; he was a man who loved his country, and of course detested the French. This minister had a country-house a few miles from the city, where he nightly indulged in a game at ombre with his own coachman and a merchant's clerk of the same village. "So nearly

allied," says Mr. J. "in this country is dignity in public to vulgarity in private." And we think that a better commentary upon the anecdote can hardly be afforded, than the conduct of the Junta from this period to that of its dispersion, which was marked by the same imbecility and indecision, not to say treachery, as had uniformly formerly characterized that body. "Upon the approach of the French they were strongly urged to remove the warlike stores, to destroy the dépôts, and especially to blow up the cannon foundery; but all without effect; and the enemy by their misconduct were thus furnished with powerful means for their attack on Cadiz, the last asylum of the defenders of Andalusia."—P. 366. Indeed it was evidently the intention of the Junta that that attack should be neither difficult nor doubtful; and nothing under heaven but the promptitude, sagacity, and patriotism of the Duke of Albuquerque could have prevented Cadiz from falling as easy a prey to the French as Seville had just done. Separated from his commander-in-chief, and distracted with repeated but contradictory orders from Cornet, the minister at war, evidently a traitor, he took upon himself the responsibility of marching in a direction contrary to that marked out in his last dispatch from the government; and thus threw himself and his army between the French and Cadiz.

"Never (as Mr. Jacob well observes) did an army endure greater fatigues and privations, and never did general share in them with more readiness than this gallant officer, who has merited the everlasting gratitude of his country, by disobeying its treacherous government, as much as by the exertions he has subsequently made."—P. 371.

That the people of Cadiz were in no condition to resist the French, appears but too plainly from the following passages:—

"The Junta of Cadiz has exercised no energy in commanding the inhabitants; and though nothing can be of so much, or so pressing importance, as completing the battery of St. Fernando; instead of making requisitions of the whole, or a proportion of the population, for this necessary work, proclamations, or rather invitations, have been issued, which, while they urge the willing to labour, leave the indolent and the selfish, who are by far the greater number, to the full indulgence of their injurious propensities."—P. 372.

"If any thing could conquer the gravity of Spaniards, we might naturally expect that an approaching siege would infuse some degree of activity into the conduct of the people; but the characteristics of the nation are patience and perseverance, not vivacity and zeal-

ous exertion. The number of the citizens who daily assemble on the ramparts, and wrapped in their long cloaks, spend hours silently gazing on the explosions of the forts that surround the bay, which the English sailors are busily employed in blowing up, naturally excites this remark. They appear indifferent spectators of the events around them, rather than the persons for whose security these exertions are made.

"Our countrymen are labouring with great activity in destroying all those batteries which may annoy the shipping at their anchorage in the bay. The castle of St. Catherine, near St. Mary's, is strongly built, and requires great exertions to demolish it; but, by the help of gunpowder under the buttresses which support the arches on which the platforms are constructed, they have nearly reduced it to a heap of ruins. Fort Matagorda and fort Louis, two other forts, situated on the points of land which form the entrance of the canal leading to the arsenal, are undergoing the same operation, and will, in a few days, be totally destroyed; and until they can be re-constructed, the vessels will remain in security in their present anchorage: but, as it is scarcely possible to prevent the enemy from rebuilding them, the shipping must move nearer to the entrance of the bay; and, if the number of vessels be as considerable as at present, there will be great danger of the contracted anchoring-ground being too much crowded."—P. 372.

"It is well known that more than twelve months ago the British government, in its earnest wish to assist the cause of Spain, projected and submitted to the Junta a plan of operations, materially different from that which has since been adopted, by which the British army would have advanced to the Sierra Morena, and have been enabled to act a more beneficial part in the assistance they have rendered. But to this plan it was indispensably necessary that they should have possession of Cadiz, from whence to receive supplies; and to which to retreat, in case of necessity. The propriety, therefore, of garrisoning this important post with British troops was so obvious, that General Sherbrooke was sent out with a force for that purpose, not anticipating any objection on the part of the Spaniards: but the Junta, whose jealousy and indecision have nearly ruined their country, would not permit the troops to land; and the people of Cadiz applauded their determination. Now, however, when the enemy is approaching, the sense of immediate danger has removed their apprehensions of the good faith of their ally; and the people of Cadiz have clamoured as loudly for a British garrison, as they before did against the admission of foreign troops. Dispatches have been sent to Lisbon and Gibraltar, earnestly pressing for assistance; and all the anxiety now discovered is for the arrival of those very means of defence, which, when danger was more distant, had been decidedly, not to say insultingly, rejected.

"The infantry of the Duke of Albuquerque's army has entered the Isla, whence one regiment has been marched into this city. They appear weather-beaten and ragged; but having been supplied with good great coats, their appearance is already somewhat improved; whilst the gallant commander discovers in his manners, his countenance, and his conversation, that determined spirit, which inspires confidence in all who meet him.

"Notwithstanding the rapid advance of the enemy, and the prospect of an impending siege, the gaiety and dissipation of this city is not, in any degree, diminished. The public walk, and the square, are as lively as at any time; and from the great influx of distinguished fugitives, more crowded with the gayest company than at any former period. The government have, indeed, ordered the theatre to be shut; but the private parties for gaming, and other amusements, have only been more numerous and more crowded in consequence of it. The scarcity of provisions is not perceptible at the tables of the rich; who, regardless of the increased prices, spread as sumptuous a board as when there was no alarm."—
P. 373—6.

The arrival of the Duke of Albuquerque threw a momentary gleam of sunshine athwart this lamentable scene of apathy or thoughtlessness. His manners, his countenance, his conversation, exhibited a determined spirit, which inspired confidence in all who approached him. His eulogium was in every body's mouth; his general conduct highly extolled; and his late retreat, by which the city had been saved, exhibited such proofs of military talent, that public opinion pointed him out as the proper officer to have the command of the fortress. Yet will it be believed, all this promise of improvement passed away like the fleeting shadow of a cloud over an extensive plain. Although the regency was immediately afterwards appointed, a system of base rivalry and petty jealousy was so predominant, that even gratitude towards their immediate preservers was forgotten amidst the paltry contests.

"It was scarcely to have been expected that those gallant savours of this city, who, under the conduct of Albuquerque, have preserved it from destruction, should have been the first to feel the effects of the jealousy of the two ruling bodies. They arrived here almost destitute of clothing; and though repeated applications have been made to the Junta, to supply them with what their pressing necessities demand, they are still in nearly the same want as when they first arrived; whilst the Junta have seven hundred pieces of cloth adapted for their use, but which are withheld, till it is settled whether the Regency or the Junta are to have the control over the finances; and if they should fall to the disposal of

the Regency, the Junta expect to gain a profit by selling the cloth to that body.

"After this single fact, which may be depended on, no reliance can be placed, no hope can be entertained; that such a heterogeneous mixture of authority as now exists within this city will be able to adopt any great or enlarged system of policy, either with regard to what remains unsubdued of Spain, or what is also of importance to the different provinces of America."—P. 390.

Although the last days of the noble-minded Albuquerque afford but too much reason to fear that he at length became the victim of the jealousy, which his well-earned fame had infused into the minds of his degenerate countrymen, we are happy, for the present, to turn from these disgusting scenes, and to contemplate the rise and progress of this distinguished nobleman to the merited elevation which he had attained at so early an age. Mr. Jacob appears to have detailed them with considerable accuracy.

"In rank and possessions, this nobleman was among the first in Spain under the old government. He entered into the army in 1795, and displayed, in the war then carried on against France, the presages of that courage and military skill, which have recently become more fully developed. He was a pure Spaniard, detesting the dominion of France, to which Godoy had subjected his country; and to avoid the humiliating spectacle which the influence of that favourite exhibited, offered his services in the army, which the Marquis Romana led into the north of Europe. The first intelligence of the new disgraces which were preparing for his beloved country reached him when in Funen with that distinguished officer. Though suffering from sickness, he determined to return home, and hastened with expedition to Paris; where he first heard the particulars of the base transactions in Spain. The Spanish grandees who were assembled in that city endeavoured, by persuasions and threats, to prevent him from returning to join the patriotic party on his native soil. He escaped the dangers of the road; and having joined his countrymen in Valencia, in June, 1808, he there organised an army, which, under his command, marched to Madrid.

"He published a manifesto, addressed to the tenants and peasantry on his extensive estates; which, in language at once patriotic and energetic, called on them to arm in the cause of their country. He lessened the rents of those who had suffered by the incursions of the enemy, remitted their fines, and, by his liberal donations to the voluntary defenders of the country, did every thing in his power to assist the common cause. He distinguished himself at the battle of Medellin, which the blundering Cuesta unnecessarily fought; and as negligently lost; and by his conduct at

Talavera, where he commanded the Spanish cavalry, obtained the confidence of Lord Wellington, and the praise of the British and Spanish armies. When Cuesta was removed from the command, the British ambassador urged the appointment of Albuquerque to succeed him; an appointment so proper in itself, and so acceptable to the Spanish army, that nothing could have prevented its adoption but that paltry jealousy which instigated the Central Junta to decline every suggestion made by their ally."—P. 368.

Soon after the preservation of Cadiz, it is well known that the government got rid of what they deemed a troublesome rival and inconvenient spectator of their conduct, by deputing the Duke of Albuquerque to fill the post of ambassador to England. All London knows also, and was witness to, the general feeling of respect and melancholy with which every rank of the people, from the princes of the blood to the lowest shopkeeper, followed to the repository of the illustrious dead the funeral obsequies of the hero, whose heart, steeled as it was against adversity inflicted by the open enemies of his country, burst at a series of ungrateful treatment from his pretended friends, which our good wishes to the cause of Spain prevents us from detailing.

It is in truth with no feelings of satisfaction that we have extracted from the work before us the foregoing accounts of the apathy, laziness, and want of combination among the higher classes of society in Spain, who have hitherto had imposed upon them the task of superintending the national efforts. Mr. Jacob suspects that they are inseparable traits in the national character, originating in the indolence which a warm climate, and the consequently luxurious habits produce. But the traits of heroism, energy, and constancy, which have been displayed *by the people* wherever a sufficient stimulus has urged them into action, and the partial successes which have attended their efforts when well commanded in the field, and not opposed to an overwhelming superiority of numbers, are to us convincing proofs, that a sad moral degeneracy from the real national character, induced among the higher orders by the general prevalence of selfish principles, arising out of a long slavery under foreign influence and corruption, is the true source of the evil. Let us not, however, be so far misunderstood, as to have it supposed, that we wish to extend these strictures to all the good families of Spain. If we have rightly distinguished the cause, (and it is evident that the effect must cease whenever that cause does not operate) we may safely venture to affirm that the younger part of the nobility, and many of those who from a comparative inferiority of rank were not admitted to the mi-

serable privilege of conducting the intrigues of a degenerate and servile government, are still composed of materials that may be serviceable for the redemption of their country. Many of these characters have already appeared, and let it be recollected, that every succeeding year, through which the contest may be drawn out, must call forth many more. This will in time entirely change the ostensible national character, nor till this is done will the contest be closed.

Turn we then now to the brighter side of the picture, to that portion of the community removed from the influence of these deleterious causes of decay, and from which, if we mistake not, not only the gross materials, but the regulators, the combiners, and the superintendants of their country's emancipation must ultimately be drawn, and from whose example the younger part of the present race, and the future generations of nobles may learn in their childhood that energy of character in which their fathers are so lamentably deficient. Of this result, as we have before observed, a hopeful presage may be drawn from some circumstances which have already occurred. "In an attack made by the enemy upon the vanguard of General Venegas, at Aranjuez, a *very young* officer of artillery, only son of the Marquis of Panco, finding himself mortally wounded, called his company round him, and concluded a short but animated and pathetic address to them by saying, 'My brave men! drop by your cannon, but never desert them! Farewell! I go to other regions of glory.'" (Carr's Tour, p. 38.)

Concerning the spirit which animates the lower and middle classes of the community much may be found in the works before us, and something has come to our knowledge from private hands. The following accounts will we think convince the most incredulous, that at least *the means exist*, if they can be duly called into action, completely to attain the glorious object of our prayers and of our wishes.

Mr. Jacob, who deals more in general observations than in particular incidents on this subject, is decided in his opinion that the Spanish nation generally is roused to madness against France. "Few are to be found who would not willingly plunge a dagger into the breast of a Frenchman whenever occasion might offer, although there is no ruling mind to concentrate and combine this universal feeling." Although, therefore, the French from this deficiency on the part of the Spaniards have got military possession of the country, they are so far from conquest, that a war has begun of the most destructive species for France, and the most secure for Spain; consisting of con-

sists "in which individual exertion is every thing, and combination unnecessary. From the defiles and mountains where they will remain sheltered and concealed till opportunities offer, the Spaniards will harass and massacre the French in detail, will prevent all intercourse between the different towns, stop cultivation in the plains, and, perhaps, after years of confusion and bloodshed, drive the French, as they formerly did the Moors, from the soil."

"Every local circumstance is in favour of the Spaniards in this kind of warfare. The roads are passable only for mules, but no wheel-carriages can travel to the interior. The valleys between these mountains yield almost spontaneously all that a Spaniard requires; the climate is so fine that the peasantry scarcely stand in need of habitations; and the flocks of sheep will supply them with skins for clothing without the aid of manufactures.

"There are few villages, or even solitary houses, in Spain; almost all the people live in towns, which are at a great distance from each other, and the fields consequently remain uncultivated, except in the vicinity of these towns: to this may be added, that the Spaniards are of all men the most frugal and moderate in their subsistence; a bunch of grapes, or a melon, with garlic, suffices them, and they want no other drink but water.

"Their animosity to the French is inflamed to madness; and their rage, fury, and revengeful passions will burn with increased ardour as the enemy continue their depredations. I have said enough to shew you my opinion on the future state of Spain: at present, the defeat of Ardisaga has cast a gloom over the prospects of the privileged orders of society: these may be swept away; but the Spanish people, the peasantry, and the cultivators will remain, and will ultimately triumph."—P. 204.

Again, in giving a more particular description of the Spanish peasantry of the mountains, Mr. J. states their countenances to be of a superior cast, and very expressive; the men remarkably well formed, robust, and active, with a flexibility of limbs, and great agility. The good disposition of their minds even exceeds the grace of their persons; exhibiting a civility to strangers, an easy style of behaviour, a sobriety, and endurance of fatigue, that are very remarkable, and a constant and very prepossessing cheerfulness.

"The agility of the Spaniards in leaping, climbing, and walking has been a constant subject of admiration to our party. We have frequently known a man on foot start from a town with us, who were well mounted, and continue his journey with such rapidity as to reach the end of the stage before us, and announce our arrival with officious civility. A servant likewise, whom we hired at Malaga, has kept pace with us on foot ever since; and though not more than seventeen years of age, he seems incapable of being fa-

tigued by walking. I have heard the agility of the Spanish peasantry, and their power of enduring fatigue, attributed to a custom, which, though it may probably have nothing to do with the cause, deserves notice for its singularity. A young peasant never sleeps on a bed till he is married; before that event he rests on the floor in his clothes, which he never takes off but for purposes of cleanliness: and during the greater part of the year it is a matter of indifference whether he sleeps under a roof, or in the open air."—P. 339.

That the country is admirably adapted for the exertions of a race like this, and replete with fastnesses, which the whole force of Europe, unless they could bring a year's provisions on their backs, could never wrest from the possession of the natives, Mr. Jacob's description of the mountainous and abrupt neighbourhood of Ronda, and his very interesting view of that romantic town, are sufficient proofs; when we know that it is only a specimen of the general description of country, of which five broad belts cross the Peninsula from east to west, in various latitudes.

But enough of this general reasoning, which we shall proceed to exemplify, by one or two extracts from the *Travels* of Sir John Carr; to whom our apologies are due, for having so long forgotten him.

To those who have followed, with anxious eye, the chances of the present contest, the name of Augustina Zaragoza is no less familiar than dear. Mr. Vaughan has done her justice, in his excellent and unaffected account of the first siege of Zaragoza.

Sir John Carr has given an interesting account of her exploits, during the second siege; the whole detail of which, notwithstanding its length, we are persuaded that our readers will thank us for inserting.

"At length the works of the enemy were completed; and, on the 26th January, 1809, the batteries were unmasked, and a heavy cannonade from 24 and 36-pounders commenced, accompanied by a shower of shells. After some time, the enemy succeeded in destroying some slight batteries, which had been raised of wood and fascines, near the convent of St. Joseph, and the bridge of Huerba, and took possession of both. In the convent fell the heroine Manuella Sancho. This noble female used to bring provisions to the soldiers, after which she served at the guns, or carried a musket, and was always to be seen wherever the firing was the hottest; whilst she was thus serving her country, a shot entered her heart.

"After repeated attacks the French gained the Plaza, where they raised fresh works; whence they kept up a dreadful discharge

of shot and shells, which reduced to ruin the principal part of the town. The only places of defence left were a convent of St. Augustines, of Las Monicas, an oil-mill, the botanical garden, and a small redoubt. During this desperate crisis, all descriptions of persons, with fearless animation, assisted in making fascines, digging ditches, and heaping up earth in the streets, not yet destroyed by the enemy. Whilst the most distinguished acts of heroism were exhibiting above, a subterranean war was carrying on below, by a large body of miners and sappers of the enemy; who succeeded in blowing houses from their very foundations into the air. The situation of the besieged now, indeed, began to wear the aspect of desperation. Exhausted with almost incredible fatigue and anguish, the mind of their general, Palafox, began to show occasional symptoms of delirium.

“ But still the work of death went on with redoubled fury. The smoke of gunpowder kept the city in twilight darkness, frequently reddened, and horribly illumined, by the fire that issued from the destroying mouths of the cannon and mortars of the enemy. In the intervals which succeeded such discharges, women and children were beheld in the streets writhing in the agonies of death; yet scarcely a sigh or moan was heard; whilst those, whose wounds permitted them to move, crawled behind the walls of roofless houses, and sunk down on their ruins. At the same time priests were seen, as they were rushing to meet the advancing foe, to kneel by the side of the dying, and dropping their sabres, or their muskets, to take with holy zeal the cross from their bosoms, to administer the consolations of their religion; during which, they exhibited the same calmness usually displayed in the chambers of sickness.

“ To add to the horrors of this scene of havoc, a pestilential fever, arising, as was supposed, from the air being tainted by the putridity of so many unburied dead, broke out among the besieged, to which a famine succeeded; but notwithstanding this frightful alliance in favour of the enemy, it was resolved that they should still be opposed.

“ On the 30th, after having undermined upwards of sixty houses, the enemy obtained possession of the monasteries of the Augustines and Las Monicas, which adjoined each other. In this assault, the carnage amongst the hostile troops was dreadful; but they continued still advancing, and at length the combatants entered the church, from which a party of the French was at first repulsed by the monks, who fought with all the fervour of zeal and the fury of despair. The enemy, however, returned to the charge; and a scene, such as had been seldom, if ever, beheld before, was exhibited. In this sacred sanctuary every inch of ground was disputed by its holy functionaries; the columns, the lateral chapels, and the altar, became so many ramparts, and were frequently stormed, taken, and retaken; and the pavement was covered with the bleeding bodies of monks and soldiers: the battle raged in every part,

till the roof, shattered by numerous bombs, at length gave way, and fell with a terrific crash upon the combatants; when those who survived its fall, as soon as they had recovered the shock of so unexpected a disaster, rose upon the ruins, and, joined by others, continued the fight with unabated ferocity.

"The enemy, by undermining, still gained upon the inhabitants, who fought, as formerly, from house to house, and room to room; but at length, after a prodigious effusion of blood, the great street, called Cozo, in the heart of the town, became for a short period the boundary between the besieged and the besiegers, when the latter blew up the public seminaries. The city now presented little more than a vast pile of smoking ruins, encumbering the streets; there was not a house that had not, in some degree, suffered. During these scenes, the celebrated Augustina again displayed her undaunted courage in the cause of her country. At first she resumed her old station at the portillo; and when Palafox visited that quarter, she said to him with the most cheerful countenance, pointing to the gun with which she had in the first siege done such havoc among the French—'You see, general, I am again with my old friend!' Finding that the enemy did not approach the city in that direction, she offered her services in other parts of the city; and was frequently seen in the midst of death and desolation, with a knife or sabre in her hand, and her mantilla wrapt round her body, cheering and animating the soldiers by her example. It is almost miraculous, exposed as she was to the fire of the enemy, that she never was wounded: upon one occasion she was thrown into a ditch, and nearly suffocated by the dead and dying who covered her. However, she did not escape the contagion; and after the surrender of the place was, as before related, deemed more fit for an hospital than a prison. Numerous were the instances of female heroism. Women, many of them of the highest orders of life, and of elegant habits, without respect to rank, formed themselves into corps, to carry provisions, to bear away the wounded to the hospitals, and to fight in the streets, in which they were frequently accompanied by children, who, with the pleasure displayed in their amusements, rashly and exultingly rushed into danger, and could not be prevailed upon to stay in those places, which the firing of the enemy had then spared. Among other females who distinguished themselves in this illustrious siege was one named Benita, who headed one of these corps. This lady, after rendering many important services, and encountering many perils, rapidly died of a broken heart, upon hearing that her daughter had been shot. In this siege, no less than 600 women and children perished by the bayonet or the bullet. At length the city, nearly demolished by the constant firing of an immense artillery, and of about 40,000 shells, and the surviving troops and inhabitants quite worn out by disease, fighting, and famine, their idolised general no longer able to attend to the duties of his eventful command; all these afflicting circumstances conspiring, the besieged were obliged with broken

hearts to surrender, and they accordingly laid down their arms at the gate of the portillo, on the 21st of February, 1809, after having covered themselves with glory, during one of the most memorable sieges in the annals of war, which lasted sixty-three days. Zaragoza was possessed by 36,000 French, including those who remained in the camp. It is not very unlikely that the French would have been obliged once more to raise the siege of this, although an open town, and supported by an immense army, conducted by Marshals Moncey, Mortier, and Lannes, by the Prince of Salm, General Junot, and many other distinguished officers, had not the plague and famine destroyed the inhabitants. After recovering a little from a brain fever, which seized him a short time before the surrender, Palafox was removed to Paris, near which he resides in privacy. His person has already been described by Mr. Vaughan. In countenance, I am informed, that he resembles a brother hero, Sir Sidney Smith. Considerable censure has been passed upon him, for not having attacked the French before they approached the town, with a large body of cavalry which he had cooped up in the city; the men and horses of which grievously added to the miseries of the place, when the food became scarce, and the pestilential fever raged; but my gallant narrator informed me, that the inundations which I have mentioned prevented their being useful in that direction, and that they could not reach the enemy in any other with a tolerable probability of success."—P. 151—7.

It is delightful to know that Augustina escaped the fangs of the intruders. When they entered Zaragoza, she was afflicted with the pestilence engendered in the city by the heaps of unburied dead, and was removed to an hospital, where, as she was considered to be dying, her guard paid but little attention to her. Her good constitution, however, triumphed over the malady: finding that she was but little watched, she contrived to elude the sentinel; and, in a manner as extraordinary as the rest of her exploits, escaped and fled to the patriots, and ultimately to Cadiz, in perfect safety. The following is Sir John Carr's account of her person and manners, as she appeared to him in July, 1809, at Cadiz.

"Augustina appeared to be of the age which Mr. Vaughan has assigned to her, about 23, when I saw her. She was neatly dressed in the black mantilla. Her complexion was a light olive; her countenance soft and pleasing; and her manners, which were perfectly feminine, were easy and engaging. Upon the sleeve of one of her arms she wore three embroidered badges of distinction, commemorative of three distinguished acts of her intrepidity. Brigadier-General Doyle told me, that she never talked of her own brilliant exploits, but always spoke with animation of the many she saw displayed by others in those memorable sieges. These insignia of military merit had been

conferred upon her by her illustrious commander, General Joseph Palafox. The day before I was introduced to this extraordinary female, she had been entertained at a dinner given by Admiral Purvis on board of his flag-ship. The particulars I received from an officer who was present: as she received a pension from government, and also the pay of an artilleryman, the admiral considered her as a military character, and much to his credit, received her with the honours of that profession. Upon her reaching the deck, the marines were drawn up and manœuvred before her: she appeared quite at home, regarded them with a steady eye, and spoke in terms of admiration of their neatness, and soldier-like appearance. Upon examining the guns, she observed of one of them, with the satisfaction with which other women would speak of a cap, 'My gun,' alluding to the one with which she effected considerable havock among the French at Zaragoza, 'was not so nice and clean as this.' She was drinking her coffee when the evening gun fired: its discharge seemed to electrify her with delight: she sprung out of the cabin upon the deck, and attentively listened to the reverberation of its sound. In the evening she joined in the dance with the rest of the company, and displayed a good ear for music, and considerable natural gracefulness. The sailors, as may be supposed, were uncommonly pleased with her. Some were overheard to say, 'I hope they will do something for her, she ought to have plenty of prize money; she is of the right sort.' —P. 31.

There is a circumstance also of calm and unextinguishable intrepidity related by Sir John Carr of a youth of Gerona, not less admirable than the vaunted instance of the senate of Rome who sold the ground on which Hannibal was encamped, and indicating no less confidence in the ultimate triumph of the patriotic arms.—“A young man who was intended for holy orders, and who had distinguished himself in the defence of Gerona, made his way through the hostile force to Tarragona, for the purpose of being ordained by the archbishop, who had fixed the day for a general ordination. As soon as the ceremony was over, he returned back, passed unobserved by the enemy into the besieged city, which, in point of devastation and carnage, resembled Zaragoza, and resumed his station in defending it to the last extremity.” (Carr's Tour, p. 292.) The example was not thrown away upon the inhabitants of Tarragona; they have lately exhibited to the world an example of heroism worthy of any age, and particularly worthy of those brave Catalonians who have been always represented by travellers as the *worthies* of Spain, and whom the names of Gerona, Figueras, Tarragona, and Montjuich, will ever recall to our minds with tears of pity and admiration. A comfortable assurance also they afford, that the cruelties, massacres, violations, and devastations, which are an

established feature in the policy of French invasions,*—so far from having the effect usual in more refined and delicate countries, of intimidating the natives from further resistance, have served only to exasperate the hardy mountaineers of Spain past reconciliation, to make them avert their mind's eye from every possible result of the present contest, except the utter extermination or expulsion of the intruders. Dreadful as it is to reflect on cruelty and bloodshed, on torture and revenge, with any mixture of satisfaction in our feelings, we trust that we should always hold it to be a sickly affectation of humanity to counsel others to avoid, or in our own case to flee from, the inflictions of the bitterest evils upon our persons, if the escape be necessarily accompanied by a tenfold moral debasement of the mind, under the gripe of a monster, who, at the instant of hovering over his expected prey, blushed not to make and to publish his exulting avowal of emancipation from all the ties of justice, honour, and humanity—

— black he stood as night,
Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell,
And shook a dreadful dart; what seemed his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

Dreadful, indeed, have been the individual instances of cruelty, and dreadful the retaliation which has recoiled upon their perpetrators; insomuch, that probably every human mind, save one, would long ago have desisted from the hopeless pursuit, and from gratuitous perseverance in useless crime. But the being, (man we cannot call him, and we know not the animal to whom he could be compared, without an apology to the animal,) who could answer to the universal remonstrances even of his own infernal satellites—"Si je ne regne pas sur les Espagnols au moins je regnerai sur l'Espagne;"—a being, we say, who by one turn of his considerate mind could coolly contemplate and assume to himself the guilt of the utter extirpation, by murder, pestilence, and famine, of ten millions of people who had never injured him, by the eventual destruction of half that number of other men, whom he was bound by ties which he had himself assumed to cherish and to protect, must possess a nature which it would be equally useless and disgusting to investigate. We shall therefore be satisfied with completing the picture of the state of Spain, by laying before our readers an illustration or two of the practical effects of the contest on the minds and condition of the combatants.

* See Count Suchet's official letters to the French government on the events of the siege of Tarragona.—(English newspapers of July last.)

In rather an adventurous excursion through Catalonia, from Tarragona to Montserrat, during which our knight absolutely *heard* that the French had paid a visit to a village through which he would certainly have passed, if he had not *accidentally gone the other way*, he stopped at Argos, "once a neat and flourishing agricultural town, which now presented the forlorn and desolate appearance of having been recently sacked and burned by the French. Two thirds of the houses had been destroyed by the flames, and many wretched families were taking shelter under a few planks within the walls of their once happy dwellings." (Carr's Tour. 299.)

In his visit to Montserrat, Sir John Carr received great civilities from a celebrated character in that region, one Padre de Schilling, who seems to have acted not only as master of the ceremonies to our author, but to a very numerous assemblage of emigrants of all ages and both sexes who had fled from Barcelona and taken refuge in this fortress; the Padre seems to have exercised hospitality in a very agreeable, if not in a very becoming and clerical manner.

In a beautiful hermitage commanding a distant prospect of Barcelona, and of the sea covered by our cruisers, and in company with "two elegant females" of noble birth from Barcelona, and their relation a "very polished young man,"—the friar entertained the knight "with an excellent dinner of soup, meat, game, and rice, paid his guests every courteous attention, and pledged them in frequent bumpers of excellent wine, wishing eternal amity between England and Spain." Conversing about the fruits of Spain, he made the walls of the hermitage resound by singing a Latin song, (as Sir John says,) "*in honour of melons*;" but as it appears to us no less in honour of wine, jollity, and idleness—

"Quando sol est in Leone,
Bibe vinum cum pepone
Pone libros in cantone, &c."

which we have ventured to translate thus for the benefit of our knight and of the English bonvivants.

When the sun's rays
In August blaze,
Away with books and study;
And let us eat
The melon sweet,
And quaff the wine that's ruddy.

We were glad to find, however, that it was not this gentleman's convivial talents which gave him so marked a pre-eminence.

among his brethren of the mountain. The following passage will at once prove, that he had much superior claims to their consideration in the present arduous state of their affairs, and will also throw light upon those features of the contest which we are now attempting to illustrate.

"From a height near this hermitage, Padre de Schilling pointed out the road below, which he took when he headed the monks, and the peasants of the estates belonging to the monastery, gave battle to the French, and defeated them. Of this singular conflict he furnished me with the following modest, brief, and simple narrative in writing.

"I am by birth a German nobleman, and was formerly in the army: when we received intelligence of the French having marched from Barcelona to surprise us, I put myself at the head of our peasants, and followed by some of the monks, advanced to engage the military banditti. We met at the village of Bruch, near Montserrat; the enemy had about 4000 chosen men, well equipped. My rustic force was about the same number, but badly armed, and few of them accustomed to military manœuvres. However, full of loyalty and ardour, in defence of our sacred mountain, and committing ourselves to the protection of God, we gave them battle, and after an obstinate and bloody contest, succeeded in driving them as far as Martorell, making in the course of three hours great slaughter among them. In this battle one of our hermits fought bravely, and died gloriously. When the enemy halted at Molins de Rey, upon their retreat, I dispatched a messenger to the general commanding the French forces with a challenge to meet me in personal combat with the sabre, but he refused, and with his forces returned to Barcelona.

"On the 24th of the same month, the French returned in considerable force to the attack, but were again repulsed. In this affair I slew the French commander.

"On the 3d of January, 1809, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy, amounting to about 1900 men, under the command of General Davoust, again suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the mountain. The monks fled to the summit, and I went to collect my peasants. The French entered the monastery, where after killing two of our people in it, they broke open our apartments, and carried off whatever was easily removable, even the linen which we had left behind. Davoust, with a solemn affectation of piety, and declaring himself to be a good catholic, would not permit any of the soldiers to enter the church. His object was to secure a choice of the precious treasure of our Virgin, which he doubtless felt sure of finding; but we had previously buried it, and the secret was confided to myself and two of my brethren. Accordingly the French commander returned to his impatient soldiers, who soon heard the mortifying intelligence, that the riches of our Lady of the Mount had been removed, and that no one knew where. The next morning the miscreants, hearing that our peasants were collecting,

retired about one o'clock: as they descended, we dispatched about thirty of them from the heights which we occupied. We afterwards heard, that General Duhesme ordered Davoust to be put under arrest for attacking our mountain without orders.

"This measure was however most likely dictated either by a jealousy respecting the treasure of Montserrat, or was a stratagem to efface, if possible, in the minds of the people of Barcelona, the indelible disgrace which the church militant had thus inflicted upon the French army, in two signal victories and a forced retreat, by giving to the conduct of the French, on this occasion, the appearance of an unauthorized and ill-appointed irruption of some rapacious officers and soldiers." (Page 324—6.)

It gives us the most sincere satisfaction to find, that the Junta of Tarragona contrived before the surrender of the place to make good their retreat to this fortress; though we fear, that both the intrepidity of Padre de Schilling, and the defences of the mountain, are about to undergo a ruder shock than any to which they have yet been exposed. By the last accounts from Spain, it appears, that Suchet, since the fall of Tarragona, has detached an army to lay regular siege to the place. How the ruffian will riot in the yet unrifled spoils that have been collected there!!

We shall insert but two more anecdotes in illustration of this part of the subject. The first from an author whose respectability of character, and whose peculiar sources of information with respect to the Peninsula entitle him to every degree of credit; the other from a private communication. In the historical part of the first volume of the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, (p. 364,) it is related, that after an obstinate and well contested battle, near Medina del Rio Seco, in which the French were victorious, they revenged themselves with their usual ferocity when they entered that town some hours afterwards. "Having first satiated themselves with massacre and then with plunder, they committed atrocities upon the women scarcely equalled in the worst ages of military barbarity: the nuns were violated and then murdered. Six hundred persons were massacred in the streets and houses. A Spanish officer who had received three wounds was brought before one of the French generals, who ordered a dragoon to cut him down; he put up his hands to save himself; and they were nearly severed with a sabre stroke. Upon this he fell; but as the dragoon was going, the general called him back and bade him shoot the blackguard, for he was not yet dead. The officer knelt to receive his death. The ball passed between his arm and his body, and he had presence of mind enough to fall; and crawling away in the night was brought to the Galician army to tell his tale. When the French soldiers had pillaged every thing

they could find, they carried off infants, and made their parents redeem them."

In so far as the reports from the French officers who returned to France, concerning the adventures which happened to their companions in Spain, may be depended upon, the following circumstance is worthy of credit. After the barbarous massacre of the 2d and 3d May, 1808, at Madrid, under the orders of Marshal Murât, some French officers, quartered at a coffee-house, observing the mistress of it in great dejection, and comporting herself with extraordinary symptoms of grief and misery, affected to console her with their ordinary flippancy and cruelty, indulging in jokes at her expence, and pressing her and her daughter to drink with them. After some feigned excuses she at length consented, and sent her daughter for a bottle, some of the contents of which she offered to the officers: they desired her and her daughter to pledge them first, which they did: five officers then drank—but the liquor was no sooner well swallowed, than the mother with a passionate and horrible exultation exclaimed—"At length we are revenged—you murdered my husband and my son; you have worse than murdered my daughter; but you have not an hour to live; the liquor which we have all swallowed contains a deadly poison." Her words were too true; within the allotted time they were all stretched lifeless on the floor.

O triumph for the fiends of lust and wrath
Ne'er to be told, yet ne'er to be forgot,
What wanton horrors mark'd their wrackful path!
The peasant butcher'd in his ruin'd cot,
The hoary priest even at the altar shot,
Childhood and age given o'er to sword and flame,
Woman to infamy:—No crime forgot,
By which inventive dæmons might proclaim
Immortal hate to man, and scorn of God's great name."
(Vision of Don Roderic, p. 61.)

We have now endeavoured very inadequately, we fear, to lay before our readers a detailed account of the elements of hope and fear with respect to the contest in the Peninsula, which are to be extracted from the materials that have hitherto fallen under our observation. We know not what effects a mature consideration of them may have upon the mind of a British reader: but this we know, that the other party in the contest, the people of France, detesting the war in Spain for its atrocious nature, oppressed by its already fatal results, and fearing the ruinous prospects which its continuance presents, express as loudly as they dare a more general indignation against it than is even to be

heard in this country; the fact is singular, and certainly true: and the reason perhaps may be, that there are no avowed parties under a despotic government ruled by a vigilant and active tyrant; all political questions are therefore argued (when argued at all), more abstractedly from private motives and feelings, from the bias of interest or the lure of connection, than in a free country like England. No aspirant to office in France expects to supplant his rival by a regular system of vituperation, in order to plume himself upon superior sagacity, when one out of twenty of his numerous predictions of failure is by chance fulfilled.

However justly the French may generally be reproached with systematic selfishness and absence of moral feeling, the atrocity of their ruler's conduct towards Spain seems to have awakened their latent sympathies.—Even at its commencement, while crowned with success, it was equally unpopular.

The persons who from their official situation surrounded his throne had the boldness to join their voices to the public opinion; and even Berthier, the *gentle and timid* Berthier, remonstrated with his master and “companion in arms,” on the atrocity of his infernal project. Strange as it may appear, he found but one solitary individual to encourage him, and that individual was a minister of peace, the Archbishop of *Malines*, a name which gave rise to a thousand calembourgs at Paris, from its similarity to the character of its owner's disposition.

Fouché was peremptorily ordered to arrest those who declared their sentiments. He is well known to have remonstrated, which was never forgiven. Bonaparte held in his hand lists of the denounced from his own private police—Fouché replied, “Sire je tiens les coupables;—vous n'avez qu'à ordonner que les barrières soient fermées, car tout Paris en parle de même.” Another unequivocal symptom, which spread a general conviction of failure throughout France, was the return of the crowd of “Intrigants” and “Employés civils;” a race which, from the beginning of the triumphs of the French arms and *arts* (see Duppa on the capture of Rome) has always followed the footsteps of their troops, to seize upon the spoils of conquered and defenceless nations. These harpies poured back into France, bringing tremendous accounts of the *savage nature* of the Spaniards, of the assassinations of Frenchmen, and of the difficulty of transport or of provision in a hostile, desert, and mountainous country. After Sir John Moore's retreat and re-embarkation at Corunna, Bonaparte's council advised him to add the Spanish provinces north of the Ebro to the territory of the empire, to marry the Prince of Asturias to Lucien's daughter, to send back the royal family, and to withdraw the French troops “pour les employer

à exécuter ses vastes projets contre les Turcs aussi bien que contre les ennemis éternels du continent." But the wary tyrant well knew that he could not afford thus to confess himself foiled at his own weapons. He was well aware that the "prestige de Bonaparte et de sa fortune" was an illusion necessary to his very existence; that to confess his judgement fallible, his calculations ultimately erroneous, was to suffer to be drawn from under his throne one of the principal props by which its treacherous elevation is bolstered up. As a man high in authority in France, and who often approached Bonaparte's person, one day said to a friend of ours, "Bonaparte ne reviendra jamais de cette horrible affaire d'Espagne. D'abord il se croit infallible, ou ce qui revient à la même chose pour nous, il veut que nous le croyons. Maintenant il est tellement enfoncé dans le crime, qu'il ne peut plus en sortir en reculant. Arrive qui pourra, il faut qu'il marche en avant soutenant le crime par le crime." In truth it does appear to us that he never can propose terms of peace to Spain, except as an absolute conqueror, nor while a British army remains in the Peninsula; and it appears equally clear, that losing in moral force, as he has done since the war began, and gaining as he would by a triumphant consummation of it, he must go on losing in moral force in proportion as the war continues, and that his influence over the minds of the nations must be altogether extinct, if the resistance of the Peninsula should be ultimately effectual. Upon these data we would calculate; upon them would we build a decided conviction that every month during which the contest is prolonged will doubly repay the cost, inasmuch as it plucks a feather out of the wings of the destroyer, which his exhausted energies cannot rapidly replace; that a succession of avulsions will at length strip the pinions, and, to use a phrase which we have on another occasion ventured to condemn, "he will fall to rise no more, dull and breathless on his native dunghill."

Though, if we can credit our senses, he has still some admirers in this country, terror and self-interest have long enabled the French to appreciate his real character. His very existence arises from selfish calculation on the part of the people whom he oppresses; and every year of the Spanish war renders that calculation less favourable to him. Last year the conscription swept away but the sixth of the population capable of bearing arms; this year may, perhaps, consume a fourth of the remainder; and the regular dole of glory by which the national vanity was fed has been lately of necessity withheld. The result of this combination of causes becomes every day less dubious, and we believe that a ball passed through the tyrant's

hat in the Bois de Boulogne last autumn, and that the assassin was not discovered for forty hours.

The facts and reflections detailed in this article seem calculated strongly to impress upon our minds the conviction that those persons are either very incorrect, or very insincere reasoners, who hold it to be a conclusive proof of the hopeless nature of the contest, that there is no immediate prospect of the French being actually driven out of the Peninsula by a superior military force regularly opposed to them: and that, if they can by any means keep a footing there, the native patriots will never hold out against the changes which "*the arts and the force of the conqueror*" may effect among the inhabitants who are within the verge of his power. Now it really appears to us that the "*arts and the force*" are in the present instance convertible terms, and even the authority which promulgates the opinion shall never bring us to believe that *the arts* of rapine, plunder, murder, and violation, are those against which the antipathies of a vindictive nation will not hold out for any assignable length of time.

Moreover, we cannot help thinking, paradoxical as it may at first sight appear, that the *real* emancipation of Spain from foreign influence and internal degeneracy is much nearer under its present difficulties, than if the French in two or three campaigns had been rapidly driven beyond the Pyrenees. A nation suffering under the consequences of a long course of debasement requires a long course of lustration to purify the mass from its obstinate and innate corruption. Let him who has carefully attended to the impartial statement just given of the higher orders in Spain stand up and declare what increase of hope there would be for the liberation of the country, or for its ultimate protection from foreign influence by internal virtue and energy, were the British army to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees, in the next three months: the only consequence would be, that much of the power of the state would be necessarily thrown into hands which have sufficiently shewn their incapacity to wield it to any good purpose, and which have long since evinced that they are the instruments of minds actuated by selfish principles, or stupefied by listless ignorance. The French would probably regain by intrigue that power of which British valour had deprived them; or, at the best, the Spanish nation would remain almost as complete a cypher in the politics of Europe,—certainly as inefficient an ingredient in the system of opposition to France, as they have been for the last century.

For ourselves, we have no hesitation in declaring our ardent

wish that the contest may endure until the Spanish patriots have been tried to the uttermost; until they have been seven times passed through the furnace, and assayed even to the simplest elements of their individual composition. We would wish the people to know the full value and the real character of every military and political agent, and that they should have no political power to confer upon any one, till a sufficient number of sterling candidates for it has been approved. The Spaniards have already taught the tyrant a lesson, of which his reading at the *Ecole Militaire* should not have left him ignorant, "*stultum est eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere.*" A few years more of the same description of warfare will impress the soundness of this philosophy still more strongly upon him, not only by improving the real character of the present actors, but by inevitably calling into action several persons, whose talents, but for the revolutionary state of their country, would have died in obscurity. When by their united talents and exertions army after army of the intruders shall have melted away before their face; when they shall gradually have evacuated the several belts of country, and have retired northward over the different chains of mountains, until the accumulated mass of their opposers shall at length have hurled them down the northern precipices of the Pyrenees; then may the Spaniards call together into the Cortes the united talents and patriotism of those who have been the instruments of their liberation. An assembly so constituted, and deliberating under such circumstances, would be compelled by every motive which can actuate the human soul to be faithful to their country, and to erect the pillars of its prosperity on the broad basis of national independence and individual liberty. They could scarcely fail to draw forth once more those resources of territory and character which formerly lifted Spain to the first seat of honour and power among the nations of the continent. They would swear eternal enmity to the French name and nation, and in alliance with Great Britain, their glorious companion in arms and in fame, would form a political union, extending its beneficial influence not only over the eastern and western hemispheres, but whose moral force would be altogether irresistible in rekindling the smothered energies of Europe. Whether future events shall verify or blast these sanguine predictions, it is a glorious prospect to a contemplative mind thus to anticipate the good which *may* ultimately arise out of those dreadful present evils, the French revolution, and the tyranny resulting from it. When that volcano first exploded, the whole of continental Europe (to extend the observation no further) lay wallowing in the vice and apathy,

in that state of inversion of all the moral and political duties, which is consequent upon a long course of moderate prosperity under selfish and ignorant rulers. The *moral* faculties of man were brutified, as it were, and the very standard of individual excellence, or even of simple duty, was lowered to a degree to which it had never been reduced, since the revival of Christianity. Knowledge of the world was nothing more than an acquaintance with the intrigues of courts, and the art of thriving by the vices and follies of others; and self, in its lowest acceptation, even considered as nothing but the centre of the sensual enjoyments, was the primary motive to exertion. This system of course vanished like a morning mist before the energetic vices of the French. But, though the monster was destroyed, another still more intolerable has taken its place; a monster however so powerful that it is only by straining the human faculties beyond their usual pitch of exertion—it is only by self-devotion, zeal, exalted courage, and perseverance in all the disinterested and manly virtues, that any hope of liberation can arise. Yet the yoke is so heavy that the oppressed must sigh for liberation, and we doubt not will in the course of time discover, and be prepared to pay, the tax necessary to obtain it. The most free and enlightened nation of Europe has at length discovered it, and seems disposed (with the exception of a very few degenerate souls) to discharge it to the uttermost farthing. Let but the other nations be roused by the example, and the human mind, brightened and restored by the general exaltation of principle that must ensue, and refined by the various knowledge within its reach, will give to Europe days which it has never seen, and more than repay it for the state of cruel and perilous trial, through which it will have been urged onward to the glorious result.

Such appear to be the probable and most desirable results of a protracted continuation of the present struggle, crowned at length with the success which (if it be well and honestly conducted) it may certainly be said to merit. It remains only that we inquire whether the means employed are sufficient to attain the end proposed, and by what expedients those means may be turned to the best account. We cannot help decidedly thinking that the means in our possession are amply sufficient; and that we have only to keep up Lord Wellington's army to that strength which will occasionally force the French to concentrate their principal force, in order to keep it in check; and without a battle for any purpose but defending our positions, without any other exertion on our part, save that of keeping the army entire, and sufficiently numerous, the object will now be ultimately

attained; and sooner or later, in proportion to the quality of the materials of which the Spanish government may at the several periods be composed. We will briefly state our reasons for this opinion.

Those who have means and diligence to inquire into the subject will soon be convinced that the great difficulty under which Bonaparte labours, is that of procuring provisions for his armies in the Peninsula. If it were not for this, he might *inundate* the territory with men from Italy, France, and Germany; unwilling instruments, it is true, but scarcely the less efficient for the purposes of his generals.

Now this want of provisions necessarily confines the number of his troops in Spain to a specific amount, beyond which he can by no means carry them; and we have ample evidence that this amount is by no means great enough to enable them to repress the efforts of the Guerillas; and, at the same time, to make head against a large combined army pressing upon the frontiers. The late concentration of the French force near Badajos (where, by the way, they must necessarily be exposed to the autumnal miasmata of a marshy country), has opened all the remoter plains and vallies of the country to the incursions of the Guerillas.

Longa in the Asturias and Gallicia, Mina in the north of Castile, Empanado in the neighbourhood of Madrid, Saptocildes near Leon, Don Julian Sanchez near Salamanca, and other partisans in various provinces, have bestowed a twofold benefit on the cause. They have added confidence and numbers to their troops, and have considerably diminished the future means of subsisting the French armies, when they return to their respective stations. But it is not difficult to foresee the ultimate consequences of such a system, gradual as its progress may be. Upon every concentration of the French forces, which the increasing confidence and numbers of the allied army under Lord Wellington render necessary, will be accumulated upon the intruders the difficulties of their situation, when want of provisions, and the interception of their convoys, obliges them to separate; and every year a smaller number will be able to procure subsistence.

With respect to the transport of subsistence from France, we find that even the coaches, and wives, and children, of their generals cannot traverse the country in safety, though attended by an escort of 2000 men. Moreover, we have been credibly informed, that at an early period of the contest, of the contents of 6000 waggons loaded with provisions from the south of France to Spain (an effort which must have nearly exhausted

the former), the greater part was consumed by the horses, mules, and drivers, before they arrived at Burgos. Such were the difficulties and delays which (Guerillas apart) they had to contend with.

Their means, in short, will decrease, while those of the allies increase; not so rapidly, however, but that the contest will yet continue for some time, upon terms equal enough to prevent the natural lethargy of the Spaniards from becoming predominant, and to call forth every spark, yet latent, of ability and patriotism.

It is certainly of the last importance that a government should rule in Spain, capable of collecting the scattered elements as they arise into a solid mass of resistance; who, when they have once more got possession of the barrier of the Sierra Morena, or of any other important post, should not readmit the intruders as the Central Junta did. Neither is it less necessary that their troops should be commanded by leaders of approved valour and honesty. To judge from late effects, we are happy to perceive something like an improved system and disposition in these respects. The battle of Albuera, and the preceding correspondence between Lord Wellington, Blake, and Castanos, respecting the chief command of the allied forces, have afforded us a more comfortable prospect than has yet opened upon the cause. And we cannot help recommending the conduct of Lord Wellington, on this occasion, to our *diplomatic agents* in general. One of the true English breed, instructed to procure the chief command for the British general, without reflecting upon the nature of the men with whom he had to deal, would forthwith have begun with stipulating, complaining, grumbling, and being sulky; enlightened modes of intercourse, which, with a haughty Spaniard, would certainly provoke a return in kind; and, with a supple Frenchman, would as certainly meet with indulgence and dupery. But Lord Wellington, with admirable foresight of the consequence, attacked the generous Spaniards with the liberal frankness of a soldier; and although we confess that, at first sight, we thought his civility a little overstrained, the event has now humbled us to a due sense of his superior judgment.

The name of this distinguished man can never cross our path, without bringing with it recollections too fruitful to be confined within our breasts. Though his enemies, *at home*, are by his capacity confounded in their calculations, thunderstruck at his success, and *silent* in his praise, we cannot help recording the following tribute from one of his enemies *abroad*.—A French soldier, who had been wounded at Talavera, and returned with

crutches to France, said to an English prisoner, "Votre Sir Arthur est un ——— à ——— *." Il est digne d'être General François." In our opinion, he is worthy of much higher praise—Il est digne d'être *General Anglois*—He is worthy of being the instrument to convince our friends and our enemies, that if the English army has for some years, and with a few excepted cases, made but a sorry figure in Europe, it was not on account of the raw materials of which it was composed, or of the organization which was given to it at home while preparing for foreign service. He is worthy, in short, of making the best use of the best troops in the world. For these talents and services we cannot as Englishmen forbear loving him. And we love him more especially for the complete contempt in which he deservedly holds the manœuvres of the be-princed and be-marshalled generals opposed to him. Contempt not founded on a boyish want of due appreciation of their talents and character, which would be the certain herald of defeat; but on acute observation of the whole of their system of warfare and means of offence, and on a well-reasoned confidence in his own troops and resources, and on the superiority which experience has proved them to possess. Would that the brave and excellent Sir John Moore had had a mind cast in the some mould! We trust, that our readers will pardon this digression, if digression it can be called to dwell upon so capital an ingredient in the composition which we are endeavouring to analyze.

Thus then we think, that we have detailed sufficient grounds to afford to a reasonable and unbiassed mind a fair prospect of success in the contest; of success gradual enough to be effectual, and complete enough to re-act upon the destinies of the world. Nevertheless, to use a phrase too trite to be nunciated in ordinary language, and for the employment of which we are glad to shelter ourselves even under the *depreciated currency* of Aristotle, "Omnia quæ veniunt in consultationem talia sunt, qualia possint aliter accidere." While therefore we think ourselves entitled to hope with confidence, we do certainly rejoice with trembling; but we confess, that when doubts involuntarily arise, one glance of the mind's eye towards the consideration of an over-ruling Providence completely quiets our apprehensions. Heavy as the load of national guilt is, which Spain has to expiate by the dire inflictions of Providence, we cannot bring our minds into subjection to the idea, that the Almighty will crown with ultimate success a cause, the atrocity of which human

* We are proud to think, that even the most degenerate Briton would not so much as understand the phrase which was here familiarly used by the French soldier.

language is unequal to characterize: which from the first cowardly and convicted lying and diabolical oppressions and kidnappings at Bayonne, through the regular series of complicated infamy, down to *Count Suchet's* treatment of Tarragona, has exhibited a bare-faced dereliction even of any pretence to justice, or of any other appeal except to vile fraud and unprincipled force, such as never before disgraced the moral turpitude of mankind.

ART. IV.—*The State of the Established Church; in a Series of Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. Second Edition, corrected and enlarged; with an Appendix of Official Documents.* 8vo. pp. 151. Stockdale. 1810.

WE have now before us some letters to Mr. Perceval on the state of the established church; and we have also read a certain pretty, soothing, and well-written lullaby, in answer to these letters. Now, though it may be reckoned cruel to awaken mother church from the sweet slumbers which we conclude she must be enjoying in consequence of the said lullaby, yet our real regard and affection for her induce us to endeavour to disturb that peaceful repose, which we fear might in the end prove fatal to her. Nor can we by any means admit the validity of the argument founded on the weakness and imperfection of human nature, when it is adduced to excuse a wilful perseverance in neglects or abuses, plainly pointed out and as plainly within the power of the offender to remedy. As our author observes in his blunt and magisterial way—

“It is in vain to tell me, that the clergy are but men; that they are subject to all the weakness incident to our nature. I am willing to grant all, and much more than can be justly claimed on the score of human infirmity; but as there is no situation in life in which such errors and infirmities (if you call them such) would be admitted, so there is none in which they deserve so little respect. Sleep is natural and necessary to the human frame; yet if the vidette be found sleeping on his post, military execution is instantly awarded. If your attorney neglects your suit, the court will saddle him with the costs, and perhaps prevent his repeating the offence. Skill is implied in the physician; and for his ignorance he will be punished. In short, in no state of life is this plea of indolence and inactivity allowed;

much less therefore ought it to avail in that which is instituted to conduct mankind to that eternity, in comparison of which all the wealth, and other enjoyments of this life, are but as an atom to the whole globe itself." P. 66.

There are so many just observations in the pamphlet before us, and it affords so many useful hints for the advantage of our excellent establishment, that we cannot but think that all well-wishers to the church, and more particularly all her professional members, would do well to peruse it with a candid spirit, and to overlook occasional warmth, a too great strength of expression, and a good deal of unqualified assertion, in favour of the honest zeal by which the whole seems to be dictated; in short, we would recommend it to them to pocket the affront, and profit by the advice.

We certainly wish, that the well meaning author had been more temperate in his censures of the conduct of the clergy, particularly in those respects in which they are in general undeserving of blame; though we fear he has in many instances but too much ground for his accusation of them, with respect to their lukewarmness, indifference. and want of that unction, which alone can give efficacy to the powers entrusted to them. He, however, goes so much too far as to state, that a large proportion of the clergy "betray a dissoluteness of manners, which, while it is most shameful in them, would not be borne in any other state of life;" and he adds, "Do not our courts of justice teem with their offences? Is there a subject of public corruption and profligacy, the developement of which does not discover its reverend associates? and do not men of this description daily walk about our streets unsilenced and unchastised?" Here we think there is an unpardonable degree of exaggeration; the few instances which have occurred, to give a colour for these remarks, by no means constitute the prevailing evil among the clergy; and our author has availed himself beyond reasonable bounds of the licence which in the following passage he has thought proper to grant to his own pen. "It is now too late for a public writer to attempt to discriminate; and if the good should in some degree suffer with the depraved, they have those only to blame, who, placed in high and lucrative situations, for the purposes of prevention, have failed to prevent the conduct we are now called upon to point out." But that a considerable number of the clergy are lamentably deficient in the chief requisites for enforcing the truths of the Gospel to the edification and salvation of souls, is we fear but too evident; and this deficiency it is, which is gradually undermining our national church, and upon which her enemies chiefly

build their hopes of rising through superior zeal upon her ruins.

The author of this pamphlet remarks, that as long as patronage is in private hands, it must be liable to an improper distribution; and therefore he suggests the expediency of greater precautions than are at present used, to prevent the ordination of persons, ill qualified for the ministry.

“ Without intrenching upon what are the present requisites at the universities, a knowledge and rigid practice of the duties of religion should be indispensable. All habitual vice and dissoluteness of manners should not only be checked and discountenanced, but should, after a certain limit, be made a positive obstacle to a young man's ordination: which would of course include much greater caution about testimonials than is at present exercised. A preparation and examination for orders should form part of the system of education at college, and not be left entirely to the bishops, and by them to the hurried and contracted attention of their chaplains. A proficiency on this head should be as indispensable as other attainments are towards a fellowship; and this proficiency should include constant and devout attendance on divine worship, and such a performance of the church service as is essential to its due effect upon their future hearers. To attain these objects, it would be requisite (as it is on all accounts highly desirable) that young men intended for the church should declare such intention on their admission to the university.

“ Dismissed from college, greater care than is at present used should be taken by those whose province it is to confer upon candidates for orders the highest and most important office, if duly considered, to which a human being can aspire. Independent of the attainments already alluded to, great circumspection should be exercised, and every inquiry made as to the candidates' views and prospects; so that some check at least should exist to the practice of sending young men into the church upon speculation, or merely to get a livelihood: as it is impossible to intrench upon private patronage, part of the evil arising from it would thus be cured, if no persons were admitted to holy orders but those who are thoroughly qualified.” P. 125.

Those whom it may concern will do well, and indeed, appear to us to be strictly bound, to pay attention to these remarks. They include charges, which are in too many instances notoriously true; and point out remedies, which are at least worthy of consideration. But we can altogether dissipate our author's fears of the church being overstocked with young adventurers sent into it “ upon speculation to gain a livelihood.” If the reports which have reached us be not exaggerated, the curacies, and other prospects which the church holds out to such persons, are by the pressure of the times now become so very scanty

in emolument, compared with the different modes of gaining a livelihood in the civil walks of life, that there is an actual deficiency of under labourers in the vineyard. We are credibly informed, that at both the universities there are scores of unanswered notices of "curates wanted."

A striking picture is drawn, and we fear not much overcharged, of the manner in which the services of the church are performed in many country parishes.

"Where a clergyman has to attend two, three, and sometimes four churches, it may be easily conceived that his manner cannot be very devout and impressive, nor even his appearance such as decency requires; and, as for the time, it is no unusual thing for the only duty which is performed on a Sunday to take place at ten, and sometimes at nine o'clock in the morning; leaving all the rest of the day to revelling and drunkenness, or, what is now more common, to the itinerant enthusiast. The part of the duty thus performed is often not that which is enjoined by the rubrics. A clergyman who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again, is generally too unique in his ideas to conform to the dictates of others, though he has sworn to obey them; and has of course a liturgy and a rubric of his own. Some parts of the service he constantly omits; other parts he either reads or omits, as time or inclination may suit. Having not the least conception (or at all events recollection) of the solemnity of what he is about, he has no idea that the decalogue can derive any weight or importance from distinct and audible delivery at the altar; but that is generally hurried over in the desk, with as little ceremony as the detail of a fox-chace. This remark, indeed, applies to the whole of the service; which may be readily credited by those who know that the whole morning service in many parishes (including the sermon) does not occupy three-quarters of an hour.

"The unfrequency of the sacrament of the Lord's supper (that most solemn and important office of religion) is the next topic, sir, to which I would draw your attention. In some parishes the sacrament is only administered twice in the year; in a great many only three times; and in a large majority only four times in a year. I am aware that neither the rubric nor the canons distinctly point out the precise number of times which the sacrament shall be administered in the year; and I think it would be well if some definite regulation were made upon a subject of such infinite magnitude and concern. Some persons have construed the direction to the minister to read the communion service at the altar, as implying his constant readiness to administer the sacrament *every* Sunday; as I believe was the case in the earlier ages of the church, and is still so in some of our cathedrals. At all events the twenty-first canon, which directs the laity to communicate "*at least three times*" in the year, is a sufficient proof that the clergy have no authority for the unfrequency of this rite, for which there is no true

reason but the indolence and inactivity which pervades the conduct of many of them; added, I fear, in some instances, to their leading lives very different from that state of preparation necessary for this solemn occasion. The time too in this case calls for our notice. Those who administer it but twice choose the festivals of Christmas and Easter; to which other add Michaelmas: all of them periods of the year when often the aged, the sickly, and infirm, cannot attend divine service. In most parts of the country I believe a sacrament is never heard of between Easter and Michaelmas; and in many, not between Easter and Christmas, though the festivals of Whitsuntide and Trinity are those when persons of the above description would be most likely to attend divine service, with ease, convenience, and safety. The reason given by some of the clergy for this unfrequency of the sacrament is as strange as that they can give any reason at all. They say it is because there are so few communicants! This surely is giving the effect for the cause: for any one who will take the trouble of inquiring why there are, in many parishes, so few communicants, will find that it is wholly occasioned by this criminal negligence of the clergy. There is no measure so calculated to keep the heart and mind in a proper state as frequent participation of the Lord's supper. The preparation necessary for it; the dread of receiving it unworthily; and the consolation which it bestows; all combine to make the man, who frequently receives it, better and happier than those who neglect it. And this state of mind can only be preserved by continual exercise. The thought that he will soon receive the sacrament, deters a man from many vices and irregularities; while, on the other hand, this benefit once lost sight of, life becomes less pure, and examination more painful, till we at last shrink altogether from the holy table. These, sir, are with me strong reasons for the frequency. In the churches of the metropolis, and in those of large towns, there is generally a sacrament once a month, independent of the great festivals; and there seems to be no sufficient reason why the congregations in other places should not have as frequent opportunities of obeying the last and most solemn command of their blessed Redeemer." P. 60, &c.

We know not in what part of the country the author made the observations, which drew from him these strictures, and it would perhaps be invidious to conjecture; but this we know,—that we have ourselves remarked, in one or two extensive counties, especially where clerical sportsmen are in vogue, a lively representation of the original portrait.

There is some humour in his remarks upon Bishop Hurd's declaration of the difficulty and inexpediency of enforcing the residence act.

"Another reason why it is in vain to hope for any voluntary exertion of the dormant authority of the bishops is, that they themselves consider their powers as oppressive, and are unwilling

individually to incur an odium, the cause of which has arisen originally not from themselves, but has devolved upon most, if not all of them, from their predecessors. In some instances, the united wisdom of parliament has not had all the influence that could be wished. One of the most pious and learned bishops who ever adorned the bench is said to have stated it as his opinion, in his return to the privy council, that the residence act could not be further enforced without great inconvenience to the clergy, and that therefore he had suspended its operation in his diocese. Surely such a fact as this is sufficient to shew parliament, that something more is wanting than individual discretion, however respectable; for much as I reverence the memory of this truly great man, who was justly thought an ornament to his country, to its church, to literature, and to human nature, I cannot persuade myself that even the authority of Dr. Hurd can for a moment sanction the principle here broached. Inconvenience, sir! Is it for the convenience of the clergy that their revenues have been appointed? is the eternal salvation of millions of human beings to hang upon this weak, this miserable thread of convenience? It may be inconvenient to an officer to join his regiment or his ship; but will the war-office or admiralty be amused with such a reason? It may be inconvenient to a gentleman to attend his duty in parliament; but a serjeant at arms will soon set his mind at ease upon the subject. And are the duties of religion, sir, of less consequence than these? is the service of God the only one that can be trifled with, and made subservient to all our baser pursuits?" P. 120.

These, and several other observations in this pamphlet, are worth attending to, and we repeat that we are convinced of the honest intentions of the author; at the same time we must remark, that we are a good deal perplexed respecting his own religious sentiments, as he more than once betrays some inconsistency upon this point. We are inclined to believe, that his views upon religion are not perfectly clear; the more particularly as, though he points out very ably many of the existing evils and abuses in the church of England, he does not appear to have dived deep enough to reach the chief cause of them, which in our opinion is the almost universal neglect of preaching the fundamental and peculiar doctrines of christianity*. These doctrines *alone*, by being engrafted on the heart, can produce sincere religion, and practical piety, and therefore the disuse of the custom of enforcing them in the pulpit has been alternately both cause and effect of the alarming state of our church establishment. It is true, we hear excellent morality from our pulpits. and we are constantly reminded of our duties—but can this be effectual, when *the source* from which we derive at once our

* Vide the primary charge of the late Bishop Horsley in 1799, printed by the society for promoting Christian knowledge.

motives and ability to perform these duties is not sufficiently pressed upon our minds?

One assertion we find in the pamphlet before us, which we have ourselves often heard, and at first rashly believed, and which we suppose the author took upon trust. The assertion to which we allude is, that a certain description of persons within the pale of the church are "purchasing advowsons and procuring presentations and curacies wherever they can be found, which are carefully filled up with persons, some educated in, others converted to, their peculiar tenets; which are, for the most part, calvinistic, and as opposite to the real principles of the church as any species of dissent." Now, we have been making enquiries upon this subject, and we can in consequence assure our readers, that it is not true that any description of persons, within our church, are acting in this manner.

We wish also to say a few words to a certain class of friends to the church, whom we have heard reasoning somewhat in the following manner. "Take care that you do not lower the church by openly stating the relaxation of her discipline, and the abuses and errors committed by some of her professional members,—by so doing, you *inform* her enemies of her weak parts, and diminish the esteem of her friends." To these quiescent advocates of the church we answer, that her enemies need no *information* upon the subject, having long been fully aware of her weak side, and having made their profit of it, before she was aware of it herself. And as to her friends—all her real well wishers must perceive and lament the dangerous predicament in which she at present stands; and in proportion to their regard for her, must wish that those abuses and deficiencies which threaten her with ruin should be laid open in order to be corrected. The manner of reasoning above described reminds us of that of a lady, who, when her husband discovered the dry rot in his floor by lifting up the carpet, exclaimed, "Cover it up! cover it up! don't look at it!" Were we to follow this sort of advice, in the parallel case respecting our national church, and to cover her symptoms of decay, we fear that the building might crumble and fall over our heads, while we were sleeping in false security.

Much is heard in the present day of that catholic species of toleration, which would extend its palliating or justifying influence to acknowledged neglect of duty, because clothed in the clerical habit. We would oppose to it the following alternative, which we think will clearly show the rottenness of the principle. If the people are ignorant enough to be satisfied with the negligent performance of the clerical duties, their reli-

gious state and their moral conduct (the very objects for the promotion of which pastors are appointed and paid) must be lamentably dangerous, and deplorably deficient. This side of the alternative may perhaps give short-lived peace to the church; but at the expense of the souls of the people. We much fear, that it may be the prospect of this repose so productive of present enjoyment, which biasses many towards the notion, that the people ought to be deceived into an implicit confidence in *all* church ministers, be their preaching and conduct what they may. If, on the other hand, the people are dissatisfied, and perceive the deficiency of their pastor; which (where that deficiency exists) they can hardly avoid doing, when the sectaries refer them to the bible and to the fathers of the church for rules whereby to estimate the clerical character; what hope remains, of preserving them to the church, but by rousing her inert energies to a vigorous spirit of amendment? Therefore, in spite of the remonstrances of those short-sighted though well-meaning friends to the church above alluded to, we have not scrupled upon the present, as well as upon former occasions, to speak openly upon the subject; and we shall continue to do so, as long as our readers will pay any attention to our humble remarks.

Upon the whole, we very much lament that the author of the pamphlet before us did not submit his manuscript before its publication to some judicious friend. By neglecting this necessary precaution, he has laid himself open to animadversions, which his reasoning and intentions do not deserve. He has thus afforded to the *quiescent advocate of things as they are* the opportunity of giving a plausible answer to his pamphlet without touching the real substance of his arguments; and with the usual fate of the hasty and inaccurate, has incurred the chance of injuring the cause which he meant to serve. By submitting his manuscript to correction, he might also have avoided many irritating and some unjust aspersions upon our national clergy, which render us altogether so little satisfied with his performance, that recommending it as we do to the candid perusal and charitable consideration of that respectable body, we shall now take leave of the work, and proceed to lay before our readers a few brief remarks, which the present times have called forth upon the state of the established church.

It can scarcely fail to excite considerable interest and anxiety in the breast of any man cordially attached to it. There are indeed some circumstances which are highly gratifying. The torpor and lukewarmness which appeared to prevail some few years ago have been much diminished. A greater degree of zeal and energy appears amongst the clergy. The tone of pulpit

eloquence is raised ; the doctrine generally inculcated is far more scriptural and sacred ; greater pains appear to be taken in the religious instruction of youth ; and the number of those who attend divine service and partake of the Lord's supper has received a considerable increase. These things certainly have a favourable appearance, and when considered in connection with the laudable exertions that are made for the distribution of the scriptures and the propagation of the gospel, are calculated to keep alive the hopes of those who believe that the blessing of Divine Providence is the best safeguard of their country.

But, on a nearer examination, many things will be discovered which have a less favourable aspect. Even within the walls of the church a great discordance of sentiment may be discovered ; and that, not only with respect to matters of less moment, but even with respect to the fundamental doctrines of christianity and the important duties of the ministerial office.

In every age since the first promulgation of our religion, those who have been cordially attached to it, and, by the conformity of their lives to its strict and holy precepts, have put to shame the looser manners of the world around them, have been branded with some epithet of a reproachful nature. The followers of Christ, therefore, have no reason to be surprised at experiencing such treatment from the worldly and profane. But it is to be lamented, that reproachful language and unfounded charges are not confined merely to those who are indifferent to the cause of religion. Too many who appear zealous in its defence, too many who hold a conspicuous place amongst the ministers and even the dignitaries of our church, have been unhappily so far misled in this respect, as to act in concert with the enemies of Christianity.

Amongst the terms which are now considered as conveying a dishonourable meaning, those of *Evangelical Preachers* and *Gospel Ministers* are employed to designate such as are distinguished by more than ordinary zeal in diffusing the peculiar truths of christianity, or in labouring to awaken their hearers to a serious concern for their souls. We have observed in a former number*, that these titles appear to us to be most unjustly represented, as having been assumed by those to whom they are applied. We are pretty confident, that few indeed, if any, are the cases where such an assumption has been made. Nor do we by any means intend to assert, that the clergymen in question would wish to be, or to be thought, otherwise than evangelical in their tenets, and preachers of the gospel : but they have always appeared to us

* See British Review, No. 2, p. 424.

utterly unwilling to arrogate to themselves appellations which ought to be deserved by all who belong to their sacred order. We certainly do observe, that their hearers sometimes use language of this kind concerning them, and that both they and the churches in which they officiate gradually become known as affording peculiar advantages of religious instruction and consolation; but, so far from wishing to be thus distinguished, we have never seen any thing that should induce us to suppose it otherwise than their earnest desire, that every one of their brethren may be equally assiduous and useful; that from every other pulpit the great truths of christianity may be proclaimed with equal zeal and ability. And we shall always approve of their proceedings and their measures, so long as we are convinced that their object is not to be the founders of a sect or the leaders of a party, but rather faithfully and unostentatiously to discharge the duties of their office, and to contribute, as far as they are able, to the improvement of those entrusted to their charge. If indeed there be any who, not content with fulfilling their own task, invidiously bring to notice the omissions or the errors of their brethren, for such we have no design to apologize. Our object is to recommend a spirit of mutual charity and candour amongst the members of the same established communion; who, instead of turning their arms against each other, have need to join in the most strenuous exertions for the preservation of that *fortress* in which they are *entrenched*, and which is endangered, not only by the laxity of its interior discipline, but by the secret mines and open assaults of many and formidable enemies. Let the ministers of the church of England then be at last persuaded to love as brethren; let them lay aside those bitter railings, those party epithets, those causeless jealousies by which they harass each other and weaken the common cause. Let them make allowance for those inevitable diversities of sentiment in matters of less moment which are compatible with a cordial agreement in essential truths; and rallying round the banners of the church, and walking according to the rules of discipline which it has ordained, let them endeavour to diminish schism, to confute infidelity, and to exhibit more cordiality in their connection with the common cause, than hostility in their difference.

But whilst the divisions which prevail within the walls of our establishment are subjects of great concern to all who seriously reflect upon them, the dangers with which it is threatened from without are such as may reasonably occasion the utmost anxiety. It is not because we apprehend, that the revenues of its ministers are likely to be sequestered; it is not because we per-

ceive any attempt to level the different ranks of its ministers, or to degrade and vilify its dignitaries, that our alarm is excited; but because we see a growing contempt of order, and an alarming neglect of discipline amongst those who profess to belong to the church, and an increase in the power and hostility of a sect which already appears to rival its influence, and seems likely at no distant period to supplant it.

The candour with which we have admitted the defects in the practice of our own church has certainly earned for us the right of discussing without reserve the conduct of those who, we are sorry to admit, have constituted themselves her professed opponents.

In speaking of the sect of methodists, it seems expedient to notice the injustice and impolicy of extending this name to all who shew a more than ordinary earnestness in the defence of religious doctrines, or in the practice of religious duties. It was from mistaken conduct of this kind that the sect in some measure derived its origin; for had those who were its first founders been permitted without molestation or reproach to follow the dictates of their consciences, they probably never would have forsaken the church, nor have resorted to such successful means of creating and strengthening a party first within it, and afterwards in opposition to it. The same unwise and unchristian disposition has led to that extension of the name which has been noticed. The consequence has been, that the cause of methodism has been honoured by having several illustrious senators, many pious and orthodox ministers, and even some venerable prelates classed, not by themselves indeed, but by their calumniators, amongst its patrons.

Little do the adversaries of methodism consider that they thus strengthen the sect which they are anxious to extirpate. They have made it no longer discreditable to have the name applied, because it is so often applied without the shadow of a fair pretext;—they have, in a word, taught many to believe that methodism, instead of being SCHISM AS IT REALLY IS, IS ONLY SINGULAR AND EXALTED PIETY.

There is however a religious sect, properly called methodists, (because they now acknowledge the title) whose progress affords abundant cause for alarm. They are no longer a despised and persecuted people, but are rapidly increasing in numbers and influence, and getting rich in character by the presents which the church is daily making them.

The peculiar tenets of the methodists are too well known to require any detailed statement. A description of them, by no means uncandid, though perhaps somewhat overcharged, has

been lately given by an able hand. The circumstance which we chiefly wish to notice is their assiduity in drawing away proselytes from the established church, whilst at the same time they make no particular objections, either to its doctrine or its discipline.

With respect to other classes of dissenters, there were at least some ostensible, even though they might be insufficient, grounds for separation. The quakers, the baptists, the presbyterians, the independents have something to allege as a reason for their forsaking our communion. The arians and socinians in particular are absolutely excluded from it by their peculiar tenets. But the methodists profess, that in all essential particulars they agree with the church of England. They do not censure our liturgy, our articles, or our homilies; on the contrary, they appeal to them as affording (what they undoubtedly do afford) an admirable standard of sound doctrine. Neither do they object to episcopal government. Why then do they divide themselves from the church? why do they use every exertion to widen the breach, instead of making advances for reconciliation and unity? What is this but *gratuitous schism*? At the first appearance of this sect, it was held out as one of their fundamental principles that they would upon no occasion interfere in parishes where the officiating clergyman was faithful in the discharge of his duty. They professed it to be their design to seek after those scattered sheep of Christ's flock, whose proper shepherd left them to wander unregarded in the wilderness. But is this the case with them at present? Is it not notorious, that they principally intrude into those folds where the regular pastor is assiduous and laborious, where he has awakened amongst his people a serious concern for their souls and a spirit of religious enquiry? Does he establish a Sunday school? They immediately endeavour to gain an influence and even an ascendancy in it. Does he occasionally assemble the families of one or two neighbouring cottagers for the purpose of more conveniently reading and explaining the scriptures to them? They lose no time in striving to engraft a separate meeting upon his harmless assembly. We are able to testify from our own observation, and the information of pious and judicious ministers, that such is the course which they pursue, and that wherever an interest about religion has been produced by the preaching and pastoral visits of a pious clergyman, there the methodists most eagerly intrude themselves, build their hay and stubble upon his foundation, and make those the members of a sect, who might have been bright though humble ornaments of our established communion.

It will readily be believed that these remarks from us cannot

be dictated by a spirit of resentment or of jealousy. Could it once be proved that the salvation of men's souls would be more effectually promoted by the prevalence of methodism—could it be proved that the system adopted by its champions was more reconcilable to scripture, and afforded a fairer prospect of the advancement of the true interests of religion, or of the propagation of real christianity, than that which was established by the reformers of our church, we would certainly at the hazard of reproach, and, were we ministers, with the sacrifice of every worldly prospect, join their party. But all our reading and experience, and all the information we have been able to derive from the deeper reading and longer experience of others, convince us that the church of England, as it approaches nearest to the *apostolic model**, so does it afford the most certain and durable means of religious edification, of all the societies which have been formed for that purpose since the period of the reformation. In contending therefore for the church of England, we consider ourselves as contending for the cause of pure religion. We feel a firm conviction that if her *candlestick* were to be removed out of its place, the light of the gospel would (in this country at least) be greatly obscured, if not altogether extinguished. The experiment was once tried in the fullest manner, and the result was such as must carry conviction to every reflecting mind. Let the state of religion in the days of Cromwell be considered—let the numberless divisions and heresies which arose amongst the professors of christianity be remembered—let the wild and mischievous fanaticisms which then prevailed be called to mind, and we shall see reason to acknowledge that if Divine Providence had not interfered for the restoration of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution, religion and liberty would long since have forsaken Britain.

Blessed be God! that experiment has never yet been repeated on so extensive a scale; but we daily witness a more circumscribed repetition of it, and the result is always similar. Wherever those forms of sound doctrine which are contained in the liturgy and articles of our church are laid aside, there false and pernicious opinions speedily arise.

To enumerate the many strange opinions which have been propagated by modern sectaries would be no easy task. We can scarcely expect them to be less numerous than the teachers themselves, when we consider that the majority of those teachers are persons of low education and condition, who enter with little preparation on their office, and are restrained by no subscrip-

* See the account of the Travancore Christians in the article on Indian Idolatry, &c. in this number.

tions, confined by no forms, and responsible, in many cases, to no superior;—when, at almost every quarter sessions, numbers present themselves to obtain licences as religious teachers, who are unable to write their names, and in some cases even to read the very book which they undertake to expound, can we exclude the apprehension that the general prevalence of such a system must end in the subversion of all sound doctrine and sobriety of principle? It is on this account therefore, and not from any secular considerations, that we tremble at the progress of methodism: and it is because we sincerely believe that the overthrow of the church would tend to the extinction of sound religion in this country that we wish to prevent it.

Without the adoption of speedy and vigorous measures, there seems great reason to apprehend that the establishment cannot be secured. The numbers, the wealth, and consequently the power, of those who have separated from it have rapidly increased. The various classes of dissenters (divided as they are in their notions of doctrine and of discipline) are united in one common sentiment of jealousy and hostility, I had almost said hatred, of the church of England. They have also their rallying point in various institutions, particularly the London Missionary Society, which enables them to take their measures in concert, and to arrange in secret, designs which may be ready to take effect before they are discovered. Of this union, and of the inviolable secrecy sometimes preserved and secured, by means of which we can by no means approve, we have lately had a notable instance in the opposition to Lord Sidmouth's bill. In this case, unwilling as we are to advance any thing that may appear harsh, we cannot but admit that the dissenting interest, purely as it seems to shew or to ascertain its power, attempted (and too successfully) violently to bear down before it every obstacle to its prurient will and pleasure, without the shadow of a plausible reason on it's side. Nor can we much regret that poetical justice is now visited upon the party. They with great violence and clamour refused the conditions, which after anxious consultation with their own leaders, and with the heads of the church, were thought likely to be highly beneficial to the cause of religion—and which were certainly more calculated to add respectability to the dissenters than to be of exclusive advantage to the church;—and a subsequent decision of the Court of King's Bench has now announced to them the soundness of his lordship's views, and the benevolence of his intentions; and must cast them as petitioners upon the legislature for the very boon which they before so unreasonably disdained. But to return: whilst a certain kind of union prevails throughout the whole of what is called the dissent-

ing interest, the methodists are bound together by ties of peculiar strength. The great founder of the sect, Mr. Wesley, united to unquestionable piety no inconsiderable portion of worldly wisdom. His talents were scarcely unequal to the government of an empire, and they have been displayed in the formation of a system, which for its adaptation to the principles of human nature, its suitableness to extend and to maintain its influence, may well bear a comparison with the well organized establishment of Loyola.

Of this system, itinerancy is one leading and important feature. By means of it the bounds of the association are continually extending themselves. Like the Indian banyan tree, every successive ramification takes root in the soil, and becomes the parent of a new plant, extending gradually the dominion of the primitive stem, till a whole district is overshadowed by its luxuriant foliage. If the annual statement published by the methodists themselves be correct, their numbers are rapidly increasing. It appears, that at the conference held in July last, their numbers in Great Britain alone were stated at 138,000, being an increase of 6000 during the preceding year. The increase announced in 1809 was 5431. Their advancement, therefore, is rapidly progressive; and as the number of their chapels is augmented in proportion to that of their followers, we have every reason to believe that a large proportion of the population will be enlisted under their banners, not merely in distinction from, but even in opposition to, the church of England.

We think ourselves, therefore, entitled to ask as friends of that church, what efforts are made to counteract this increasing spirit of separation? The subject has by no means failed to attract attention: much has been said and written concerning it, but the language used has appeared to be dictated rather by scorn and resentment, than by the meekness or the wisdom of Christianity. The methodists have been vilified and misrepresented, yet their cause has at the same time derived advantage by the indiscriminating conduct of their adversaries. The union of the methodists may be contrasted with the disunion which is but too apparent amongst the members of the establishment. Their zeal in making proselytes has been opposed by bigotry, rather than by judicious attempts at counteraction. With one or two bright exceptions, the higher orders of the community have, in the mean time, looked on with apparent indifference; and though the subject has been brought under the consideration of the legislature with an aspect that could not be construed into persecution and intolerance, even by the most

violent advocate for religious licence, it was found to be as dust in the scale when opposed to the sorry arguments but resolute demeanour of a combined junta of sectaries.

It must be admitted, however, to be by no means an easy task to point out the course which ought to be pursued. To resort to severe measures would be alike inconsistent with policy and charity. Even supposing it were right in itself, there seems reason to believe that it would be impracticable to narrow the bounds of toleration. The sweets of religious liberty have been too long enjoyed to be tamely surrendered; and it is by no means difficult to foresee, that any attempt to overcome schism, or restrain itinerancy by legal penalties, would kindle a flame which might involve both church and state in one common conflagration.

The writer of a late publication entitled "*Hints on Toleration*" intimates in pretty intelligible language what would be the conduct of dissenters in case any new restraints were to be laid upon them, and what the consequences to which those restraints may lead. He says,

"A question may arise: What line of conduct conscientious ministers ought to pursue, if laws were to be enacted forbidding either all dissenting ministers to preach, or only lay preachers: or forbidding to preach in an unlicensed place; and at the same time refusing to licence persons and places, except under such security as the property of the parties would not meet, or under limitations to which their consciences could not accede. What has been advanced ought to outweigh every consideration of temporal interest; and if the evil genius of persecution were to appear again, I pray God that we might all be faithful to him, who hath called us to preach the gospel. Under such circumstances, let us continue to preach: if fined, let us pay the penalty and persevere in preaching; and when unable to pay the fine, or deeming it impolitic so to do, let us submit to go quietly to prison, but with the resolution still to preach upon the first opportunity, and, if possible, to collect a church even within the precincts of the gaol. He, who by these zealous exertions becomes the honoured instrument of converting one sinner unto God, will find that single seal to his ministerial labours an ample compensation for all his sufferings. In this manner, the venerable apostle of the Gentiles both avowed and proved his sincere attachment to the cause in which he had embarked: 'The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions abide me: but none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.' In the early ages of christianity, martyrdom was considered an eminent honour; and many of the primitive christians thrust themselves upon the notice of their heathen persecutors

that they might be brought to suffer in the cause of the Redeemer, whom they ardently loved. In the present day, christians in general incline to estimate such rash ardour as a species of enthusiasm, and feel no disposition to court the horrors of persecution; yet, if such dark and tremendous days were to return in this age of the world, ministers should retain their stations; they should be true to their charge; they should continue their ministrations, each man in his sphere, shining with all the lustre of genuine godliness, to dispel the gloom in which the nation would be then enveloped. If this line of conduct were to be adopted, and acted upon with decision, the cause of piety, of nonconformity, and of itinerant preaching, must eventually triumph. All the gaols in the country would speedily be filled: those houses of correction, which were erected for the chastisement of the vicious in the community, would be replenished with thousands of the most pious, active, and useful men in the kingdom, whose characters are held in general esteem. But the ultimate result of such despotic proceedings is beyond the ken of human prescience:—probably, appeals to the public and the legislature would teem from the press, and, under such circumstances, might diffuse a revolutionary spirit throughout the country."

Without stopping to enter upon a detailed comment on this passage, or to point out the difference between *refusing to sanction* what we do not approve, and persecuting those who from conscientious motives act in a manner contrary to our opinions; without laying any stress on the sentiment which manifestly pervades it, that every self-constituted teacher is a *minister* of the gospel, and entitled to apply to himself the language of the apostles; without inquiring how far *piety, nonconformity, and itinerant preaching*, are necessarily to be accounted synonymous terms; it may suffice to remark, that this passage shows for what the sectaries are prepared, and to what they look forward as the natural consequence of any attempt to restrain them by the hand of power.

We should be as sorry to see them enter upon such a career with reason, as we are convinced that they would not be quite so ill-advised as to enter upon it, on any such flimsy pretences as those lately set forth in the documents which they called petitions; but which really appeared to us to have about as much to do with the question, concerning which they pretended to petition, as if they had copied half a dozen stanzas from Chevy Chase of the Curse of Kehama. Moreover, we cannot but think it the duty of the legislature of a great country to persevere in what is evidently just and fair, and for the advantage of the community, notwithstanding any partial outcry; and we are persuaded, that in the end such policy will be found not only the most noble but the most safe.

That something like what is in the foregoing passage held out

as the consequence, would take place, if any thing like *real persecution* were attempted, is by no means improbable. But God forbid, that so imprudent—so unchristian a design should be formed!—God forbid, that any other weapons should be resorted to than those which are spiritual, and which can be employed without the sacrifice of christian meekness!

No!—It will little avail to resort to pains and penalties; if the church would be safe, it must learn a lesson from its opponents. It must awake to active exertion. It must strive to counteract the efforts of those who would overthrow it, by increasing zeal, increasing attention to discipline, increasing care to supply the wants of those who are hungering for the bread of life. Blessed be God, great as are the sins of this nation, and much reason as there is to lament the indifference to religious subjects which has long prevailed,—that indifference has been much diminished within the last few years. For this diminution we are perhaps, in some measure, indebted to the sectaries; in some measure to the awful examples afforded by the desolation of other European nations, but chiefly, it may be hoped, to a more abundant effusion of the grace of God.

There prevails at this time, amongst all the orders of society, a considerable interest concerning religious truths, and an active spirit of inquiry; these are evidenced by the eagerness with which the holy scriptures and other religious writings are sought after, and by the disposition to listen to those who offer instruction on such subjects. Of this disposition the methodists have amply availed themselves. But the establishment has been, in the mean time, comparatively torpid; and indeed were all its members fully awake to a sense of the duties which the times render peculiarly incumbent, the existing system and the prevailing prejudices must of necessity greatly shackle their exertion. It is obvious, and has been often observed, that one of the most important difficulties which it would be needful to overcome, arises from the disproportion which the existing places of worship bear to the growing population of the kingdom. Now, in such situations, the dissenters find no difficulty in erecting places of worship. All they have to do is to collect a subscription and to purchase a building, or ground on which one may be erected, suited to their purpose. But the members of the church have so many persons to consult, so many jarring interests to reconcile, so much to settle about rights of patronage and rights of management, that they are often induced to lay aside the design as hopeless, and to worship in the conventicle erected by their schismatic neighbours. It becomes, therefore, an object of first-rate importance to increase the facility of erect-

ing chapels subject to the discipline of the church of England, but of which the ministers may be, in some degree at least, nominated by those who are at the expense of the erection. Such a privilege might be granted without interfering with the emoluments of the incumbent, whose tithes, oblations, and fees, would still be equally secured to him. It must be acknowledged, that in such a case a minister might be nominated to the chapel who might be unacceptable to the incumbent, and a *contested election* might sometimes occur. But these appear less evils than that of compelling a large body of the parishioners to desert the establishment; and amidst various difficulties, it is an obvious rule, that the least should be selected. A more effectual remedy, however, would be the division and sub-division of parishes, so as to render them more capable of being governed by one minister, and their inhabitants of assembling in one place of worship.

Until this important difficulty could be overcome, it seems highly expedient, that the clergy should not only be permitted, but encouraged occasionally, to assemble those of their parishioners who reside at a great distance from the parish church in the most convenient building that can be procured, and there to read to them the church prayers, and address to them suitable discourses. To such a proposal, the obvious objection would be made, that it would lessen the solemnity of public worship, if permission were given to perform it in places used at other times for the common purposes of life. The answer to this objection is, that necessity dispenses from those rules which it might be otherwise expedient to observe. The first Christians held their assemblies in an upper chamber; the deck of a ship is at sea considered as a suitable place for the performance of divine service—the drum-head in a barrack—and at some of our public watering places (especially at Buxton) the offices of the church have been performed in rooms ordinarily devoted to purposes of amusement; and dignitaries of the church have attended on and even officiated in the service. Why then should it be deemed improper for a pious clergyman, whose parish is of such an extent, that many of the inhabitants, and especially women who have young children, and the infirm and aged, can seldom attend divine service at church; why, let it be asked, should it be improper for a clergyman so circumstanced, to assemble persons of this description at stated times in the most convenient room he can procure, and there afford them an opportunity of social worship, and explain to them the truths and duties of Christianity?

In our last number, (p. 438,) we had the pleasure of stating an at-

tempt made by the Bishop of Durham to establish a place of worship of this kind within his diocese. We have since learned, that doubts were entertained concerning the *legality* of such an establishment; and it gives us *the most heartfelt satisfaction* to be able to inform our readers, that in consequence of the zeal and activity of the BISHOP OF LONDON; the highest legal opinions have been taken, and that they are unanimous in favour of the undoubted right of the bishops to authorize the establishment of such places of worship.

It may be said, that extra services of this nature would be highly burdensome to the clergy, who have already in most cases as much duty as they are able to perform. Let it be answered, that the suggestion extends to the permission not the requisition of such "*labours of love*," or, as a Romanist would call them, such "*works of supererogation*." To the consciences of the clergy must be left the decision concerning what they are able to perform. If, however, they are animated by a due zeal for the honour of their divine Master, by a due eagerness to promote the salvation of souls, it may be added by a regard to the safety of that church to which they belong, they will not shrink from exertions which the methodistical teachers so readily undertake, and in which they should not permit themselves to be outdone by them.

It is here that another difficulty presents itself. It cannot be concealed that there is still a lamentable want of zeal in the establishment. That deficiency indeed is far from universal, but it is much more general than it ought to be—and it may be easily accounted for from this circumstance; that the sacred office is very generally entered more from the love of ease, or literature, or from the more sordid desire of secular advantage, than from a wish to promote the salvation of souls. It would lead into too long a detail were the present system of patronage to be analyzed, were the means by which preferments are often obtained to be described, or were the course usually pursued in preparation for the sacred office to be investigated. Overstrained as it is, we fear that the pamphlet before us contains too much that is well founded on this subject. It would be a mean and useless subterfuge to attempt to *explain it all away*.

He who has passed through an academical education, knows how little the ordinary habits of young men during their residence in the university are suited to qualify them for the work of the ministry. He who lives at all in the world cannot fail to know, that presentations to a benefice, to say nothing of higher and if possible more important offices, are far more commonly obtained through political influence or private friendship, than on

account of eminent piety or distinguished qualifications for the pastoral charge. This has been no slight cause of the evil which we all lament. Our parishes have not been generally filled with zealous and laborious ministers; many of those who have deserved that character have not been duly patronized by their superiors, nor encouraged by their brethren:—they have rather been branded with some reproachful epithet, and treated as enemies to that church of which they were in truth very bright examples.

If, however, we desire that the church should be preserved, we must implore the great Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into the harvest, we must honour those that are such, and use our utmost endeavours to promote the success of their labours.

We must also, oppressed as we are by our other public burdens, be willing to raise an adequate fund for the support of an additional number of clergymen in populous districts, and for the more adequate remuneration of those who are serving large parishes without deriving from them the means of comfortable subsistence. Upon the necessity, and the mode of making this provision, we refer our readers to a very useful pamphlet entitled, “Substance of the Speech of the Earl of Harrowby, June 18, 1810.” They will there find briefly, but clearly discussed; the moral and physical wants of the church, and we think that they will agree with us in thinking that the arguments are no less conclusive against the crude opinions of another noble lord, than demonstrative of rational and enlightened zeal in forwarding the true interests of the established church. The late returns to the legislature show how numerous are the parishes whose vicarages or perpetual curacies have been deprived of the original maintenance of the minister by the abuse of lay impropriation. To attempt an alienation of the tithes subject to impropriation (particularly those held by laymen), would be, in the present state of things, an unwarrantable invasion of the established rights of property; but in many cases, if a fulfilment of the fundamental condition enjoined by the laws of the land were required, namely, that every impropiator should afford a convenable maintenance to the officiating clergyman, a considerable diminution of the evil would take place. In many instances, if the public repositories of ancient ecclesiastical documents were carefully searched, endowments of vicarages, which have long been lost, would be brought to light, or such papers discovered as would cause the detection of many frauds committed by the ancient patrons on the benefices of which they had the disposal.

In many *such parishes* there is a large proportion of waste land, from which, if a small allotment were assigned by the authority of parliament to the minister, his income might be augmented without an increase of national expenditure, and without any material sacrifice on the part of his parishioners, who ought cheerfully to consent to a measure so likely to increase the usefulness as well as the comfort of their minister, where his provision is evidently too small for his station.

In addition to such measures as it might be thought expedient to adopt for encreasing the number of places of worship and augmenting the incomes of ill provided ministers, a revival of primitive discipline and an increase of *episcopal vigilance** is highly to be desired. By this is not meant an enforcement of obsolete canons, or an exertion of vexatious interference, but an active and personal examination of the state of parishes and the characters of clergymen, an encouragement of the diligent, a reprehension of the negligent and worldly, an endeavour to promote unity and mutual concord, and a frequent consultation concerning those means which might best promote the prosperity of the church in general, and the improvement of each district in particular. A system of this sort is said to have been established in the diocese of St. David's, which is highly worthy of imitation. To this should be added, earnest endeavours on the part of the clergy to explain to their parishioners, in a familiar manner, the nature and excellencies of our establishment, and the high claims which it has to their respect and adherence.

In a word, if we would defeat the designs of those who meditate the overthrow of our ecclesiastical polity, we must resort to a system of active but amicable counteraction. We must, as it was once said by a pious prelate, out-preach, out-pray, and out-live our dissenting brethren.—We must refrain from all intemperate language, and all unkind conduct; we must endeavour, by gentle means, to draw back to our communion those who have departed from it, whilst we use our utmost exertions

* The late Bishop Porteus (as we find in his nephew's publication) never held a confirmation without following it up with a forcible address to the young persons assembled; and if we consider the imposing nature of the ceremony to their young and innocent minds, fresh from the simple objects and ideas familiar to the age of childhood, and just impressed by the ministers of their parish with the religious responsibility they are about to assume, we can conceive no practice more likely to create that lasting conviction of the duty and importance of a religious life, which must always arise from the combined operations of the feelings and the judgment. It is with great regret, then, that we see this practice so uncommon in the church; the omission appears to be no part of a sound system.

to remove all pretence, and obviate all necessity for further separation. Unity among churchmen, increased zeal on the part of the clergy of all ranks, a more abundant supply of places of worship, and permission to ministers to take such means as appear best to them for the edification of their own parishioners, subject always to vigilant and reasonable, but not vexatious episcopal superintendence. These seem to be the only measures, or at least the most important of those, by which the growth of schism, and the consequent downfall of the church, is to be prevented.

Should these observations, imperfect as we fear they are, contribute in any degree to so important an object, we shall be most humbly and sincerely thankful; and shall rejoice in having rendered even the slightest service to that excellent church, to which we glory in belonging, and for the preservation of which our earnest prayers will, we trust, never cease to be offered,

ART. V. *Voyage dans l'Amerique Meridionale*, par Don Felix de Azara, Commissaire et Commandant des Limites Espagnoles dans le Paraguay, depuis 1781, jusqu'en 1801. 4 vols. 8vo. à Paris. 1809. Chez Dulau, &c.—*Contenant la Description géographique, politique, et civile de Paraguay, et de la Rivière de la Plata; Histoire de la Découverte, et de la Conquête de ces Contrées; des Détails nombreux sur leur Histoire naturelle, et sur les Peuples sauvages qui les habitent; le Récit des Moyens employés par les Jesuites, pour assujétir et civiliser les Indigènes, &c. &c. Publiés d'après les Manuscrits de l'Auteur, avec une Notice sur sa Vie par le Traducteur Walcknaer, suivis de l'Histoire naturelle des Oiseaux du Paraguay, et de la Plata, avec des Notes par Sonnini.*

THE political events that have burst within the last two years on the horizon of the South American continent becoming daily of greater moment, every authentic source of information respecting those long neglected regions is an object of the greatest importance to the English public, and an interesting subject of research to the inquiring mind. Buenos Ayres, or La Plata, including Paraguay, from the advantages of locality, from its having been recently the seat of our abortive expeditions, from its possessing a larger share of white population than any other part of South America; from its rich plains, its mountains, and forests, suited to all the purposes of agriculture,

and intersected by the finest rivers in the world; from its natural history, and from its having been the seat of the labours of the jesuits, (to which it perhaps owes many of those comparatively enlightened principles of knowledge and of civil freedom, which it is now displaying to the world,) constitutes a subject of interest and curiosity, not less momentous than New Spain, and to it Mr. Azara has dedicated his labours.

The few mutilated and incoherent fragments which have been laid before the public, respecting the South American continent within the last two centuries, and which succeeded to the inconsistent, and often partial reports given by the Spaniards of its conquest, without describing the interior, or imparting any idea of its actual state, had left a void which the man of science has long been anxious to fill up. The established principle of secrecy observed by the Spanish and Portuguese governments, made them guard with a jealous eye every avenue to information; and though it always entered into the department of the intendants of each ultramarine province, not only to describe the districts under their control, but also to point out their local resources, and delineate them by maps and plans; these valuable documents were reserved for the exclusive use of the council of the Indies, and were never accessible even to the Spanish public. It is to be presumed that they have now fallen into the hands of the French, and will be carefully deposited for future use among the archives of the revolutionary empire.

Their jealousy lest any disclosure should endanger their distant settlements, was not however the only bar to our information respecting them. The lively and fertile genius of the Spanish creoles, had given rise to many descriptive works of merit; but the want of a press, and the difficulty of even obtaining leave to print, rendered these manuscripts of no use to the public; and the frequent example of authors who incurred the animadversions of their government by attempting to extend to the people the result of their inquiries, also counteracted the zealous wishes of many. Through the exertions of the jesuits, a few confined remarks respecting the interior were published, but the geographical parts were found defective; and possessing more anecdote than description, they by no means satisfied curiosity, or answered any beneficial purpose. These restraints were however in some measure broken down by the expulsion of the jesuits, and as a means of subsistence, some of those who sought refuge in Italy published their researches in a language not their own; among these Clavajero and Molina were the foremost. Charles the Fourth of Spain, whilst yet

surrounded by some of his most patriotic ministers, sought to extend the confined knowledge of geography and botany; but the persecution subsequently incurred by Malespina, which equally fell to the lot of Azara, delayed the gratification of the world. Upon the whole, therefore, we may fairly presume that the energy of the South American mind was depressed by every expedient which political jealousy and religious bigotry could suggest to a weak and timid government.

But the great shock which in our own days has agitated Europe, reverberated on the shores of America, and breaking down the barriers interposed by authority, opened an inlet, of which the French, with their accustomed enterprize, were the first to avail themselves. Expecting, after the conquest of Europe, to make these interesting countries equally the scenes of their inroads and pillage, learned characters were early dispatched to obtain new and correct details of their present state, and to spread a chain of influence connected with ulterior plans. The results of their secret and political information have not appeared before the European public, yet the specimens of descriptive and statistical accounts already published, may in some degree enable us to judge how interesting they must be to the government for which they were obtained. Moreover, as men of science are the leading members of every community, more especially in South America, and such were uniformly the companions and confidants of the French literati sent thither, they doubtless possess upon the spot many friends to their cause.

Azara, with more honourable views, and with not less talent, forgotten in the deserts, a stranger to the rapid progress of natural science in Europe, whence he had been long absent, and without any communication with the civilized world, completed the description and delineation of a country more than five hundred leagues in length, on a width of three hundred, in the interior of which he made his researches with a more philosophic eye than his predecessors. Alone, and without books, he extended his inquiries into two of the most important branches of natural history, making us acquainted with the existence of birds and quadrupeds hitherto unknown, and correcting the confused accounts respecting others which we had before obtained from polluted sources.

We shall briefly introduce Mr. Azara to the acquaintance of our readers by detailing a few particulars of his life.

The profession which he chose in early life was that of a military engineer, in which merit afterwards raised him to the rank of brigadier. Moreau de St. Mary, ignorant of the man-

pers and habits of the interior of South America, thus relates what appeared to him to be a great peculiarity in Mr. Azara. "Il offre, peut être, l'exemple unique en Europe d'un homme chez qui l'aversion pour le pain est si forte qu'il n'en a jamais mangé*."

In 1776 he was named commissioner on the part of Spain to trace the respective limits of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America, which had given rise to disputes between the two crowns. The greater enterprize of the Portuguese settlers had, in many instances, pushed them beyond their legal bounds. This gave rise to altercations and interminable disputes, which delayed the completion of the work, and left Mr. Azara secluded in the bosom of those extended regions, whose frontiers he had been commissioned to delineate.

In the flower of youth, and enured to the heats of the plains, and the damps of the forests, his active and enterprising mind made him conceive the plan not only of describing, but also of constructing a map of the interior of the country, of which he had hitherto only pricked off the limits. This he effected at his own expence, and partly by stealth, for he dreaded to recur to the intendants for assistance. Thirteen years of solitary and tedious labour completed his bold project, and conscious that the only aid he had to expect was from the natives, whose haunts he had to penetrate and visit, in order to conciliate their esteem, and secure their services, he adopted their manners, used the same food, and in many characteristic instances conformed to their customs and mode of life; imitating in this the old settlers of Canada, who always found an assimilation of manners the strongest tie to the fidelity and good will of the natives.

A small portmanteau with linen and instruments, to which were added some salt, Paraguay tea, and presents for the Indians, constituted his travelling equipage, and in this way did he traverse deserts, swamps, mountains, and plains; navigate and explore rivers, lakes, and streams, in search of original data on which to found a work, that might not only stand the test of time, but enable the distant inquirer to correct his ideas of a country, of which he could before possess only confused and mutilated accounts.

The learned editor of Azara justly remarks, "that contrary

* This aversion for bread, or rather predilection for roots and vegetables, is not uncommon in South America, where whole nations live on *mote*, a kind of homony, similar to that eaten in Virginia. The roasted and boiled mandioca of the Paraguayans supersedes the necessity of bread, and the yam, casava, and other roots general in America, constitute even a preferable sustenance.

to the custom of modern travellers, he has been too reserved on the details that personally concerned himself, which often serve as an useful supplement to descriptive narration." Indeed; his humble and unaffected style, when compared with the over dogmatical diction of the late French works on New Spain, cannot but inspire a double confidence in his minute and accurate details. These are rendered still more interesting by the persecutions he experienced in the cause of literature, not only in America, but even on his return to Spain, which deprived him of the means of publishing in his own language the historical and descriptive parts of his work, and absolutely obliged him to have recourse to the French press. He maintains throughout a philosophic and disdainful silence respecting the unmerited oppression of his countrymen in office; and though his Paris editor drew from him by letter some particulars of his grievances, his answers by no means descend to complaint or reproach; but soar above those natural effusions which are excited in little minds by repeated acts of injury and oppression.

Though we confess with candour, that, in our opinion, his zoological inquiries form the most perfect and systematic part of the work, yet the remainder contains so much useful and novel information, that it has well deserved the pains taken by the French translator and editor; and we cannot but express astonishment that in England it is almost unknown, at a time that the subjects of which it treats are so deeply interesting, and when we are swallowing with avidity compilations not only defective but antiquated. Can it be credited that Helm's road Itinerary from La Plata to Lima has gone through two English editions, whilst the works of Azara are unnoticed? We cannot here refrain from quoting the words of Walcknaer on this want of national discernment, which proves how much more backward we are in our knowledge of South America than the French, though so much more interested in knowing its real state.

"L'expédition des Anglais dans La Plata a aussi été l'occasion de la publication de plusieurs ouvrages insignifiants qui ont paru à Londres. On m'a fait voir un de ces ouvrages (Wilcocke) qui est une relation de Buenos Ayres, en un volume en 8vo, avec diverses gravures. C'est une compilation faite d'après Charlevoix. Cette mauvaise production a cependant trouvée un traducteur Français, et peut-être ce traducteur trouvera-t-il un jour un imprimeur, et des acheteurs!!! J'ai fait venir un autre ouvrage, intitulé, 'Letters from Paraguay describing the Settlements of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, the Presidencies of Rioja minor, Nombre de Dios, St. Mary, St. John, &c. by John Constant Davies. 1 vol. 8vo.

London, 1805.* Le préface de ce livre nous apprend que son auteur est mort au Chili. Je crois qu'il n'a jamais été ni à Paraguay ni à Chili. Quoiqu'il en soit, il m'a été impossible de lire seulement 100 pages de son insipide et romanesque bavardage."

The fact is, that one half of the accounts we have had from modern pens consists either of the fictions of fancy, or outlines from old authors under a new dress.

The superior merit of the zoological parts of Mr. Azara's work appears in some measure accounted for in the *Notice sur sa Vie et ses Ecrits*, in the following words :

"If it may be considered true that man partly depends on the circumstances in which he is placed, it is also not less certain, that he exercises over them an empire, which differs according to the nature of his character. An active mind, that feels the necessity of nourishing the flame with which it is constantly animated, seizes and improves on every object that surrounds it. Transport it into Greece, amidst the crumbling ruins of ancient Thebes, or seclude it amongst the massive pyramids of the Egyptian sands ; or rather present to its contemplation Rome, proud in the monuments of so many men and ages which stud its classic ground, and the possessor of such a mind will become erudite, a profound antiquarian, or a celebrated artist. Place it at the foot of the burning Vesuvius ; near the blackened and shivered sides of Etna, or strike it with the majestic chaos of the Alps and Pyrenees, and mineralogy and geology will be its study.

"Should it, however, have to wander over the vast plains, or pierce through the thick forests of America, where a new vegetation covers the earth with a rich and variegated carpet, where the vegetable as well as the animated natives of the forests, present on every side, the most unusual and singular forms, and botany or zoology will become its prevailing passion. The two brothers Azara, present us with a striking example of the justness of this remark. Don Nicholas*, notwithstanding his occupations, and the restraints of his official character, in Rome became a distinguished philosopher, and an enlightened protector of the arts and sciences ; whilst Don Felix without books, succour, or preliminary instruction, but surrounded by materials of observation, by dint of his own efforts, raised himself to the rank of one of the first zoologists of the age."

In support of our own opinions of Mr. Azara's works, we could quote the testimony of some respectable authorities. Walcknaer affirms, that no descriptions could be more accurate, nothing more curious and authentic respecting the manners of the natives, and that it is impossible to have united more sagacity

* He was afterwards ambassador from the court of Spain to that of France, and the author of several works known to the public, amongst which is an account of the life and paintings of Mengs, a Spanish artist.

and patience, two essential qualities in a just observer. The Royal Institute of Paris is still more pointed in its terms of approbation.

“ M. Azara's ornithology of the interior provinces of La Plata, owes its origin to a conviction of the many defects and omissions of Buffon, to whose work his first researches were intended as supplementary corrections ; but as his materials accumulated, they formed a complete treatise of themselves, in which out of 448 species treated, nearly 200 are perfectly new, and many others are corrected and more accurately described.”

A drawing of each of the most remarkable species alone seems wanting to make the work in every sense complete, but it was Mr. Azara's object to preserve specimens of his birds, in order to convey them in that state to Europe, but he found the climate hostile to such an undertaking. After considerable pains expended in stuffing and preserving many, they became a prey to insects. This misfortune was rendered irretrievable by the baseness of the governor of Buenos Ayres, who did not hesitate to seize his trunks filled with specimens, writings, drawings, plans, and maps, under pretence of his being favourable to the Portuguese, by which means the world was deprived of what still remained of the fruits of his industry.

Our readers, however, must understand that M. Azara was by no means a proficient in the sciences of botany, geology, mineralogy, or chemistry. Whenever subjects connected with these sciences occur, we must confine our confidence in his observations to that which is due to sound sense, and accurate but unlettered inquiry. Neither was he exempt from the ordinary restraints imposed upon men in his situation with respect to political discussions. We have little doubt that modern travellers will soon compensate the former deficiencies to the public : and with respect to the latter, we trust that a mass of original information from South America now lying before us, will afford some extracts that will not be found wholly uninteresting.

As a partial recompence for M. Azara's services, on his return to Europe in the year 1802 he was made a brigadier in the Spanish army ; but his brother, then ambassador at Paris, advised him to resign, which he did ; and a subsequent visit to his brother soon after led to the introduction of his works into the French press ; where, notwithstanding the defects we have mentioned, the expence and pains, to which Dentu the Paris publisher went to produce Mr. Azara's work in a perfect state, prove the estimation in which it was held. Walcknaer, the translator of many valuable works, and among others of Pinkerton's *Modern Geography*, was chosen to translate the two first volumes, and Cuvier, perpetual secretary *de la Classe des Sciences Physiques*

del' Institut, &c. was charged to revise, and enrich them with notes; whilst Sonnini, the learned editor of Buffon's works, was commissioned to translate, and comment on the two last volumes, which treat of the birds of Paraguay.

Of the work thus compiled and corrected we shall now proceed to give a rapid sketch; but as we think that we have observed our reader's aversion to dry geographical and statistical details in cases where more interesting matter may be expected, we shall dwell but very shortly on the contents of each chapter, but shall dedicate the greater part of the contracted space allotted us to the original matter in our possession.

After giving an interesting explanatory introduction, followed by a sketch of the authors who had previously written on La Plata, Paraguay, Chaco, &c. Mr. Azara commences the first chapter of his work by a description of the climate.

The climate of La Plata is very different from that of Lima, where the sky is almost continually obscured by vapours and clouds, that produce what is called *garua*, or a descending mist, that serves instead of rain. Towards the north, Mr. Azara says, the vapours are seldom condensed into a fog. The sky is there clear and serene; and in Buenos Ayres snow is nearly unknown. This division of the southern continent is also comparatively free from those violent earthquakes which desolate the regions contiguous to the cordillera of the coast; the causes of which are so well established in Dr. Unanue's treatise on the climate of Lima.

The climate of the regions of which our author treats, perhaps resembles that of Spain more than any other part of the rest of the continent, and its inhabitants are certainly the fairest. The rains are periodically incessant and heavy, and accompanied with dangerous and tremendous peals of thunder and lightning. During the storm that occurred in 1793, the lightning fell thirty-seven times in Buenos Ayres, and killed nineteen persons.

The second chapter treats of "the disposition and quality of the soil," in which the horizontality of the country is described to be such, that when the east and south-east winds prevail with any force, and cause the waters of the river La Plata to rise seven feet above their common level, they enter into the Paraná, and are perceived at a distance of sixty leagues in-land. Mr. Azara assures us, that from his experiments of the barometer, the Paraguay, in its course from N. to S. has not a foot of declension for each maritime mile of latitude between the parallels of 16—24 degs. to 22—57. He then proceeds to examine the physical consequences of such an extent of horizontal country; a subject that elicits a chain of curious remarks.

The third chapter contains a treatise on the salts and minerals, for which purpose he divides the country into two parts; from the La Plata to the south, including Chaco, and that lying to the east of the Paraguay and Paraná. In this chapter our author notices a singular phenomenon, which he calls a large piece of pure iron, flexible and malleable in the forge, but at the same time so hard as not to be cut, though obedient to the file. It contains about four hundred and sixty-eight cubic feet, and lies on the surface of the large plain of Chaco, on which not a single stone excepting this is to be found. Whence it came appears to Mr. Azara the greatest problem. It cannot, says he, have been cast from a volcano, for there are none within three hundred leagues, nor is it brittle; much less can it be supposed to have been brought thither by a torrent, for an iron mine is not to be heard of in that part of the country, and indeed many deny their existence in any part of South America. Making allowances for M. Azara's deficiency of chemical and mineralogical science, we apprehend that our readers will readily agree with us in concluding, that this immense mass is one of those meteoric stones observed in similar situations in various parts of the world.

It would not be possible within the scanty bounds of one chapter to enter into particulars respecting the many rivers which branch out in so many parts of the continent of South America, and are designed by nature as a means of conveyance for the immense variety of productions which she has heaped upon it. Mr. Azara's fourth chapter is therefore confined to the three principal ones, viz. the Paraguay, Paraná, and Uruguay.

The Paraguay takes its source in 13. 30 degrees of S. latitude, from a collection of rivulets formed in the Sierra of Paraguay, where the Portuguese collect part of their gold and precious stones. Its course is uniformly to the south, and at length unites with the Paraná, being navigable for schooners from the sixteenth degree downwards. At Assumption, when its waters were in their lowest state, the width was 1332 French feet. They begin to rise at the latter city towards the end of February, and continue gradually increasing till the end of June; but the stream continues clear, as if too large to be affected by the comparatively trifling accession of the land waters. This rise appears partly formed by the overflowings of the great lake Jarayes, which is said to be one hundred and ten leagues long, and forty wide. It lies in the province of Chiquitos, but is not navigable, being perfectly dry during part of the year.

The Paraná derives its source from the mountains where the Portuguese have their gold mines, called Goyazes, between 17

and 18 degrees of S. lat.: but the course of all the rivers is best defined by a map. Several, larger than any European river, fall into it; such as the Yguazù, the Paraguay, and the Uruguay, from the junction of which it forms the La Plata, which may be considered one of the largest rivers in the world.

The Paraná is more rapid than the Paraguay, its course being from east to west, in which direction the inclination of the country is considerable: at Candelaria it is four hundred toises wide, and 1500 at Corricutes; and is interspersed with a variety of islands, some of which are of a considerable size. Notwithstanding its great volume of water, it is not navigable during its whole course, in consequence of the falls and rocks with which the channel is interrupted. Amongst the several cascades with which it is obstructed, that called the Fall of Canendiyù is described by M. Azara as one of the sublimest scenes in nature. The width of the stream, just before it breaks over the cascade, extends to 2100 toises, or nearly a maritime league. Deep and rapid in its course, it is suddenly contracted by mounds of rock firmly fixed by nature, to a channel of thirty toises, through which the waters rush with a tremendous roar, and are dashed down a perpendicular height of fifty French feet on the rocks below. The sound is plainly heard at the distance of six leagues.

Several rainbows are reflected on the mist that rises, which afterwards falls in gentle showers on the surrounding scenery. This and the fall of Tequendama near Santa Fé de Bogota, the height of which is considerably greater, are said (*by the natives, we suppose*) to be the largest cataracts in the world. For ourselves we do not profess to be great adepts in the principles upon which the comparative magnificence of cascades should be estimated; but if the breadth and height of the fall enter into the calculation, we conceive that the fall of Niagara must bear away the palm from both these competitors, its breadth being not less than 600 yards, and its height 142 feet.

The fifth chapter treats of some of the wild productions of the country, not with the scientific classifications and accuracy of a botanist, which M. Azara does not profess, but with the scrutinizing eye of a near observer of nature. A variety of woods, gums, rezins, fruits, &c. are mentioned, and their domestic purposes pointed out. Amongst the rest, is the *pita*, or aloes, of which several specimens have been introduced amongst us from the West Indies. The fibres of this plant are used for caulking vessels, and for ropes, and have been asserted to be stronger than hemp.

The sixth chapter is a treatise on the vegetables cultivated in the country, in which it is asserted that at Buenos Ayres wheat

produces sixteen for one, at Monte Video twelve, and at Paraguay four. The wheat is considerably smaller than that of Spain, but the bread extremely good. The average quantity produced is estimated at 219,300 fanegas of Castile, 70,000 of which are consumed in the country, and the rest exported to the Havanah, Paraguay, Brazils, and the island of St. Maurice. Bread is however, as we have already observed, by no means the staff of life in this country: meat, and the great variety of roots and other grains with which the country abounds, afford to the poor inhabitants an equally healthy and even more nutritious sustenance.

Mendoza, situated at the foot of the Andes of Chili, annually furnishes 3313 barrels of wine, and St. John's 7942 of brandy to Buenos Ayres and Monte Video; but the low lands of Peru, particularly the valley of Pisco, possess the best vine and olive grounds that are to be found in the southern continent; and there may be a time, now that the old restrictions of the mother country are exploded, in which we may thence draw partial supplies. Peruvian wine resembles, and equals the Constantia manufactured at the Cape. Several species of the peach are brought from Chili unknown in Europe, of which the naturalization would be deserving of some notice, as well as of the *quinoa*, which is an extremely nutritious grain, whose stalks serve for fuel.

The seventh chapter is allotted to the enumeration and details of some of the many insects which in a country so hot and humid must of course greatly abound; and the eighth to particulars respecting toads, snakes, vipers, and lizards.

The contents of the ninth chapter are "quadrupeds and birds," of which some drawings are given, copied from the *Cabinet Imperial de Paris*.

The second volume and tenth chapter commence with a general dissertation on the manners and customs of the Indians, in which our author gives the results of long personal experience and accurate observation. But the character of the Indians is so complicated, and varies so much according to their respective tribes, that it is difficult to lay down characteristic or leading features equally applicable to all. There is no subject relating to South America on which the public has been more misled. The missionaries have dealt in hyperboles, and the Spaniards have descended to details filled with reproach and partiality.

M. Azara is of opinion that the aborigines have no religion, and that the figures and idols which are found amongst them, are not connected with any system of superstitious worship. This would, however, be difficult to reconcile with our general experience; for the most uncivilized, in every age and in every clime, have

been found to be governed by some principles of belief, which have either originated in fear, or some other equally strong incentive; but to define them is certainly no easy task. Before the Spaniards the Indians are particularly guarded on this subject, for though their spiritual treatment has been singularly misrepresented, their dread of incurring the vengeance of power, makes them perform all their ceremonies and religious rites in the greatest secrecy; they are not, however, any where cannibals, though the many fictions we have in print have stigmatized them with that epithet. Our author then proceeds minutely to describe twenty-eight different tribes, or nations, belonging to Paraguay and La Plata, whose most distinguishing peculiarities are noticed. In one leading trait the Indians may be said to resemble us, that is, they settle their disputes by the fist. They are described as being great adepts in the pugilistic art.

Commerce is one of the interesting points in which our author appears to have been guilty of some omissions, which, did our limits permit, we would endeavour to supply from other sources. We will, however, briefly subjoin, that Buenos Ayres is the most interesting part of all South America, in consequence of its favourable situation for supplying the interior. The fallacy of the hopes so long entertained by the cabinets of Europe, of being able to cut through the isthmus of Panama, is now pretty well demonstrated. That it would be possible for flat boats to go through by means of locks, and after immense labour, we will admit; but even to effect this, it would be necessary to send new generations of inhabitants; and the climate would be fatal to any but negroes. Not a Spanish garrison was ever sent thither, that at the end of the year, was not reduced to one half. Porto Bello has proverbially been called the grave of Europeans, and even the Indians cannot long resist the climate.

But even were this scheme practicable, we will endeavour to shew that for the supply of the coast of Peru, the channel of Buenos Ayres would be not only cheaper and easier, but also more safe. In consequence of the winds always blowing from the S. and S.S.W. or S.S.E., it would require two months to ascend from Panama to Lima, or the time requisite for an European voyage; and the expences of a bale of goods over the isthmus we have calculated to be seventeen dollars, when landed in the latter port. Now goods are conveyed in carts over the pampas of Buenos Ayres to Mendoza in one month. From thence they cross over the Cordilleras of Chili on mules to San Jago, a distance of eighty leagues, and thence in carts to Valparaiso, thirty leagues, which journey is performed in fifteen days; and a vessel reaches

Lima from the latter port from its windward situation, in seven ; so that the conveyance is shorter, and the charges on a bale, which ought to weigh two hundred and twenty-five pounds (being half a mule's load), only amount to fourteen dollars. The climate is here healthy, provisions and cattle abundant, and when the projected road is established through Villarica to the port of Talcahuano in the South Seas, the conveyance will be shortened one third, and the precarious passage of the Cordilleras, which can only be made during the summer months in consequence of the snows, will be avoided. Buenos Ayres is, therefore, the most natural deposit for Chili, Peru, and Potosi, and is destined by nature to be the point from which they are to be supplied.

Buenos Ayres, previous to the war, has afforded a million of hides annually ; and the meat of two hundred and fifty thousand oxen sufficing for the consumption of its inhabitants and its exports, the remainder was of consequence lost ; for besides the tallow, the tongue was the only part cured. We are glad to find that the enterprize of some individuals has induced them to salt some of this waste of beef, and that the British government, in case of need, may here perceive the favourable means of supplying their navy, and even the West India islands.

Paraguay furnishes to the interior trade of Chili 3,750,000 lbs. of Paraguay tea, and 60,000 mules, in exchange for wine and brandies, and 150,000 ponchos, &c. Paraguay also furnishes Buenos Ayres with 4,900,000 lbs. of tea, tobacco, woods, gums, &c. in exchange for European luxuries. It is, however, extremely difficult to establish the precise amount of the interior trade of a country wherein the duties of *alcabala*, the only sure means of ascertaining it, are farmed out to individuals, and where the imports and exports are often landed and shipped in a clandestine manner. These are two objects which we are glad to see have attracted the serious notice of the present Junta, and from their provident measures, the happiest result may be expected to the state, as well as to trade in general.

There is little of general interest in the remainder of the second volume, except the natural history of the province of Cochabamba by Don Tadeo Haenke, a gentleman, who with Baron de Nordenflycht, and Helms, was sent to South America to introduce some improvements in metallurgy among the mines of the precious metals. Haenke was placed under the government of Buenos Ayres, and he chose Cochabamba for his residence.

Struck with the pleasing and interesting aspect of that delightful province, which is the most industrious, civilized, and

warlike of Upper Peru, he undertook to delineate its natural history and productions, and from the novelty of the attempt, as well as the valuable matter therein contained, this essay well deserves a place among the labours of Azara.

The province of Cochabamba forms a long narrow strip of country, 130 geographical leagues long, and 30 wide, ranging from N. to E. As Azara well observes, "never did geography adopt a political division more accordant with its natural limits. By the Rio Grande it is divided from the districts of Chayanta, Yamparaes, and Charcas. A chain of mountains forms to the N. a respectable barrier, and separates it from the Andes and Moxos Misiones. On the W. it touches on the extremities of the enormous mass of the Cordilleras of the coast, and to the E. is bounded by the river Parapite or San Miguel de Chiquitos.

Inhabited by a hardy, sober, and active race, Cochabamba has risen of late years to a considerable state of prosperity in the manufactory of glass, cotton, &c. with which, during the late war, it has supplied the whole interior. Blessed with fertility and a moderate climate, it bids fair to be the Manchester of Peru, for a million pounds of cotton are already annually consumed in its manufactures. Its surface abounds in a variety of salts and mineral productions, and its forests teem with woods and roots for dyeing. To these Haenke has particularly turned his attention, and has pointed out, besides several new materials for manufacture, other processes for dyeing, worthy of our adoption in Europe.

The second and third volumes of Azara's works are exclusively reserved for his treatise on the birds of Paraguay and La Plata, which is the only part he was able to publish in his native language; but, as we before announced, it has since been translated and revised by Sonnini.

Mr. Azara's authority comes in aid of that of Sonnini, and several recent naturalists, to combat Buffon's assertion, "That birds of the old continent are not found in the new, excepting those which are capable of supporting a great degree of cold, and have passed by the north, where it is supposed the two hemispheres join." In Paraguay we often meet birds belonging to the other three quarters of the globe, that are not able to bear the extremes of cold, nor are sufficiently strong to traverse the present seas; and which can only have arrived there by some southern passage, when perhaps the two continents were nearer, or had some intermediate points of contact.

Adverting to the partiality of Buffon's assertion, that the birds of South America are not so melodious as those of the

old world, Mr. Azara takes upon himself to say, that were a choir formed out of the singing-birds chosen from the latter, and another, in like manner, assembled in Paraguay, the victory of notes would, perhaps, be highly contested. The European nightingale is, however, individually excepted; yet, from our own knowledge, we might with candour contend, that the mocking-bird of North and South America, if not for warbling softness, might be compared, in point of variety and thrilling melody, with the soft and nightly songster of the south of France, and of the olive-gardens and orange-groves of Andalusia. Had Buffon been able to listen to the "mazy-running soul of melody" poured forth, either in Paraguay or the Andes' mountains, he would not have given so precipitate a decision; or had he afterwards enjoyed the harmony and mellowness of the Mexican polyglot, he would have hastened to contradict it.

The painter's predilection for beautiful plumage, makes us in Europe naturally suppose, that the colours of all the South American birds are brilliant; and we are apt to attribute the circumstance to the powers of the sun: yet, mixed with the variegated and lustrous tribes to be met with in Paraguay, there are many to be seen of a very sombre hue; and, what is singular enough, it has been observed of those found in the uncovered parts where the sun has most power, that their brilliancy of plumage is less than in the deep and secluded forests; indicating that the orb of day rather weakens than adds to the tints of colouring. It is also a fact, that the most gay and glossy colours are found in the *surucua* (couroucou à ventre rouge de Buffon), the humming-birds, and certain species of the *tangaras*, or thrush; all of which are marked by a rapid flight, inhabit the interior of the woods, and seldom ascend more than midway up the trees.

A quiet, soft, and innocent disposition, may easily be conceived to be characteristic of the birds of a thinly inhabited country like Paraguay; and Mr. Azara says that they are so easily tamed, that with a little care we might soon add to the varieties of our domestic tribes, and increase the victims spread upon the table of the epicure.

In taking our leave for the present of the work of Mr. Azara, we cannot avoid again expressing our conviction, at least our ardent hopes, that the deficiencies which the abuses of his government, and his own want of general knowledge, have introduced into the work, will now be supplied by the speedy exertions of some enterprising person of competent acquirements. The genius of a Robertson might be well employed in collecting and condensing the many valuable tracts and descriptive ac-

counts, which are to be found among the Spanish Creoles, or other literary characters of South America; whose genius (though the spring of oppression has borne hard upon it), has not slept, and from whom many MS. of the greatest importance might be procured by an enterprising traveller; and it is obvious that these, combined with an enlightened survey of the moral and physical state of the country, would afford matter of the highest public importance. We sincerely trust that this hint will not be lost upon those who think that they possess talents, energy, and acquirements, suited to so interesting an undertaking: but we beg leave to except Sir John Carr, K. C. from the influence of this exhortation.

We shall now proceed in our intention of illustrating, from private sources of information, the political state, wishes, and opinions, of the Spanish South American provinces. This appears the more necessary, as perhaps there is no subject of political discussion, concerning which private interest has propagated among us so much misrepresentation. The pension-list has been swelled with the names of foreigners who had any thing to say on the subject; and in some cases the very dregs of their own country, who have sought subsistence here by the sale of their plans and their pamphlets, have been thought proper instruments for revolutionising it. The South Americans, in general, have been declared to be ardently sighing for their freedom, ready to hail with transport any probable chance of redeeming it, and unanimous in their due appreciation of the blessings of civil and religious liberty. But the sober truth is, that a sense of these benefits is not altogether inherent in, and inseparable from, the untutored breast. To be loved sufficiently to be sought for at the cannon's mouth, they must previously have been known, and contrast must have enhanced their value. But how could this have been the case among a thinly scattered people, carefully secluded from all intercourse, and from the circulation of free and liberal sentiments, for more than 300 years; during which the fear inspired by the government, and the terror inspired by the inquisition, have combined to suppress every rising hope, and have kept the mind in a state of torpid and abject degradation?

That this is a just description of the mass of the South American population we have no doubt; but we have already observed, that a spark of light has here and there broke in upon their darkness, and that twilight, at least, is now prevalent at the western settlements. Of these sparks, the most interesting are those which have lighted up the torch of rebellion; or, more correctly speaking, of resistance to oppression. It is at such

periods only that the national character of such a people can be elucidated: it is obvious, that all the interval must be a blank and dismal void, interrupted only by the sighings of despair, or the groans of misery. We shall therefore endeavour, in the first place, to give a brief sketch of such of the troubles of South America, as have elicited from the natives sentiments or actions calculated to illustrate the state of the public mind; and shall then assist our readers in forming some estimate of the grounds upon which may be said to rest the hope of brighter days, and the glorious prospect of expiating, by a mild and beneficent government, the tremendous load of national guilt, which the cries of America have accumulated at the footstool of eternal justice.

The periods we allude to are principally four, and they will severally illustrate the characters of the Indians, the Creoles, and the Spaniards.

The first, which has respect to the Indians, was the insurrection that took place in Peru in 1780, headed by and at the instigation of Tupac-Amaru; secondly, as relating to the Creoles, that which occurred in Caraccas in 1797, as described by Depons, and other writers; thirdly, the British expedition to the river La Plata in 1806; and, lastly, the revolution which is now in progress.

An act of injustice, to which Don Jozi Gabriel Tupac-Amaru had been exposed by the audience of Lima, and the outrage he received from a corregidor, together with a sense of the abject state to which the Indian nations were reduced by the oppressions of the *repartimientos* (a compulsory system, by which they were obliged to receive their necessary supplies of goods, hardware, and mules, from the corregidores at the prices they themselves fixed, and on the credit they thought proper to restrict), the whole aggravated by new imposts, laid on them by the visitor-general in the time of Galves, first broke the bonds of restraint, and gave rise to the first-mentioned troubles. The exertions of several individuals who stepped forward in the general cause, soon spread the spirit of resistance through three hundred leagues of the interior, which became the theatre of those bloody scenes, that invariably follow the footsteps of civil contests. It was, however, in fact little more than a rising or revolt of the native Indians against the individual oppression of the corregidores, and other agents of government; it was an effort, general, strong, and spontaneous, on the part of the primitive races, to divest themselves by force, (since reiterated remonstrances had not availed,) of the individual tyrants, who exercised over them a power too long abused, but it was not a general act of the inhabitants at large to sap the basis of that government to which they

had been long accustomed, or to raise the standard of national independence.

The revolution in Caraccas, the second above alluded to, was still more partial, and more divested of any views of a beneficial change; it owed its origin to the designs of individual intrigue, and the machinations of a disappointed few; and though the flame did not envelope more than seventy persons, and those mostly Europeans, it served in Europe as a handle to impose on the credulity of men in power, and eventually gave rise to an expedition, that stands unequalled in the annals of chivalry, we had almost said of absurdity. We will draw the veil of silence over the ill-timed and ill-judged transactions that took place on the coast of Caraccas; but we cannot refrain from an expression of indignation, that *even* a set of British writers, who plainly admit themselves to be the mere organs of a party, should so far prostitute their pens, as to devote an entire article to emblazon their merits.

In truth, even at that time the Spanish Creoles of South America, generally speaking, were enemies to innovation and change; and with the exception of a few daring and enlightened men, who in the solitude of their closets had studied the principles of civil freedom, and whose genius had soared to the contemplation of systems, which their most sanguine expectations never dared to contemplate as so soon to be realized in their native land, they were yet firm in their adherence to the old government, or rather fearful of the consequences of any attempt to throw off its authority. Even at the present day, their dread of anarchy and confusion is still so strong, that the progress of freedom and independence is slow, and they appear to tremble on the brink of emancipation, and to be diffident of a good for which the mass is scarcely yet prepared.

We could add in support of our assertion the testimony of many respectable natives of the country, as well as the authority of authentic documents; but we will confine ourselves to the report of General Belgrano to the Junta of Buenos Ayres, published by them on the 4th of February ult., which reached us by the last arrival. This general in detailing the operations of his campaign, against the natives of Paraguay, says, "*Estoy convencido, de que este pais no quiere perder los grillos, aunque me persuado, que con el tiempo, llegará à convencerse de los errores enque esta' contra nuestra justa causa, &c.*" "I am convinced, that this country is opposed to throwing off its fetters, at the same time that I am persuaded, that in the course of time it will be convinced of the errors under which it now labours, with regard to our just cause, &c."

With respect to our third æra, perhaps no political problem is more difficult of solution, than the original views and intentions of those who planned the British expedition which entered the waters of La Plata in June 1806, and took possession of the capital of that province on the 27th of the same month. That it was never destined to co-operate with those views and wishes of independence that might be excited in the breasts of a few leading individuals of character, who had in their hands the control of the people, appears proved by the conduct of its chiefs, and that general and unvaried line of operations which marked every feature of the whole transaction. It seemed planned with a view only to establish a military post, that might be thrown into the scale of considerations when peace was treated of in Europe; for such a handful of men, *acting in direct contradiction to the only means afforded by the state of the country of insuring the lasting good-will of its natives*, could not have it in contemplation to conquer and garrison an extensive empire; or to establish with it an enlarged commercial intercourse: nay, it rather appears to have been, a gross sacrifice of the lives and courage of our soldiers, to the want of a regular and well combined system connected with a true knowledge of the country, that was to be the seat of action, and of the advantages which its political condition and feelings might hold forth.

It was attended, however, with one good, of which the British cabinet was not then aware, or its agents prepared to convert into national advantage. It gave an opportunity to those, who in the seclusion of their closets had pondered on the past wrongs of their country, who had ventured to study those rights which constitute the inheritance of all free men, to be known to each other. No longer dreading the censure and shackles of their old government, they assembled, and discussed topics leading to a change of government; their numbers increased, and the protection of the British arms was deemed to afford a most favourable opportunity for extending the benefits of civil independence. Thus did a spark, which in its beginning was almost imperceptible, acquire magnitude; and had it then been fostered, had civil talents, combined with a protecting and conciliating policy, been then but used, the blood subsequently shed would have been spared, disgrace would not have fallen on the British arms, and instead of that enmity which naturally followed, instead of mourning, devastation, and reproach, all would have been converted into the lasting and sincere blessings of the emancipated inhabitants, in favour of a nation that came to aid them in a cause connected with their vital interests.

But instead of this rational and obvious policy, what was the

conduct of that *all-sapient* band of politicians who now presume to arraign the support of the cause in the Peninsula, on the ground of its interference with the emancipation of the colonies through our assistance? What did they perform when no such obstacle existed, and when *but for them* liberty and happiness would at length have dawned upon these interesting regions?

That the British chiefs were early convinced that there existed a leading party in favour of independence and a change of government, evidently results from the many official reports produced in General Whitelock's trial, but that they were also not *provided with any instructions* to improve that spirit, seems equally conclusive. We feel no hesitation in saying that on the appearance of the British army in the waters of La Plata, it was hailed as an happy omen by those who sought the melioration of their country, and the passive part of the community had sufficient reliance on the national honour to hope, that whatever was attempted would be honestly directed to their relief and benefit. We know that men high in civil authority, repeatedly pressed the English to declare whether they came as emancipators or as conquerors; and even the religious communities publicly testified their joy and their congratulations in a remarkable discourse held on the 28th June, 1806. But alas! we know full well on the other hand, that the English chiefs were necessarily silent, and that silence in such a case is almost worse than an unpropitious avowal. Too well we know how soon the interesting and favourable sentiments first excited vanished into air; how rapidly the goaded pride and disappointed hopes of the people exploded in open clamour; how rancorously the deluded sagacity of the clergy converted the pulpits into vehicles of irritated feeling and outrageous declamation against the invaders.

From the mass of Buenos Ayres documents, in print and MS. now before us, we will confine ourselves to a short extract from the pastoral letter of the Bishop of La Paz, dated the 3d of May, 1807.

“ Que seria de nosotros, que seria de nuestras propiedades, y de nuestras familias, y que seria principalmente de nuestra religion, si llegaran los Ingleses à dominar y establecer se en Buenos Ayres, y con sus armas y su artificiosa seduccion intentasen tambien penetrar en el pais; sirian por ventura mas indulgentes con la America Espanola que lo son con la Inlanda que es casi la misma patria?”

The effect produced by discourses of this nature, printed and circulated among a people accustomed to devour with avidity any thing *in print*, and to attach unbounded credit to every thing from their priests, may be better conceived than described. And

sorry we are further to observe, that in the whole columns of the *Estrella del Sur*, a newspaper printed in Monte Video, in English and Spanish, and considered as the organ of the British chiefs, there is not a line calculated to inspire the natives with the smallest confidence, to undo in the slightest degree the unfavourable impressions, or to convey any assurances of melioration and protection to the desponding minds of a people, to whom fetters only in a new form were offered. It is remarkable, that in the regular file which we have now before us, there is not an article couched in free and liberal sentiments, or a column addressed to the inhabitants to tell them what were the wishes of their invaders.

We pass over in silence the well known and disgraceful circumstances that followed: but we think it our duty to relieve the European public of one very general error; which is, that the successes of the *La Plateans* were entirely owing to their chief, *Liniers*. Biography will have little to relate of a favourable nature respecting this man. Till he took the command of the *Buenos Ayres* troops he was a gambler, and to flattery and intrigue, joined to the courage and misplaced confidence of the people, whom he afterwards betrayed, he owed his advancement. That he was not even entitled to the praise of courage so generally attached to him, we can cite as a proof, that he deserted the city in the second attack by General *Whitelock*, and only returned when he found that the danger was over.

He continued to exercise the authority of viceroy after the expulsion of the English, and an instance was not long wanting to convince the people of his secret intentions to deliver up the country to the French. As soon as the usurpation of the throne of Spain had placed on it a branch of the Corsican family, emissaries were sent to the principal ports of America, to acquaint the governors of the transfer that had been made of these distant possessions, and to concert measures with them, under the previous promise of their continuance in power, how to conciliate the people to the new dynasty. The person deputed to *Buenos Ayres* arrived there about the 10th of August 1808, and on the 18th *Liniers* issued a proclamation, advising the people "to follow the example of their American ancestors, who wisely avoided the disasters which afflicted Spain during the war of the succession, by waiting till the fate of the mother country was determined, in order then to obey the legitimate authority that occupied the throne." To this were added insinuations that Spain had already yielded, and that opposition was not only untimely but criminal.

It would not be difficult for one who has followed the inhabit-

ants of Buenos Ayres through every stage of their patriotic efforts, who has seen them fight for their invaded rights, to form an idea of their feelings on this occasion. To behold a yoke, ten times more offensive than that which they had just resisted, now offered to be imposed upon them, was not only to insult their feelings, patriotism, and national honour, but to impeach their judgment. The fact is, that Liniers had concerted with the French emissary, that 30,000 men were necessary to keep the country in awe, and to penetrate into the interior; and if we can rely upon a respectable report now before us relating to this expedition, "which was to be commanded by a Spanish officer in the French interest, the dispatch to the viceroy Liniers, ordering him to make preparation for their reception, was intercepted by the British."

Liniers continued to hold the reins of government till the central Junta of Spain, on their assumption of the supreme authority, sent out Cisneros to supersede him, and to send him to Spain as a prisoner. Here again Liniers not only betrayed a weak spirit, but a want of judgment, for his powers, at least, had the merit of being constitutional; but he ceded, without an effort, to the new comer, and retired to Cordova, where we for the present leave him.

No sooner had Viceroy Cisneros assumed his functions than he found the treasury empty, the people desponding of the success of Spain, and a freedom of speech, hostile to her supremacy, very prevalent. With the ordinary policy of old-fashioned statesmen in a crisis of affairs which bids defiance to all regular habits, and requires depth and originality of judgment, he proceeded to fortify himself, by calling around him all the ancient instruments of the despotic system of the mother country. Those who, from the nature of their talents and employments, had every thing to lose and nothing to gain by a change, flocked round him, and the customary system of espionage was organized. Dr. Canete prostituted his pen in the formation of thirty-one articles, which we confess that we have perused with horror,—every measure, in short, was adopted which was thought calculated to rivet afresh the fetters in which personal liberty and the public opinion had so long been confined.

The exhausted state to which the colonial treasury had been reduced by the late military exertions, now gave rise to many schemes for increasing the financial resources of the capital, and affording relief to the people. Amongst these, the most important was the free admission of British goods, advised by the leading Creoles, but opposed by all the ancient Spaniards, and by those who adhered to the old form of government. The discussion of

this momentous question gave rise to a celebrated memorial by Dr. Mariano Moreno, which from its merit we should have wished to have made the subject of a separate review; but we must content ourselves with giving a general idea of the production.

The memorial, composed in elevated language, breathes a spirit of indignation against the selfish and monopolizing spirit of the Cadiz merchants, for whose private interests, the colony was so shamefully oppressed; then addressing himself to the viceroy he energetically adds: "It is attempted to establish advantages on our ruin; the government then ought to be doubly vigilant to frustrate so sinister a design. Our sovereign conferred on your excellency the high dignity of viceroy of these provinces, not to watch over and consult the dignity of the Cadiz merchants, but to preside over ours. How can a trading body, that has at all times raised the standard against the common good of other towns, that has uniformly been the advocate of monopoly, on such an occasion as this be admitted as an antagonist? Can it be supposed that the consulado of Cadiz has any interest or legitimate intervention in the interior regulations of this province, or any vote on the means which may insure its prosperity?"

After successively refuting all the minor arguments brought forward by the opposition, till he arrived at that so much insisted on by their champion, viz. that "it is to be feared, from granting a free trade to the English, in a few years, the ties which bind us to the Peninsula will be rent asunder."—Dr. Moreno proceeds with regard to the English:

"Our Americas will never be more secure than when trading with them; for a wise and enterprising commercial nation detests conquests, and attends less to military enterprize than to the interests of her trade. With regard to ourselves, the days in which we live have afforded proofs of our fidelity, which might be envied even by the towns of Spain. The English themselves will ever view with respect the conquerors of the 5th of July, and the Spaniards will not forget that our military hospitals were not filled with traders, but by natives who defended the country in which they were born, by shedding their best blood in defence of their invaded rights."

"Nothing, in the present moment, can be more advantageous to Spain, than to bind and rivet, by every possible tie, the union and alliance of England. This generous nation, struggling almost alone under the weight of the present contest in Europe, afforded to our mother country aid and succour, such as was before unexampled in the friendships of nations; and certainly it becomes us, in our own speculations, to consult the interests of her subjects. At such a period, he cannot be considered as a true Spaniard who beholds

the trade of Britain with repining; let those fatal moments be remembered, in which our plundered and insulted monarchy found no resources within itself, for they had previously been destroyed by a subtle enemy. With what gratitude was then received the generous assistance, with which the English genius placed in motion that great machine which, till then, appeared useless and inert. With what jubilee was their alliance then celebrated, and with what pleasure was announced the imposing force which the friendship of that powerful nation imparted to us. It is a shameful vileness then to see, that scarcely have we thought of establishing a trade as the only means of our salvation, and one that cannot be carried on but through the means of our allies, than they are considered by our traders as interlopers, and treated with an execration no less injurious to them, than incompatible with our true interests."

"Let us, then, prove ourselves to be good Spaniards, when we have it in our power to contribute by commercial relations to a closer union with an opulent and generous nation, whose succour is absolutely necessary to the independence of Spain. We well know, that in the war of the succession, France obtained a free commerce with our Americas, and we ought to be ashamed to deny to gratitude what dependence and dread then snatched from us. Under the necessity of consulting our own good, let us not repine that a reciprocal advantage should fall to the lot of a nation to whom we owe so much, and without whose aid that amelioration which we propose can never be attained. Such are the united wishes of twenty thousand land-holders whom I represent, and the only means of establishing, with a dignity suitable to the character of your excellency, the foundation of *our* felicity, and the replenishment of *your* treasury."

We cannot help considering this production of the Burke of South America as a very respectable specimen of Creole eloquence; and it was successful. The establishment of a free trade with England gradually raised the country from its depressed state; the operations of agriculture were resumed and increased, from the certainty of a vent for its produce; and even hides, which, as Dr. Moreno says, their grandfathers threw away as objects of no value, now became a staple commodity.

The minds of the people were at length matured; and the supposed certainty that Spain had fallen a prey to the rapacity of a foreign power, made them anxious for their own safety. Aware of those reiterated attempts by which the French had endeavoured to enthrall their allegiance, and that even the servants of the old government could not be trusted, with one voice they resolved to place the executive power in the *cabildo*, to be exercised by that representative body of the people in the name of their sovereign Ferdinand VII. till a superior Junta should be assembled. Notwithstanding Cisneros had assured

the people that he would adopt no measures without their concurrence, they would not permit him to retain any power, or even allow him to preside in their councils.

On the 26th the provisional Junta was installed, amidst the general acclamations of the inhabitants, and from that date, an established authority calmed every fear, and removed the uncertainty and fluctuation of opinion in the capital.

Thus was a revolution effected, without a drop of blood-shed, which levelled to the ground a vassalage of three centuries, and eternally engraved the names of its authors on the hearts of their fellow-citizens.

The first endeavours of the Junta were to inspire confidence in their constituents. It was ordained, that all the proceedings of their sessions should be printed weekly, that the people might judge of the conduct of their representatives; who themselves considered, that mystery and reserve were only invented by power to cover or palliate crimes. Every citizen was invited to give his opinion freely, in writing, on any public measure, and authorized to address himself, personally, to the Junta in session; or to an individual deputy, in cases of complaint, claims, or remonstrance. Measures were taken to regulate the military establishment and trade, and to reform the system of police. Thus, without a contention or civil broil, without anarchy or confusion, and without a change of civil policy, did they lay the foundation of a representative and local government; nor were the relations of domestic life, or the security of property for a moment affected.

Monte Video had, during the government of Liniers, been the first to convene a Junta within itself, but it was more for the purpose of escaping from the control of Liniers, than to lay the foundation of a representative local government; and it was never carried into full effect. Its inhabitants acknowledged that of Buenos Ayres, in a general assembly held on the 5th of June, after the communications from the latter were made known, and a public act of allegiance was registered; the cabildo however opposed the measure the next day, and from that time, to the present, Monte Video has continued firm to the Cadiz regency, under the influence of Spanish naval officers, and has remained the seat of the naval equipment for blockading the capital. Its population, added to that of the surrounding country, is estimated at 14,000 inhabitants, and from great desertion, the garrison of the town is reduced to 1500 men. The transactions of the interior have till very lately prevented the patriotic army of the Junta from making any attempt to dislodge this handful of opponents; but the wishes of the people tend to an union with

the capital, and the last dispatches from la Plata bring an account that a force is marching to reduce the place.

Though the installation of the Junta, and every measure that immediately followed, produced the sincere and unanimous acclamations of the people at large, yet the abridgment of power must naturally be expected to have created a dislike on the part of those who had hitherto been the immediate servants of the old government, and accustomed to give an account of their transactions to the councils of the Indies alone. The royal audience, consisting of Europeans, nominated at home, had been left in the superintendence and administration of public justice, but was soon discovered caballing with Cisneros, in opposition to the Junta, whom they refused to acknowledge, or to take the usual oaths of office. To such a length was this spirit of party-hostility carried, that the Junta, to secure the public tranquillity, were under the necessity of sending back to Spain Cisneros, three oidores, and the fiscales of the royal audience, in order that they might be there judged by the supreme government. On the 29th of June the Junta published its manifesto, explaining the particulars which had given rise to this measure, and detailing their reiterated endeavours to bring the members of the royal audience to a sense of their duty, and as public functionaries to impress upon them the danger of disregarding the wishes of the people, and sowing the seeds of discord and disunion.

But it is now time to return to Liniers, whom we left in Cordova; and to illustrate a subject which, as well from distance as design, has been greatly misrepresented to the English public.

No sooner had tranquillity been restored to the capital, by the departure of Cisneros, and his fellow-plotters, than it was discovered that a more formidable party was collecting in the interior, and particularly at Cordova*, headed by Liniers, the intendant Concha; his assessor Rodrigues, Bishop Orellana, Colonel Allende, and accomptant Joaquim Moreno. Their intention was not only to suppress the votes of the people, but to oppose by an armed force all obedience to the government established in the capital. They publicly declared the Junta "*insurgent, and revolutionary,*" and even the bishop endeavoured,

* The city of Cordova, capital of the intendency of that name, is the residence of a bishop, and the best built town in the province. It was founded on the 6th of July 1773, by Geronimo Luis de Cabrera, on the site where the Indians had a settlement, called *Quisquisacate*, on the banks of the river Primero. It stands near a wood at the foot of a branch of the Andes, and contains about 10,000 inhabitants. The main road to Potosi from the capital passes through it, and its great trade is in mules and horses, obtained from Buenos Ayres, and sold to Upper Peru. It is 468 miles from Buenos Ayres.

but in vain, to profane the pulpits, by rousing a party to his cause; yet so firm was the public mind, though at the distance of much more than one hundred leagues, that very few partizans were made.

In vain did the Junta of Buenos Ayres use every friendly remonstrance and exhortation to dissuade these leaders from their hostile designs, and not to deluge the country in the blood of their fellow citizens; every overture was treated with disdain, nay even rejected with outrage. All correspondence with the capital was interdicted, every thing on the roads was intercepted, and a plan of raising an armed force to depose the Junta, and reinstate the old servants of the government, was resolved on. Every proclamation breathed captivity, fire and sword, and every tool and despot of the old system was invited to join them. Liniers took the command of the few troops he could collect, and in vain did the people of Cordova sigh for a release from the oppression of this French satellite.

The account of these proceedings diffused through the patriots of La Plata a general feeling of compassion for the distresses of the people of Cordova, and many volunteers stepped forward, offering to march to their relief. Towards the beginning of August the patriot army reached the frontiers of Cordova, where they were received by their fellow provincials as their solicited and sighed for liberators, who came as brothers to release them from the miseries of rapine and civil discord, and to wrest from unworthy hands the power that oppressed them.

Notwithstanding Liniers had previously concerted the defence of the town, after dilapidating the public treasury, and committing in the true French style other acts of coercion on its defenceless inhabitants, he fled on the 1st of August at the approach of the Buenos Ayres army towards Peru, carrying with him his fellow conspirators, nine cannon, and four hundred men. Havoc and destruction attended his footsteps; the country was laid waste, the farms and dwellings of the peaceable inhabitants who would not join him were burned to the ground; on them he satiated his fury and his avarice, for they were the objects no less of his cruelty than of his pillage. But his career was soon stopped. On the 5th he was taken prisoner by a small party detached in pursuit, after having been abandoned by those whom he had in a great measure forced into his service, and with three other leaders was sent to the capital a prisoner for trial. Cordova, relieved from the presence of its tyrant, unanimously voted Doctor Funes as its deputy to the Junta, and peace and public tranquillity were restored to its inhabitants.

The incorporation of Chili with Buenos Ayres took place in

September 1810, and the addition of this extensive and important kingdom, with the union of Cordova, completed a jurisdiction that reached to the shores of the South Seas. The interesting province of Cochabamba bordering upon Peru, of which we have already given some short details, brought its little army into the field, secured part of the Cordova conspirators who had escaped, and relieved the neighbouring towns from their old oppressors, and from the influence held over them by the viceroy of Lima. Potosi, Charcas, La Paz, Cochabamba, Cordova, and Salta, have all joined; so that, with the exception of part of Paraguay, still under the ascendancy of the court of the Brazils, the jurisdiction of the Junta of Buenos Ayres extends over the whole of the viceroyalty of La Plata as it lately stood, with the kingdom of Chili; and two millions and a half of inhabitants exult in their newborn freedom, and are preparing to elect deputies to represent them in the great national congress about to be formed. General Belgrano with his army of the north had penetrated beyond the frontiers of Paraguay, according to the last advices, and as soon as his protection can sufficiently cover the inhabitants, and his force remove the mouldering shackles of the old system, that part of the province will enter into the general league, and the representative local government of La Plata will extend on the south from Cape Horn to beyond La Paz, near the limits of Peru, and on the north will be bounded by the Brazils.

Such is the interesting picture presented by the South American patriots; such is the deliverance which it might have been Britain's glory to have imparted to them in 1806, but which they have now more gloriously worked out for themselves. And shall not we join our hosannahs with their grateful voices? Shall not we transfer a little of our sympathy to the people of Old Spain to these yet more interesting struggles; where no degrading system of vice and immorality casts a doubt over the mind whether the oppressed deserve relief; but where virtue sanctifies the cause, and doubly so, because it hath escaped by its own energy and native warmth from the cold and paralyzing effects of ignorance and vice?

Can we behold unmoved the spontaneous emancipation of three millions of slaves, after three centuries of bondage; and the glorious prospect which such an example holds forth to sixteen millions more spread over a delightful and fertile continent, where, under free and equal laws, population would probably double its numbers in fifteen years, and industry its products in a much shorter period? If any thing can add

to the interest with which we contemplate such a scene, it is that they are ardently desirous to interweave with their infant prosperity the name of Britain, to associate us with all the enthusiastic feelings of the moment, and to embalm our names in the memory of their posterity, with all those grateful recollections that must ever accompany a retrospect to the glorious epoch which gave them a political existence, and laid the first stone of the grand edifice which they are destined one day to rear. Whatever impediments the comparatively paltry interests of the present perplexing state of Europe may cast in the way of our immediate answer to the call which they make upon us, let them be assured that Britons (in heart and mind, at least) aspire to hold out the right hand of fellowship to a prudent and enlightened people, engaged in a cause, which Britons, in their own case, have long since carried to a triumphant issue.

Nothing now remains incomplete to La Plata but to found a solid and sound constitution, with a good system of legislation calculated to secure its future felicity and prosperity, and to establish a national force sufficient to repel such enemies as the chances of war may eventually bring to their shores. This, beyond doubt, will be the primary object of the general congress, which by this time we suppose to be in session. If we could judge from the variety of printed and manuscript pieces now before us, containing strictures on this important subject, particularly those of the learned Dr. Funes, deputy from Cordova, and at present secretary of the Junta; we should anticipate proceedings not only of a wise and dignified nature, but such as would grace the journals of any deliberative body in Europe. A spectacle so novel as that of the learned and patriotic amongst a new people discussing freely and judiciously topics relating to a code of laws suited to their circumstances, cannot fail to awaken the deepest interest, and the liveliest curiosity.

We trust that in the deliberations of this assembly the cause of the Indians will not be forgotten, but that gradual means will be taken to extend to this much injured race the blessings of mental and personal liberty. We fairly confess that this will be the criterion by which we shall ultimately judge of the virtue and patriotism of the South American congress. We have had in Europe, nay in England, for some years past, quite enough of that patriotism which is desirous only to bring down to its own place in the scale all that is above it, and which, having succeeded, is sure to tyrannize over all that is below it.

And we will say of such a spirit, that nothing is so common, so vulgar, or so natural. The *easy* and *unchristian* habit of despising and reviling superiors naturally gives the mind a misanthropic and cynical cast, directly opposite to that love of mankind which urges to self denial and exertion for the benefit of others, and which is absolutely necessary to enable a man to do great things for the world. Accordingly we do not recollect of late years, nor do we now perceive on the stage, one single *flaming patriot* who has ever exhibited the least proof of sincerity in his love to mankind, or who has not convinced every cool observer of the selfish hypocrisy of his principles, by setting at nought the peace and welfare both of society and of private families, whenever they were found to interfere with the indulgence of his passions, or with his private views of ambition. But of the South American patriots let us hope better things! The conduct they have hitherto held certainly entitles them to credit.

We have entered more fully and explicitly into the discussion of the La Plata question, because it is now become a general one in the whole of the two great divisions of Spanish America. Lower Peru is the only country that has not yet openly moved, but the moment is not far distant when the people will there also assert their rights; many circumstances which our present limits will not permit us to explain, concur to keep the reins of government for a time in the hands of the old officers, but Peru is too enlightened, and the example of Buenos Ayres too strong, for the flame to be opposed, even by such barriers as the Andes' mountains. Caraccas, Quito, and Santa Fe have already risen, and the unanimous wishes of the Mexicans are suppressed, but not extinguished.

Such being the state of affairs—we understand that deputies from the popular government of Buenos Ayres are now in London; and we can well conceive the perplexity into which their presence must have thrown the British ministry. While the private interests of the Cadiz merchants necessarily hold their present control over the general government of their country, it is to be feared that no mediation of ours can be at all effectual in enforcing any compromise with the South American patriots; and it may perhaps be thought problematical how far, under such circumstances, government will be strictly justified in taking any official notice at all of the American deputies. The last dispatches from Spain seem to announce the probability of a struggle in Cadiz, that will either place that fortress in the hands of the French, or annihilate the influence of those local interests which in too many instances appear to have overawed the gene-

ral government. The attentive reader of the Spanish articles in this and our preceding numbers may, perhaps, be of opinion that even the most unfavourable result of these struggles will not produce evil *unmixed* with good—and the free and unshackled contemplation of the South American cause upon liberal, and truly British grounds, will not be the least of the advantageous results. For ourselves individually we freely admit that we are quite prepared to run any risk that may be incurred by acting upon such consideration at the present moment. We are decidedly of opinion that on this, as on every other occasion, the danger of half measures is much greater than any temporary advantages that can possibly flow from them;—that the most manly and the most sincere will be the most advantageous policy. No one, we suppose, now doubts that the Peninsula cannot be saved from France, without securing to itself a free constitution and equal laws. When the South Americans come to treat, under our mediation, with the government of such a country, who can doubt, but that an agreement would result more truly favourable to both parties, and therefore more acceptable to an enlightened government, than any which the continuance of civil war could offer? But to entitle ourselves to such a right of mediation we must *now* amalgamate our interests with those of the patriots—we *must* support them by mediation with our ally, or if necessary, by stronger measures, in the establishment of their liberty and happiness under the *nominal* sway of Ferdinand VII., till that monarch be *really* restored to an independent throne. We must disregard entirely the pretensions of those who, under colour of preserving the colonies to the mother country, are for pursuing measures which would really end in preserving them only to the French; and we must above all recollect that the alternative now in our power is not whether we shall keep the South Americans in slavery or assist in their liberation, for the former is now happily out of the power of any one—but whether we shall prolong the scenes of blood and dissension in that promising region, or at once establish an indelible claim to their gratitude, by assisting them to commence their career of happiness and glory.

Whatever then may be the result of their mission, let the deputies be assured that these sentiments really pervade the breasts not only of the British public, but we would almost venture to assert, of its statesmen also; for they are no less consonant with our national interest than with our national feeling. At all events we are prepared, as individuals, to declare to the Spanish South American deputies, our firm conviction that nothing but imperious necessity can prevent an open declaration in their favour. And we are willing to pledge our sagacity, that

the first moment of freedom from restraint will be marked by the hearty cooperation of Great Britain in those efforts of the South Americans, which are no less calculated to confer lasting happiness on them, than great commercial advantages on ourselves.

ART. VI. *Sketches of the Internal State of France.* By M. Faber. Translated from the French. Two first Chapters on "the French" and "Administration." London: Murray; Hatchard, and Richardson. pp. 300. 1811.

BEFORE the late revolutions, France was an interesting and instructive object of contemplation. A kind of universal homage was paid by the public opinion of every other country to the manners, the language, and the literature of that people. Frenchmen had arrived at such a high degree of excellence in all the pleasures, refinements, and what some may choose to call the elegant vices of civilized life, that their superiority was generally acknowledged. To this species of pre-eminence, who can deny the claims of a people whose specious qualities could extort such universal suffrage in their favour? Thither our young men of fashion, kept in order at home by the public opinion and the decent manners of a free country, went to exchange the rusticated virtues of Englishmen, for the frivolous elegance of a people as much below them in dignity, as they may be admitted to have excelled in the superficial arts of pleasing. Englishmen found themselves without restraint, where immoral actions and principles were attended with no loss of reputation; they drank the cup of pleasure to the very dregs. But all their attempts were vain; they made themselves ridiculous by awkwardly aping what there would have been great merit in despising. We have often heard Frenchmen exultingly exclaim, "On nous envoie les riches mi-lords pour être apprivoisés; mais un ours qui danse est toujours un ours. Peut-on blanchir le Nègre?"

Russians, Swedes, Poles, and Germans also paid due homage to French manners, by going through a course of civilization in Paris. But they were more successful than our young patriots in acquiring the graceful ease and thoughtless impertinence of Frenchmen. The Russians particularly are perfect mimics in all the vices, talents, and manners of civilized life.

We who are plain men, and know no better, are disposed to contest French superiority in the grand art of "*Sçavoir vivre*,"

even though such men as David Hume, Gibbon, and Lord Chesterfield have avowed that the society of Paris was the *best in the world*; and though men of the world flocked to that voluptuous capital, to consummate their knowledge in that most important and difficult of all human sciences, the art of conversation. Shoals of babbling Frenchmen, professors of those vices and follies, which have been hitherto inseparable from a high state of civilization, have inundated every country where there has been wealth to invite them, and folly to promote their success.

These, and other well known causes, had turned the attention of all Europe to France. She held all other nations in a kind of moral subjection; her language became general. Women, every where anxious to please, copied their fashions. Voltaire became universal. What nation could resist his wit, or the eloquence of Rousseau, or the science of Lavoisier? In short, their authors became classic, and united in one phalanx they produced that boastful monument of the power of the human mind, the Encyclopedia of Diderot and D'Alembert, which completed the national triumph. Thus, before the revolution, France had acquired an astonishing degree of influence over other nations by her talents and vices. The revolution followed, and she then appealed to their passions and prejudices: she would have succeeded but for her crimes. Having failed in her project of establishing universal empire by opinion, she has had recourse to force: and whether the experiment will succeed or not, depends on Englishmen.

Thus we see, that at all times, France has excited general attention; but she now inspires so deep an interest, that an acquaintance with her internal state is become a necessary part of knowledge, particularly to Englishmen. By the revolution, she has acquired an immense accession of physical strength; she has more than doubled her population; the weight of authority, and the splendour of military talents, have been added to her territorial resources. This gigantic power is rendered still more formidable, by the insatiable ambition and the unfeeling temper of the mind that directs its movements. The whole of the physical and moral force of that immense empire is concentrated into one focus, by a chief who acknowledges no other law but his own fierce and unruly will, and whose ways and means are perfidy, violence, and assassination; he has now nearly achieved every object of his ambition, but the subversion of the British empire. Already has he changed the aspect of one half of Europe: the effeminate people of the south have submitted without resistance; and the

bolder nations of the Baltic, the Rhine, and the Danube, betrayed by their cowardice, and the corruption and imbecility of their governments, have caught the fatal fascination of terror, and are immolated to his rapacious tyranny. The inhabitants of the Peninsula have alone checked his progress on the continent, and in their assistance, the ark of liberty is defended from sacrilegious violation, principally by British valour. It is not surprising then, that he should denounce destruction on the only country which is worthy to repel his efforts, and eventually to baffle his claims to universal tyranny and usurpation. Ten years ago he foretold our ruin: he has deigned to renew the lease of our existence; but he has not, therefore, left any doubt upon our minds that he is seriously bent on accomplishing his two grand objects, the destruction of liberty and of England. To enquire how far his power is commensurate with his will; to ascertain the real extent of his resources, moral and physical; to appreciate the real character of Frenchmen, the vile instruments of his crimes, are studies not only interesting but, as we have observed, absolutely necessary to every Englishman who would not survive the extinction or degradation of his country.

It was then with singular pleasure, that we first beheld M. Faber's work in a language that makes it accessible to Englishmen of every rank. The translator has with great propriety prefixed, as a preface, an extract from an account of the work given by Mr. Walsh, the author of a letter on the genius and dispositions of the French government, and an estimable young American, to whom the British public and the cause of justice and humanity are deeply indebted. He says:

"This work claims, from the nature and importance of its contents, no inconsiderable share of attention. Its purport is to develop the character, and to paint in appropriate colours, the internal administration of the present government of France. We have examined it carefully, and find it replete with facts and observations which entirely accord with the result of our *own personal experience* on this head, and which well deserve to be communicated."

Mr. Walsh also informs us, that M. Faber is a German of liberal education, to which last circumstance his work bears the most honourable testimony. Like almost every generous mind throughout Europe, he was seized by a moral influenza at the commencement of the French revolution. We need not wonder that foreigners were the dupes of this frivolous and unprincipled people, since a great many Frenchmen themselves really believed that the taking of the Bastille was to be the commencement of a

philosophical millenium, an æra of perfect happiness to mankind.

In the year 1793, we have ourselves often had our feelings of indignation roused at the sight of jacobins (their hands besmeared with blood) vociferating, "that the reign of perfectibility had commenced, and that the nations under the auspices of the French would soon arrive at the grand climax of moral excellence and social happiness."

Mr. Faber went to Paris to *aid the French in the grand work*. He obtained their confidence, and was a public functionary till the year 1807. By this time the mania had pretty well subsided. Seized with remorse at being a mere instrument of oppression, he fled to St. Petersburg, where he wrote two volumes which he entitled "*Sketches of the internal State of France.*" The Emperor Alexander being then under the influence of Buonaparte suppressed the second. A copy of the first found its way to England, and was re-published in French by Dulaeu. Of course, those who read that language will prefer it to the translation. But we have preferred the latter, that our extracts may be the more extensively useful. The style in which the volume is written is agreeable: the reasonings and deductions we do not think always quite correct, but the merit of the work must of course depend principally upon the strict accuracy of the facts detailed, and of the general pictures drawn of morals and manners. In these respects we are happy to have the authority of a countryman of our own, who has passed as many years in France as Mr. Faber, and with no mean opportunities of information, for asserting that a more correct and lively representation can scarcely be given of the circumstances treated.

With this assurance it is natural to regret that we possess only half of the subject, the second volume having been suppressed in the manner just related.

Nevertheless, with the work before us, and those of Mr. Walsh in their hands, our countrymen may at least be said to be well informed of the danger that threatens them;—of its origin, nature, and consequences; if they incur it, they will do so with their eyes open.

Mr. Faber has divided his volume into ten chapters, each of which (except the first) may be considered in it's separate department, as a counter-exposé *founded on truth*, in reply to the pompous *falsehoods* which are annually announced in the *Moniteur*. We shall now review as many of those chapters as our contracted limits will admit, leaving the remainder, each of which in fact treats of a perfectly distinct subject, to a future opportunity.

In his first chapter, entitled "The French," Mr. Faber formally attempts to apologize for the nation, by asserting that the atrocious crimes committed during the revolution were the work of a few; that *the nation* was purely passive; that the populace is in all countries the same; and that the same excesses would have taken place any where. Of course, having once whitewashed the reputation of this innocent people, he throws on a few factious and intriguing individuals the whole blame of the absurd laws which were enacted, and of the crimes which were their unavoidable consequences.

This is a mode of reasoning which Mr. Faber has acquired by his protracted residence in France; and he has not yet been absent long enough to correct his judgement by observation on other countries. The French are ever ready to excuse their crimes by repeating with a sarcastic smile "that human nature is the same every where;"—"that the French are a very innocent, humane, and good sort of people;—the best creatures in the world;—and that all the evils and enormities which stained the revolution were produced by foreigners, the agents of Pitt, &c. &c."

Now on these heads we presume to differ a little both from Mr. Faber and his French authorities. To say nothing of the flat contradiction which their very theory gives to itself, by admitting the apathy with which *the nation* permitted a few individuals to plunge it into every horror and every crime, (which in such an extreme case is surely becoming a party to them,) we had really hitherto laboured under the *mistaken notion*, that the manners and character of a people were formed out of such moral causes as arise from the nature of their civil and religious institutions. Nor can we by any means agree either that the *French nation* was purely passive during the revolution, or that the populace is in all countries the same; and it appears to us that M. Faber's assertions to the contrary are destructive of all political morality. The proof of our former proposition we think may be very much taken from M. Faber himself.

"In every country the nation consists, according to my notions, of that class of the inhabitants, who by their moral and intellectual qualities and active pursuits form as it were the *kernel* of the population. It is this class that furnishes the standard of the manners, intelligence, knowledge, and degree of civilization of a nation. It is from this class that we form an opinion of a nation; it is this class we mean when we speak of a nation. In this it is that the national character inheres. Neither the highest nor the lowest class ought then to be taken for a standard. It is not the extremes but the middle class that constitutes a nation.

“According to these notions the French nation cannot be accused of having massacred in September; of having debated in the clubs, and of sounding forth at the present day the praises of the existing government of France, in harangues, addresses of congratulation and homage. It has invariably been the ruling power of the moment that produced the effects which are considered as the acts of the nation and the expressions of its will. It is a party, a faction, a class, or a certain order of the inhabitants, a number of persons or a single individual, who having acquired the disposal of the ruling power for the moment, employ instruments with characters, views, and objects, corresponding to their own. At the period of terror this instrument was the populace, whom the leaders of that time affected to dignify by means of a perfidious abuse of the word with the title of *the people*. These dregs of mankind are the same in all countries; every where without education, without principle, and without character, they are guided solely by the considerations of the moment which act upon them.” “The populace will do any thing or be any thing you please; sheep or tigers; they will fast, follow at a word, adore a ribbon, murder, quaff blood, and devour human flesh. Such were the Septembrizers!” P. 2—3.

Now to convict Mr. Faber out of his own mouth we would simply ask,—who were the victims and who were those who sacrificed them? The victims, it is well known, were the nobles, the clergy, the rich, and those who were distinguished by their virtues, modesty, or attachment to old habits; or whose principles were not “à la hauteur” of the revolution.

These were destroyed “en masse” to the amount of nearly a million. Who wrought their destruction? Not this class degraded by misery that M. Faber distinguishes by the name of populace; but on the contrary “that class of the inhabitants, which by it’s moral and intellectual qualities forms the kernel of the population;”—the most enlightened men in France,—the advocates, physicians, men of letters, artists, judges, poets, philosophers, renegado priests, abbés, teachers, professors of colleges. In short, those who had talents, knowledge, or ambition, in the middling class rose as it were in mass, procured the massacre of the rich, and took possession of their property. It was therefore THE NATION emphatically, and according to Mr. Faber’s own definition of the word, which was guilty of the revolutionary crimes; and to the general degeneracy and absence of all moral principles are they principally to be ascribed.

The populace in fact was but rarely brought into action, and generally after the horrid deeds were done—to come and applaud—but not to execute. The massacres, executions, mitrailades, canonades, noyades, and other gentilleses revolutionnaires

which distinguished this frightful epoch were *judicially* ordered and *judicially* executed. And who sat on the tribunals? Physicians, authors, lawyers, artists, priests, whose knowledge, talents, and eloquence, would have done honour to the best cause. A very few of their associates, who merited revolutionary honours by their brutal ferocity, were selected from the populace for that particular purpose. But open the lists of that infamous period, and you will find nearly all belonging to that very class which Mr. Faber with great propriety calls "*the nation*."

Then with respect to the populace, if it be so ductile as Mr. Faber asserts in the hands of its superiors, (which we really believe it is,) it must of course form its character from that of the *mass* of its superiors. In times and countries where profligacy and depravity universally prevail, the populace will of course follow the general impulse. It will therefore not only differ in different countries, according to this criterion, but that difference is plainly to be ascribed to the middle class, which M. Faber calls *the nation*—whose example the populace *immediately* follow. It is not, therefore, "the same in every country;" and where it is peculiarly vicious, to *the nation* must it be ascribed. We do not mean to say that their natural degree of profligacy may not be enhanced by the inflammatory acts of demagogues; but we do say, that the effects of these acts will only be in proportion to the degeneracy of public spirit and public virtue previously existing:—that an English mob could never be "*travaillé*," as the French term it, into the same state of stupid ferocity which is exhibited by the "*canaille*" of the Fauxbourgs, St. Marceau, and St. Antoine; nor do we believe that the annals of any English tumult ever afforded such a scene as the following, which we shall give in the words of the Englishman in whose presence it took place, and upon whose veracity we can rely with perfect confidence.

"I recollect that, during my residence in Paris, an observation of Mr. Fox's, that appeared in a French paper, struck me, as shewing a profound knowledge of human nature. He was reported to have said in the House of Commons, 'that among many evils arising from wars and revolutions, one much to be feared was, that the frequency of battles and massacres would by degrees weaken our sympathies for each other, and render us indifferent about the shedding of blood.'

"Though I had but too frequent opportunities of seeing the truth of this observation confirmed by the experience and petty details of daily occurrences, I was resolved to observe this people on the first great occasion which might assemble a mob. I made

known my intentions to a French gentleman with whom I was very intimate. 'Bon,' said he, 'nous irons demain à la place de Greve, et nous surprendrons la nature sur le fait; & vous verrez que M. Fox savait bien apprecier l'homme.' The Parisians are so famished for fêtes and public spectacles, that even the guillotine serves as an amusement. We went and found an immense crowd. Whilst waiting for the appearance of the victims, an Irish gentleman, who was of the party, remarked near us a ragged boy, who was in the literal sense of the word a sans cullote. Struck by the lad's appearance, he told him to call at his lodgings, (giving him the address) and he would give him some pantaloons. The boy told him it was too far off. Diverted by his nonchalance, he replied, 'Well, tell me where you live, and I will send my servant with a parcel for you.' 'I have no home.' 'Where do you sleep?' 'On stairs, or in a hay-loft.' 'But have you no particular place where you may be found?' I shall never forget the little vagabond's answer: 'On me trouvera à toutes les fêtes.' 'Et vous appelez cela une fête?' 'Oui certes.' Our attention was at last roused by shouts of exultation, 'Les voila! les voila!' which announced the arrival of the procession with the four victims, who were a father and three sons, chauffeurs,* from la Vendee. Their presence was looked on as the rising of the curtain. 'Les voila, nous allons bientôt voir ça!' resounded every where. The youngest son was unable to mount the steps from the cart to the platform without assistance. Here some appearance of compassion might have been expected:—The very reverse;—his exhausted state was amusing to them. 'Ah la poule mouillée celuila, c'est l'enfant gâté sans doute—il fait le mou, mais qu'il gobe la pillule comme ses camarades.' The father and his two other sons came next, quite undaunted, and full of courage; their intrepidity delighted the Parisians. 'Ah! c'est autre chose ma foi, voila des gens de coeur!' These victims looked boldly around them. 'Oh! les brave gens—ça va bien, ma foi bravo!—vive les gens de coeur!

"The youngest son appeared lifeless; he was instantly laid hold of and stretched on the fatal plank. It is well known that this work of death is nearly instantaneous—short as it was, I heard his exit saluted by such exclamations as the following:—'Au diable le lache—comment donc! est ce qu'il craint la mort? Quelle etoffe pour un brigand, il avoit mal choisi son metier.' The next youngest received peals of applause—he was a fine comely looking young man:—'Bravo! voila ce qui va bien—vive les brave gens, vive les gens de coeur!' One of the executioner's assistants fell flat on his face, which was caused, as was supposed by those around me, by the planks being rendered slippery by the blood. Loud shouts and

* Chauffeurs are men who break into people's houses at night, and bake their feet before the fire, in order to extort a confession of the place where treasure is supposed to be concealed. The crime is common over the northern and western departments of France, and the Netherlands.

peals of laughter were the consequence. This accident occasioned a delay of a couple of minutes. The mob being in high spirits, the eldest son was uncommonly well received :—he was vigorous, and in the prime of life—he eyed the terrible scene around him with a stoicism that would have done honour to a better cause. His dignified appearance struck these cannibals with a kind of awe. ‘*Ma foi, c’est un bel homme, il a du coeur, celui la fera bonne mine à la tête d’un battalion.*’ When one of the hangmen threw his trunk into the basket, from some accidental cause, it sat upright as on a seat, and the blood spouted in several streams, to the height of about fifteen inches from the orifice of the arteries. ‘*Ah! le joli jet d’eau, le joli coup d’oeil!*’ was every where repeated around me. They appeared so amused by the novelty of this phenomenon, that the father closed the scene without being at all remarked—nothing was talked of but the ‘*joli jet d’eau.*’ I heard not one expression of regret at the unusual circumstance of a father and three sons being cut off from existence. I shall never forget the heart-appalling scene. Whether it was owing to the ferocious disposition displayed by the people, or the emotions caused by this terrible scene, with the heat and pressure of the crowd, I know not, but I fainted. The Irish gentleman who was of our party told me afterwards, that the people around us, perceiving that we were Englishmen, were highly diverted that an Anglais should faint at the sight of the guillotine. ‘*Ah! pauvres diables, ces Anglais ne sont pas encore accoutumés à voir couler le sang. Ah! ma foi, pour cela ils n’ont qu’à faire danser la carmagnole chez eux, ils en auront bientôt assez. Pour cela oui!*’ I was carried through the crowd to a wine-merchant’s shop, on the right hand side of the archway that leads from the Place de Gêrve to the Rue St. Antoine. My face was bathed with vinegar, which soon restored me. I found the shop full of people, talking on the subject of my fainting from the sight of blood. ‘*Ah ces braves gens la ne savent pas ce que c’est que la guillotine. Ma foi qu’ils y prennent bien garde, autrement vive la carmagnole!—Oh pour cela oui, mais notre diable de revolution parait faire le tour du monde. Pour nous autres nous n’en avons que trop—c’est vrai, mais chacun à son tour!*’ ”

Upon the whole, though with no uncharitable intention to include every individual, we cannot see any ground for dissenting from the justice of the epithet, which a writer of the most piercing talent for discrimination, and fully competent to form a just estimate, applies to the French character. “*Ce sont de tigres qui dansent,*” said Voltaire, and his own heart echoed to his head the justice of the imputation, which his acquaintance with history must have ratified to his judgment. We shall not adduce in proof the massacres of the protestants in the Cevennes, nor that of St. Bartholomew; for it may be said that those atrocities were to be ascribed to the intolerant and exterminat-

ing spirit of the Romish religion. But in support of Voltaire's opinion, we shall present to our reader's attention a fact recorded in history, though little adverted to. It was judged proper by the politics, or rather by the avaricious spirit of the thirteenth century, to dissolve the military and religious society of the Knights Templars. By a simultaneous operation their property was confiscated throughout Europe. But their persons were generally left inviolate, except in France—where they were barbarously murdered:—and in what manner? They were actually burned alive! We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Faber in gratuitously supposing that the Dutch, the Germans, and every other nation under the influence of a revolution, would commit the same excesses of which the French have been guilty; nor can we admit that the instance which he cites of the massacre of the De Witts is a very conclusive proof of the truth of his proposition. However we must condemn such a murder, yet there is a great difference between the character of a people, guilty in a moment of passion of a solitary crime, and then repenting of it; and that of a nation which perseveres in cruelty for years, the perpetrators of which, far from expressing contrition, unblushingly aver that their crimes were committed by foreigners, and that they are themselves the most gentle, humane, and polite people in the world: and it really appears to us, that the great mistake committed by Europe with regard to the French was, a too hasty opinion that their ferocious disposition and love of slavery could change all at once, as if by some instantaneous and miraculous operation.

The crimes of the *French revolution* were then the crimes of the *French nation*; and the state of the French populace is a practical illustration of the falsity of Mr. Faber's remark, that, "the people in all countries are the same." We think that the ultimate cause of this difference may be well illustrated by another observation which we have to make on the first chapter of the work before us.

We must then further enter our absolute protest against Mr. Faber's exclusion of the higher orders from that portion of the population which he emphatically calls its *kernel*—a term used, as we have seen, synonymously with *the nation* itself. We really cannot consent to qualify the nobility and superior gentry of a civilized country as its mere husk or shell, (and we think that Mr. F. has here exhibited another unequivocal proof that his Gallic prejudices are by no means yet eradicated);—so very far from it, we are quite persuaded, that if the populace takes its bent from the middle ranks, these no less acquire theirs from the most exalted. So that the prime movers and parents of the national

character are in truth the very persons who are rejected by our author, as so much mere surplusage in the body politic. If the higher classes in society in France had displayed a due regard to the welfare of their country, and of society;—had they discharged with tolerable honesty the trust reposed in them by Providence, and convinced the people, (who are easily so convinced,) that the interest of the public and of their country occupied a reasonable space in their contemplations; had they condescended to turn even a transient thought to the moral and political condition of the commonalty, Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert would have written in vain:—Mirabeau might have fruitlessly exhausted his lungs on the sea shore, and France might still have continued the land of gaiety and contentment.

But the melancholy reverse of all this, in principle and conduct, is too generally known to make it necessary for us to enter into the disgusting detail. Mr. Faber has attempted to sum it up in a short sentence, which we cannot avoid citing, although we fear it will be the means of again convicting him of inconsistency out of his own book. Discussing the base submission of the French to the tyranny of their government, he says, "The disease which accompanies the high degree of civilization of the present age, *selfishness*, is the source of the submission of the one, and the boldness of the other;"—"and the French, it must be confessed, more strongly attached to all the enjoyments resulting from a high degree of civilization, suffer most severely from the disease of the age." (P. 12.) Now it is perfectly well known that this moral evil, *l'egoisme*, pervaded every feeling of the higher ranks before the revolution, and that it descended from them in regular gradation. Each order dared to laugh at the fall of the other, without reflecting that the destruction of his neighbour would be followed by his own; and that the chain of society once broken in upon becomes a mere rope of sand. From the selfish degeneracy and open profligacy of the higher ranks first arose that national corruption, *that* laughing at every thing like patriotism or public spirit, *which* spread through all the ramifications of society, and at length tore it up from the very foundations. The lesson is awful;—and it behoves us to watch with religious care the progress of civilization among ourselves, lest we too run through the same career. Will our excellent civil institutions, and that energy of character and patriotism that grows out of our mental and personal freedom, preserve us from the selfish spirit which has in other nations been the fruit of effeminate luxury? We confess that but lately we trembled while the experiment was trying;—while from the same rank in society whence the evil seed

first germinated in France, declarations were loudly uttered, that the selfish "interests of family"—(the mere canting excuse of every sordid miser who can boast a twentieth cousin,) are sufficient to outweigh, in the mind of a public man, the vital interests of his country. But we cannot bring ourselves to hold so base an opinion of a British heart:—we must really vindicate its pecuniary disinterestedness at the expence of its sincerity; and shall be content with exclaiming; what an awful moment when the inconsiderate obstinacy and vanity of one individual might have ruined the country! But then follows the triumph of a constitution like ours;—we could almost pardon the attempt, if it were only that it has shewn the contrast between the public spirit infused by the *general* conduct of the higher orders in this country and in France.

The good sense and the patriotism of Englishmen have gained an easy victory; and this advantage has resulted from the attempt; that it has brought down a very difficult subject, around which party had cast the deepest shades of prejudice, to the level of the meanest capacity. Not a journeyman who receives wages, and goes to market with the amount, but can now understand the practical tendency of the arguments on this famous question, and duly appreciate the absurdity of those which led to the crying injustice of the act in question. And we submit with due humility to the author of that act, and to his illustrious abettors, whether they have not, (to use a homely phrase, which we believe has the authority of a great *living classic*, as distinguished for patriotism, as for sterling wit,) a *second time* "built up a brick wall for the purpose of running their own heads against it?"

We have thought it necessary to state thus much in justification of our call upon some individuals of the higher orders in England, to take warning by the sad consequences of the selfishness prevalent among those of the same order in France to themselves and their country. Selfishness is a very contagious ailment, and there is no saying how extensively it might have spread, if the person first tainted, and all those who came into contact with him, had not been rapidly carried off by a *moral death* in the course of a few days. But to return to our subject.

Although we cannot agree with Mr. Faber in thinking, that the crimes of the revolution were not those of *the nation*; we think him perfectly accurate in saying, that it is *not* the nation which congratulates, admires, and professes its submission to the tyrant. It is in truth passive to a degree, which would be inconceivable to the inhabitants of a free country.

The addresses and exposés produce no effect in France but

that of scorn and derision. The people in the provinces suppose, that these official publications are made to amuse the badauds of Paris, whilst the badauds ingeniously retort the witticism by supposing that they are written for the "gens de campagne."

This reminds us of a circumstance which every body who has been in France since the revolution must have perceived. The sapient speeches of all our great men of talents which prognosticate ruin and dismay to poor old England are carefully translated into the *Moniteur*, and ordered to be inserted in full length in all the papers of the departments. Nothing is forgotten; not even the forebodings of woe and wise conjectures of the newspapers.

Now, what is the effect produced on the people of France by these philippics of the opposition? Precisely the same as those which are produced by the exposés of Bonaparte. The Parisians assert that "pour berner les badauds de Paris, il les fait croire que les Anglais sont à deux doigts de leur perte;" whilst the badauds suppose that they are written in Paris; "pour la consolation des gens de campagne et les faire croire, que ces pauvres Anglais sont ruinés aussi; afin qu'ils puissent payer les contributions, et envoyer leurs enfans à la guerre avec plus de plaisir."

The government however continues to publish exposés, and the people of all ranks still affect to give credit to them. In short, as M. Faber well observes, "the remembrance of the painful privations they have undergone makes them shudder. It is tranquillity they want; and if ever the nations of the world were summoned to make themselves happy by means of revolutions, *the French would be the last to rise.*" (P. 12.)

We shall now proceed to the examination of Mr. Faber's second chapter, on the civil administration of France; which, besides the management of the police, is occupied only in replenishing the coffers of government and recruiting the army.

We must, however, begin by giving our readers an idea of the immense size, as it were, of the instrument by which this department of government is carried on, which we do not recollect that Mr. Faber has attempted. The number of persons employed in the administration exceeds all credibility to an English reader. There are 50,000 employed in the administration in Paris; one minister alone has 1000 clerks; another receives about 2000 letters, memoirs, petitions, and projects a day. There are many of Bonaparte's sea-ports in which there are more commis than sailors; and the administration and public functionaries, which fill every French town, are in the same extravagant proportion.

The principle upon which this plague of locusts acts, is "*to demand but never to grant; to take but never to give.*" This is the whole account of the administration." "The results of statements collected in various communes and departments prove, that out of 240 circulars sent annually to the civil authorities, government prescribe exertions or sacrifices in money and interest; twenty contain refusals returned to petitions, and the rest merely relate to administrative regulations. The proportion is nearly the same in all the administrations." (P. 13.)

These paragraphs are a picture, so exact, of the internal administration of France, that one might suppose they had been written by some ex-minister of the interior. The author adds the substance of the instructions that are circulated in the departments. They are extremely curious from the difference between the real motives given to the confidential servants of government, and the avowed motives set forth in the exposés to the people.

"His majesty, M. le Prefect," thus the circulars conclude, "relies upon the zeal which you will display in this business, in order to prove your devotion to his person, and your attachment to the interests of the throne."

The prefects amplify these models; the sous-prefets amplify the amplification of the prefects; each mayor that of his sous-prefet. A few years ago the formula was, "liberty and equality; the public welfare; and the happiness of the people. That is now replaced by the favour of his imperial and royal Majesty, the interests of his crown, and the splendor of the throne."

Thus the government dictates every thing; the prefect and sous-prefets are but mere copying machines: "a day labourer might execute the offices. It is a machine that moves only by the continual impulse that is given it. If there were no circulars it would stand still; those who order think only of the wants of the moment; those who execute dare not look further." (P. 16.)

In short, every officer of the government, from the prefect to the lowest commissary, is a blind instrument in the hands of the usurper, and every possible precaution is taken to make him continue so. It occurred to the mind of Bonaparte, that a prefect, if he remained long enough in a department to become really acquainted with its state, and to form connections among the natives, might have the sternness of his character and the severity of his conduct mitigated by the impulses of feeling or the motives of private interest. The tyrant has therefore secured this avenue of good to his subjects by a double guard. In the first place,

he has annexed a very high salary to the office to make it worth the notice and acceptance of his generals, and peculiar favourites; men totally unacquainted and often exhibiting the most ludicrous instances of their ignorance in civil affairs.

"Some of them, conscious of their incapacity, were disposed to make amends for it by doing every thing. One of their number undertook to pronounce sentence of death on persons against whom he had received complaints, and it was difficult to make him understand the articles of the constitution concerning the 'division of powers' of which he had never before heard. Another assumed the right of cashiering any public functionary of his department who happened to be obnoxious to him, whether judge, receiver, or other officer. A third, by way of rewarding the valour of a regiment of the line, that was passing through his residence, distributed oaken crowns, and cravats, which were fastened to the colours; not supposing that the regiment, when two hundred paces from the town, would throw away the gift, and laugh at the dispenser of national recompenses. A fourth having published the *Concordat*, thought himself entitled to make priests and bishops. Others, ignorant of their duties and the limits of their power, endeavoured to interfere with the collectors of the revenue; but the financial department is the bow of Ulysses, which cannot be touched with impunity." (P. 18.)

Then, to prevent any chance of these excellent deputies becoming better acquainted with the interests of their departments, it is become a favourite principle with Bonaparte to *expatriate* them, *les depayer*, as the phrase is,—never to place them over the departments in which they were born or are connected, or to permit them to remain long in the same department: the prefect, therefore, never attempts to acquire local knowledge; he considers his residence as a transient visit; leaves all his business to his secretaries; or at least only attends to the circulars; that is, he does every thing for the government and nothing for the country.

A stronger proof than this can hardly be adduced of the dark and atrabilious nature of the tyrant's mind, and of the deep-rooted habits of suspicion with which he is accustomed to contemplate all mankind. In illustration of this fixed principle of his soul, we will lay before our readers an anecdote well known at Paris.

Laclos, the author of a well known novel, worthy of the rank it holds in a land of the grossest epicurean debasement, possessed a very high reputation in Paris for general talents and the powers of conversation. About a year after the 18th Brumaire, Bonaparte sent for him to the Thuilleries. The conversation ran

on a great variety of subjects, and as Laclos related it, was extremely curious. After they had gone through the sciences, moral and physical, Laclos insisted, for he played the part of an ardent republican, on the moral advantages that liberty procured to man in ameliorating his nature, in answer to Bonaparte, who maintained, that liberty was incompatible with the French character. Laclos replied, "that his countrymen, even were they more frivolous and immoral than they are, would be changed by education and good institutions." "Try the experiment, you have the power, and you will find the French people as ductile in your hands as clay in those of the potter." "Croyez-moi, citoyen Consul, les hommes, et les Français surtout sont des hommes avec des excellentes qualités; qu'ils seront façonnés au bien aussi facilement qu'au mal." The Consul rose up in his usual hurried manner, replying in these words: "Ah bah! Les hommes! Ne me parlez pas des hommes; c'est un méchant espece que l'homme; les Français surtout; vous le savez mieux qu'un autre. Jamais un Français ne m'a abordé sans me demander quelque chose. L'intérêt, le plus vil intérêt est la mobile de toutes leurs actions." He sat down and changed the subject: they talked on the administration, but Laclos found him at that time a mere novice in that science.

The "depaysement" of the prefects is nothing more than the natural consequence of this disposition, not uncommon with the cynic. But to what shall we ascribe another regulation respecting them, which adds insult to injury, and holds out to the people the parade of inquiry and relief, terminating only in additional oppression? To what but to that peculiarly diabolical feature in the tyrant's character, confirmed by every day's experience, which delights in extorting from his victims hypocritical expressions of zeal and gratitude, refining thus upon the cruelty exercised upon their persons by extending it to the degradation of their minds? Conscious himself that he has forfeited all pretension to moral principle, or even to worldly honour, his reprobate mind can never rest till it has brought all mankind to the level of its own turpitude. To some such sentiments can we alone ascribe the obvious absurdity of obliging these puppets annually to make the tour of their department under pretence of making themselves acquainted with its condition. The actual result of these visits is of course just what might be expected. The prefect not being permitted to relieve the distress he might observe even were he so inclined, passes rapidly from town to town, where the mayor, at the expense of the commune, entertains him in his

house; and the journey completed, the official newspaper of the department is authorized to vary its dull pages with an account of the guards of *honour*, speeches, dinners, and even illuminations with which the people have been obliged to greet the satellite of their tyrant. No lounge travels with more velocity to Brighton or Bath, than Bonaparte's functionaries gallop from post to post;—they never stop but to sumptuous dinners, fireworks, balls, and fêtes. The prefect and his wife, for madame is always of the party, return from their tour just as ignorant as they sat out. The journey costs nothing, for all their expenses are defrayed by the communes through which they pass. He makes his reports to the minister of the interior, that the roads want mending, and that commerce is rather dull; to the "ministre des cultes," that so many churches want priests; to the minister of police, that every thing is very quiet; to the minister of war, that he can let him have so many conscripts the ensuing year—and to Bonaparte, "des phrases."

He finds every thing in good order at the "chef lieu," for the French towns are very orderly; so are church-yards, and nearly for the same reason.

The indirect profits of the prefects are paltry, unless they will run greater risks than prudent men would be disposed to do; for "the system of *self*, established by the government, is so exclusive, that it does not suffer in others what it allows itself;" they are therefore reduced to the following expedients.

"They contrive to economise in the offices; for instance, a prefect who is allowed by government 10,000 francs, for clerks and stationary, spends but 3000, and puts the remainder into his own pocket; he makes two clerks do the business of five; he employs his sons, cousins, and relations. He likewise saves upon his circuits by the gratuitous lodging and entertainment provided for him. So that instead of the 3000 francs charged to the state, he spends but one third of that sum. Instances have been seen of prefects, who have carried their speculations to such a length as to make a profit even upon their furniture provided for the purpose of receiving Bonaparte; to take pay from the proprietors of gaming-houses, or even to be partners in such establishments. Others have been known to influence the sales of national domains over which they officially preside, and thus to acquire fortunes in a very short time. These instances have indeed been rare, and are exceptions to the general rule." (P. 23—4.)

The sub-prefects, mayors, and other subordinate instruments, are mere clerks; the former receive the circulars from the prefects, and forward them to the mayors of each canton. Their

whole duty usually consists in adding some exclamatory expression. The sub-prefects have a small salary. The mayors act *gratuitously*. But even in our own country we have had ridiculous instances enough of services to superiors or the state, which those who rendered them called *gratuitous*; and in France it may well be supposed that these *gratuitous* services are not ultimately less expensive to the people than if good salaries were paid for them.

In fact, every kind of business, public or private, where money, or favour, or interest are concerned, must be negotiated by what they call a "douceur," or "pot de vin," or "des epingles pour madame," "une gratification," "une consideration *honnête*," "une gage destime," "un cadeau." These are terms to express what in the English idiom is called a bribe. But the French (like all *highly civilized* persons) never call a thing by its real name.

This horde of public functionaries thus paid or thus paying themselves, are charged with *levying the taxes*, with the *conscription*, and with the *police*.

To superintend the multiplicity of contributions is dreadful enough, when we consider the want of circulation, and the stoical hardness of the officers of revenue. (p. 38.) But how cruel must be the duty of a mayor, always the father of a family, when he is obliged to conduct the operation of the conscription in all its horrid details: to hear the cries and groans of the parents, to stifle all the sympathies of nature, to contemplate the despair and blasted prospects of their children, and to have neither hope nor consolation to offer them! "They can give no exemption; they have nothing further to do when the lots are drawn but to conduct the conscripts to the borders of the district. The latter are preceded by martial music, and accompanied by sobs and groans, which it is the business of the mayors to stifle if possible by causing them to shout forth half broken convulsive sighs of '*Vive Bonaparte!*'" (P. 39.) Every year the youth of the departments are sent forth to the alternative of death or, what is worse, of the deepest moral degradation. If ever they return, it is as tygers prowling for prey, and no longer we fear even "*des tigres qui dansent.*" "The public functionaries are the terrible actors of the drama. The mayors *can* listen to no remonstrance, and the sub-prefect or the minister of war *dare* not. Certainly the duties of public functionaries must be a cruel and unenviable task!"

In France there is not only a police but a *contre police* to watch over the operations of the regular police; and the minutiae

of office, to which the consequent alertness of the officers gives rise, were they less terrible, would be supremely ridiculous. M. Faber gives a few instances. "During the search for Georges all fat men with a remarkable physiognomy were liable to be molested by the police, and many actually were so," &c. &c. We could add thousands of anecdotes in illustration of this part of the subject, but shall confine ourselves to two, which have an immediate reference to our own country.

In the town of F—, when the news of the battle of Trafalgar began to circulate, the prefect ordered a search for the authors of the report; this fact happened six months after that victory. About the same period half a dozen English prisoners upon their parole were confined for having dined together to commemorate that great event. The denunciation of the prefect's police upon this occasion, afterwards seen at the municipalité, is too curious a specimen to be omitted. It set forth,

1. Que les prisonniers avoient diné à l'Angloise :
2. Qu'ils avoient bu dix-huit bouteilles de vin après diner :
3. Qu'ils avoient parlé de la politique toute la soirée :
4. Qu'ils avoient beaucoup parlé de Milord Nelson :
5. Qu'ils avoient fait de grands éclats de rire en parlant de la marine Française.
6. Qu'ils avoient fait du tapage, et beaucoup chanté vers les deux heures du matin.

This report, which a country magistrate in England would have laughed out of doors, if presented to him concerning French prisoners, was actually sent up by the prefect, accompanied with notes, to the minister of police, Fouché. But here the farce ended; Fouché saw the ridicule of it, and ordered the prisoners to be released.

At present there is only one newspaper allowed for each department, the editor of which is the commissary of police; and the great object of the country functionaries is to vie with each other in producing addresses, or other pieces of flattery, striking or original enough to be worthy of being copied into the *Moniteur*.

"When the secretary to the mayor, or the *phraseologie* clerk has found a new turn of expression to render the address more striking, the delighted mayor complains if it is not inserted in the *Moniteur* as soon as it is received: in this case no intrigues, no solicitations to the editors are neglected. The master-piece finds its way into all the newspapers, and no expense is spared for its insertion and postage. I know not how the mayor of Amiens conducted himself in his joy, when his secretary had "*made the Almighty rest after*

having created Bonaparte," but I know that the mayor of P— transmitted twenty-five copies of certain addresses to the same number of editors of newspapers in France, and of these four were in the German language, and two in Italian." (P. 50.)

The Parisians were highly delighted at this "*bon mot municipal*" of the mayor of Amiens, as they ironically called it; it served them as a subject for calembourgs for a few days. Every body prophesied that the mayor would have a place from Bonaparte. "*Le maire a de l'esprit, il aura une place.*" In fact he really had a place, which made them only laugh again, and add to that contempt with which similar circumstances had inspired them for their chief.

The picture drawn by M. Faber of the audacious hypocrisy with which the functionaries oblige the people to rejoice and be thankful, in spite of their actual misery and discontent, is no less spirited than just.

Illuminations, which the inhabitants can neither afford nor are disposed to make, are blazoned forth as "*spontaneous and general.*"

"These epithets figured one day in a brilliant description of an illumination in the town of B—. I had seen it. In the streets of the whole place were to be seen only five or six candles that gave a gloomy light; and a shoemaker who had the very same day been served with a writ of execution for his share of taxes, had fixed it up in the form of a transparency against a pane of his little window. The temerity of this artisan was attended with no unpleasant consequences: he had nothing to lose; so that the police was content to order him to remove his transparency." (P. 5.)

"When the French government takes, it affects to give." If his majesty, *always occupied in consulting the happiness of his people*, expresses his wish to advance the interests of commerce, it always ends in imposing a new tax. If a district has been laid waste by storms or inundations, and applies for a remission of their taxes—his majesty *deeply affected cannot grant the remission*, because it would establish a dangerous precedent, but grants (*on paper*) a donation of 10,000 francs, which, if it issues from his treasury, seldom if ever reaches the sufferers. If part of a city is destroyed by fire, Bonaparte decrees that it shall be rebuilt at the public expense. A tax perhaps is levied on the inhabitants for the purpose, but even a supplementary decree *for accelerating the labours of the re-construction cannot procure the first stone to be laid*; nevertheless the portrait of the hero "*who rebuilds their asylums*" is hung up in the town-halls,

and the wits take their revenge by saying, "Our town has been twice rebuilt, once upon paper, and once upon canvas." Laws out of end were passed by the "*rebuilder of Lyons*" for repairing the ravages made in that beautiful city during the revolution; and money decreed from the treasury; but the square Bonaparte remains a heap of rubbish as before, and the apparent generosity of the decrees became a cruel mockery.

Now this alternation of hope deferred ending in cruel disappointment would, one should think, be a sufficient punishment and degradation of the people in the eyes of an ordinary tyrant. But Bonaparte is no ordinary tyrant; his people cannot groan in peace, and pour forth their sighs of despair in private. He grudges them the enjoyment of their secret sentiments, pursues them even into their last asylum, into the inmost recesses of their hearts, and poisons their sole remaining consolation, that of their own consciences. They must stifle every feeling, and call up the voice of joy, and gratulation, and contentment to greet their oppressor. We insert the following specimen of the honours paid upon his entry into one of his *good cities* which had been thus basely deceived.

"At the distance of a quarter of a league from the city was erected a triumphal arch of the Doric order, adorned internally with various decorations in bronze, sculpture, basso-relievos, &c. emblematical of the wealth and magnificence which the city cannot fail to derive from the benevolent notice and protection of the sovereign whom it adores. The bronze of the columns denotes the fidelity of the citizens to the institutions of the empire, represented by lions bearing palm branches and legionary standards. In the centre of the interior of the arch was an eagle surrounded by bees, with four garlands of fruit of a gold colour, in the midst of which appeared these words—Hanover, France, Italy, and Savoy, countries whose crowns he has united, and which he has blessed with wealth and plenty." Above was represented the apotheosis of Buonaparte; in the same manner as that of Augustus, by an eagle flying with his portrait towards the sky. (P. 81.)

We can really pursue the disgusting details no further, but shall close our observations on the civil administration of France with the following eloquent extracts from M. Faber.

"Here is now exhibited the most extraordinary phenomenon ever known, a moral prodigy unexampled in the history of mankind. I mean the regular, systematic, elaborate, organization of falsehood, as the basis of the government, and the soul of all its public acts; a total abnegation in favour of the military ruler, of all individual feeling, of all personal character, almost of all private thought. The public functionaries universally, who perform the parts and speak the

language assigned to them by their master, give up all moral liberty, sacrifice totally, and without reserve, truth, conviction, conscience, honour, and principle. When the senators, counsellors of state, or any of the chief dignitaries of the empire speak, we know that they do, of course, but repeat the words of their master, and ply their trade of servility. But when we hear the same words reiterated eagerly, and enforced with every artifice of rhetoric, by those who are supposed to be the immediate representatives of the people, who call themselves their organs, who speak in their name, we naturally feel the most lively sentiments of contempt and indignation. It is from this class of men that the system of imposture receives its strongest support. Their baseness is, in some degree, infectious, and contaminates the world." (P. 48.)

"As for the French themselves, they have lost as a nation not only their civil and political, but their moral liberty; that which confers dignity on man, which comforts and supports him under adversity. This moral subjection of the French exhibits one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of the world, that of a numerous nation, in which not only there is no individual who dares utter what he thinks, but in which almost every individual is habitually employed in counterfeiting before the whole universe sentiments which he knows to be false; a nation in which falsehood is organized into a political system, and fraud and imposture have become the basis of the state."

We shall now take leave for the present of M. Faber's work, after recording an anecdote concerning that department of the administration which relates to shipbuilding. The story is naturally interesting to us, and upon its perfect accuracy our readers may implicitly rely. The names of the principals in the conversation are now before us, (they are very respectable in France,) but for obvious reasons we cannot disclose them. Since the last campaign in Germany Buonaparte has bent very anxious thoughts on the means of creating a navy proportionate to the extent and influence of the French empire; and we know that he has lately held many consultations on the subject with his various *ingenieurs constructeurs de la marine*. The objects which he particularly wished to ascertain were, the price of building and the time necessary for constructing 300 ships of the line, 600 frigates, with cutters and gunboats in proportion, during a general maritime peace, in all the ports of the empire. After much inquiry into the particulars, concerning the price of materials, &c. it was agreed that it would require about eight years, and a milliard and a half, (i. e. about sixty millions sterling), to complete the projected armada on the admitted hypothesis of a general peace, and all the ports and naval resources of the empire at the disposition of the *constructeurs*.

We have no sort of doubt that, should he ever conclude such a peace as England can with honour consent to, the hopes of carrying this plan into execution will be his primary motive; and we should wish the advocates for a peace with him to recollect, that in proportion to the necessary reduction which such an event would oblige us to make in our own naval establishments, will an opportunity be afforded to him of compassing with increased means, but with a smaller power, the paramount object of his daily and nightly wishes, the destruction and utter extirpation of the only free and enlightened nation now remaining to cast a practical reproach upon his own tyranny. We can afford to let him build as many ships as his confined means during a war will admit, because we can afford *without serious danger* that he should possess as many, or even a few more ships than ourselves. But we *cannot* afford to have *his fleets* instead of *his ships* outnumbering ours. The nature of our power, and of our interests, scattered over the surface of the habitable globe, forbids it: and it is certain that if he can ever (to use his own phrase) force us by such means to "*uncover our centre*," we must be prepared for a succession of campaigns fought upon British soil, for the continuance of British independence.

ART. VII. *The Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, edited by Walter Scott, Esq. 3 Vols. 8vo. 1810. Longman and Co. *Letters of Anna Seward between 1784 and 1807*. 6 Vols. 8vo. 1811. Constable and Co. Longman and Co.

ON looking into what Mr. Scott calls a biographical preface, we were struck with the propriety of his resolving to reduce the whole mass of his materials for publication to the compass of three volumes. In forming this resolution we think he has consulted the interest of the editor, the publisher, and most probably of the author. However great may have been the intellectual attainments of this lady, she does not seem to have been without, we will not say the vanity of the sex, but we *may* say the vanity of authorship. And though it may be true, as the preface tells us, that there was not a line in the whole mass of manuscripts which was bequeathed to the editor for publication, which did not in his opinion do honour to her memory; yet when we conjecture the quantity of materials which were committed to him,

from the general promptitude of her pen, and from the twelve quarto volumes in MSS. bequeathed by her to Mr. Constable, we cannot doubt that Mr. Scott's judgment suggested the expediency of suppressing a very large proportion of these literary accumulations for the ease of the reader, and to save the market from repletion. We, therefore, venture to differ from the editor of these volumes in his opinion of the taste of the age, which he thinks he has not consulted by this abstinence of publication. Though we cannot go the length of agreeing with him in his general position, that nothing less than the ascertainment of historical fact justifies withdrawing the veil from the incidents of private life, (being of opinion that the private lives of some persons belong in a manner to posterity for instruction and example) yet we are most ready to allow the propriety of the remark as applicable to the particular case. Considering, however, the editor's opinion of the taste of the age in this point, we rather wonder that he should not have indulged it by a more particular account of the part acted on the theatre of life by so distinguished a female performer, and enlarging a little on the scenes and characters comprehended within the verge of her literary intercourse. To an intelligent curiosity few things are so interesting as the history of an intelligent mind. The order of study, the influences of education and society on intellectual habits, the accidents which determine to particular pursuits, and the singular crises and fates of literary performances, are circumstances in the biography of a professed author very interesting to a quiet observer of life, and to one whose contemplative leisure is more agreeably occupied in reasoning than in wondering.

We would not be thought to admire the pruriency to biography which at present prevails, and which will scarcely permit dulness itself, if noble or wealthy, to escape out of existence without getting into print. We loathe the wretched pamphleteer who waits upon the obsequies of every man, woman, or child, whose life has been noisy or notorious. Some dozen or two of anecdotes, a few poetical attempts, and poetical failures, with a little familiar and sentimental correspondence, supply the matter of a memoir to those, whose scribbling propensity, or lust of bookmaking, or family pride, or pensioned flattery, undertakes the task of raising trophies to the forgotten or despised. Mediocrity, vanity, and vice itself, thus obtain an apothecosis. The living dog becomes a dead lion. But the memoirs of genius and worth are among the treasures of literature, and where they are preserved and dispensed by wise and dis-

criminating hands, are better instruments of moral instruction than preceptive discourses, or ethical treatises.

It is a beautiful part of the character of our minds to be interested in the vicissitudes which can never personally affect ourselves, and to participate in the passions, sentiments, and emotions of others, from the influence of which we are far removed, and which we can only know from report, or the internal evidence of their writings. To cultivate, not to stimulate, to control, not to subdue, these generous sympathies, should be the aim of him who desires to spread the contagion of virtue. And on these grounds we consider that the biography of those whose lives have been important, is one among the most legitimate sources of entertainment, and availing instruments of instruction. The bounds to which we would confine the use of it are those prescribed by decency and duty. We would have nothing exhibited to the world either in the lives or posthumous productions of those who are gone from us, whereby they can be made to sin in their graves, or cover with their ashes the seeds of depravity or error. We would have what is immoral or indecent told, if it must be told, in such a manner as to produce aversion, and marked with a manliness of reprobation. And, lastly, we are of opinion, that there is an honour towards the dead which is faithlessly broken by publishing what the writer if living would probably have withheld, or by exposing to the world those petty details of domestic privacy, which serve only to lessen the dignity of virtue, and the force of example.

These few general observations were suggested to us by some of the sentiments which occurred in Mr. Scott's biographical preface; which seems to have acquired this descriptive appellation, not by combining what belongs to preface with the merits of biography, but by performing the office of neither with effect; or, in other words, by failing to bring the reader acquainted either with Miss Seward or her works. As we have now before us the volumes of letters published by Mr. Constable, as well as the poems edited by Mr. Scott, with his biographical preface, we will endeavour, within the short compass which our limits allow us, to pick out some account of this distinguished lady for the gratification of our readers.

Anna Seward was the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Seward, rector of Eyam in Derbyshire, and during the principal part of her daughter's life canon, residentiary of Lichfield; but best known to the public as editor of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1750. Her mother was daughter of Mr. Hunter of

Lichfield, Dr. Johnson's school-master.' She was born in Decr. 12, 1743, (not 1747, as erroneously printed in the preface to her *Pœnis*) and passed the first eight years of her life in the mountainous district of Eyam, where the scenery was well fitted to invigorate a poetical imagination, and where she is said to have given early indications of her genius. It is certain, that her descriptive powers are those on which her fame has the best claims to survive the shocks to which egotism, affectation, and very questionable principles expose it.

That rural objects had impressed themselves not only on her fancy but her heart, her prose and poetry afford the most vivid proofs. Her father, who seems to have been quite a creature of artificial society, and who if he possessed either sentiment or imagery, took very successful pains to keep them from appearing in his compositions, could do very little towards laying up in her mind the furniture of the poet. Some praise, however, is due to him for directing her early attention to the writings of Pope as affording a model of perfect numbers and the correctest poetical diction. Had she continued always to regulate herself by that model, she would probably have escaped those shining absurdities and ambitious faults which are more or less to be remarked in all her writings, but more particularly in all her later compositions.

Her removal to Lichfield, which Johnson's fame had now rendered propitious to literature, soon enabled her to attract the notice of Dr. Darwin, who at that time was practising physic in that city, while he was cherishing the seeds of that poetical promise which some years afterwards sprung up and blossomed with such a splendour of efflorescence. It is apparent, that the peculiarities of style learned in this school adhered to her through the remainder of her life.

Mrs. Seward it seems disapproved her daughter's poetical propensity, and was very earnest in her endeavours to suppress it. The best account of her at this time will be found, in her own words, in an early letter inserted in Mr. Scott's publication, and it will be the more proper to introduce it, as it exhibits a proof as well of the natural force, as of the cultivated state of her mind, while it affords also some interesting passages regarding one of the great glories of English literature.

"You insist upon my saying more of myself in this letter; observe, that you hear I have often written verses, and question me concerning their subjects. There will be no great difficulty in obeying you. Self-love, which has neither soul-harrowing sorrow, nor cutting mortification, to reveal, seldom finds the paths of egotism thorny.

Your partial estimation of my talents, and your question about my verses, now point to that path. If your attention should grow weary in following me through its mazes, you must thank yourself.

"It is true that I have written verses, but it is not true that I have written them often. A propensity of that sort appeared early in my infancy. At first my father encouraged it, but my mother threw cold water on the rising fires; and even my father ceased to smile-encouragement upon these attempts after my 16th year, in which Dr. Darwin unhappily told him, that his daughter's verses were better than his; a piece of arch injustice to my father's muse, which disgusted him with mine.

"Some few people, besides yourself, have fancied that I had genius. Whether they are or are not mistaken, it cannot be for me to determine; but certainly Lichfield is now an inauspicious soil for nourishing to maturity that sensitive plant.

"It is true I dwell on classic ground. Within the walls which my father's family inhabits, in this very dining-room, the munificent Mr Walmesley, with the taste, the learning, and the liberality of Mæcenas, administered to rising genius the kind nutriment of attention and praise. Often to his hospitable board were the school-boys, David Garrick and Samuel Johnson, summoned. The parents of the former were of Mr. Walmesley's acquaintance; but those of the latter did not move in his sphere.

"It was rumoured that my mother's father, Mr. Hunter, had a boy of marked ability upon his forms. The huge, overgrown, misshapen, and probably dirty stripling was brought before the most able scholar and the finest gentleman in Lichfield, or its environs, who, perceiving far more ability than even rumour had promised, placed him at his table, not merely to gratify a transient curiosity, but to assure him of a constant welcome.

"Two or three evenings every week, Mr. Walmesley called the stupendous stripling, and his livelier companion David Garrick, who was a few years younger, to his own plentiful board. There, in the hours of convivial gaiety, did he delight to wave every restraint of superiority formed by rank, affluence, polished manners, and the dignity of advanced life; and there, 'as man to man, as friend to friend,' he drew forth the different powers of each expanding spirit, by the vivid interchange of sentiment and opinion, and by the cheering influence of generous applause.

"Another circumstance combined to heighten the merit of this patronage. Mr. Walmesley was a zealous whig. My grandfather, then master of the free-school, perceiving Johnson's abilities, had, to his own honour, taken as much pains with him as with the young gentlemen whose parents paid an high price for their pupillage; but my grandfather was a Jacobite, and Sam. Johnson had imbibed his master's absurd zeal for the forfeit rights of the house of Stuart; and this, though his father had very loyal principles; but the anxiety attendant on penurious circumstances probably left old Johnson little leisure or inclination to talk on political subjects.

"His son, I am told, even at that early period of life, maintained his opinions, on every subject, with the same sturdy, dogmatical, and arrogant fletceness with which he now overbears all opposition to them in company.

"At present, we can well conceive the probability of his dogmatism being patiently supported by attending admirers, awed by the literary eminence on which he stands. But how great must have been Mr. Walmesley's love of genius; how great his generous respect for its dependent situation, that could so far restrain a naturally impetuous temper, as to induce him to suffer insolent sallies from the son of an indigent bookseller, and on a subject which, so handled by people of his own rank, he would have dashed back in their faces with no small degree of asperity!"

In June 1764, Miss Seward was afflicted by a family loss of the tenderest description. Her only sister suddenly fell a victim to a violent fever, when on the point of marriage with Mr. Porter, whose mother had been married to Johnson. Miss Seward's description of the progress of this disease is to be found in a letter produced by Mr. Scott. On this occasion she returned to Gotham, in Nottinghamshire. Hence she writes:—

"Early next week I shall accompany my father to Eyam, his living in Derbyshire. I shall feel a mournful sweetness in returning to the mountain-heights of that village, in whose bosom my sister and myself first saw light, and where we sported away the hours of infancy till I was six, she five years old; and which we have revisited together of late years, passing together some of the summer months in that romantic retreat."

On the occasion of her sister's death, Miss Seward wrote the poem, entitled, "*THE VISIONS*," an *elegy* which now stands the first in the collection. It is not marked either by the faults or by the beauties of her characteristic manner, and possesses no extraordinary merit either of pathos or expression; yet perhaps may be admitted to exhibit a great command of language, considering the age of the writer.

In March 1764, Miss S. had the resolution to renounce a matrimonial engagement with a Mr. T. in consequence of its being disapproved by their mutual parents. In 1765, she appears to have entertained a transient partiality for Cornet Vyse; afterwards a general, whom she has honoured by an *elegy*, which stands fourth in this collection.

From this collection it appears, that she continued to write occasional verses, for her own amusement, during the succeeding years, the last of them being dated in 1773. The cause of the chasm in her published correspondence between 1768 and 1784, is not explained.

At length a MONODY ON THE DEATH OF GARRICK, to which the prize was adjudged by Lady Miller's poetical institution at Bath-Easton, attracted so much notice, as to bring Miss Seward fairly before the public in the character of a poet. The monody consists of only forty-eight lines, which are very mellifluous and highly-finished; they possess, however, but little pathos, and are neither distinguished by vigour of thought, or novelty of invention.

The praise conferred on this monody, encouraged the author to take a higher flight; and in 1780, THE ELEGY ON CAPTAIN COOK exhibited to the world a specimen of poetical excellence which few have surpassed, and she herself could never afterwards equal. It is nervous in style, without laborious phraseology; gorgeous, without the glitter of false ornament; rich, without superfluity of epithet; animated, without affected personification; pathetic, without the cant of sensibility. One remark, however, forcibly occurs on reading the poem,—that she appears to have formed her ear and her fancy to the exact model of her early friend and preceptor Dr. Darwin. Witness the following extract:

“ From this fair fane, along the silver sands,
Two sister-virgins wave their snowy hands;
First gentle Flora—round her smiling brow
Leaves of new forms, and flow'rs uncultur'd glow;
Thin folds of vegetable silk, behind,
Shade her white neck, and wanton in the wind;
Strange sweets, where'er she turns, perfume the glades,
And fruits unnam'd adorn the bending shades.
—Next Fauna treads, in youthful beauty's pride,
A playful Kangroo bounding by her side;
Around the Nymph her beauteous Pois display
Their varied plumes, and trill the dulcet lay;
A Giant-bat, with leathern wings outspread,
Umbrella light, hangs quiv'ring o'er her head.
As o'er the cliff her graceful steps she bends,
On glitt'ring wing her insect train attends.
With diamond-eye her scaly tribes survey
Their goddess-nymph, and gambol in the spray.
With earnest gaze the still enamour'd crew
Mark the fair forms; and as they pass, pursue;
But round the steepy rocks, and dangerous strand,
Rolls the white surf, and shipwreck guards the land.
So, when of old, Sicilian shores along,
Enchanting Syrens trill'd th' alluring song,

Bound to the mast the charm'd Ulysses hears,
 And drinks the sweet tones with insatiate ears;
 Strains the strong cords, upbraids the prosperous gale,
 And sighs, as Wisdom spreads the flying sail."

The next year Miss Seward gave to the world her monody on Major André, which, though perhaps it may be somewhat more pathetic than the elegy on Cook, is very inferior in strength and brilliance. It is too frequently lengthened into languor, and is occasionally prosaic; but it abounds in harmonious, and has many very pleasing, and some very affecting passages.

In 1782 was published the *poetical novel*, entitled, "LOUISA." The first hundred and fifty-six lines, which are the best, were written when the author was only nineteen years old: viz. in 1762. In this opening there are several passages of beautiful and affecting description, which could only have flowed from a mind dipped in Castalian dew. The success of this poem was doubtful: it had its admirers; but we do not believe that it was ever popular. In many respects the story is ill conducted; the verses are often flat; the artifices of poetic composition are too often apparent; and on the whole it is trite and tedious.

Miss Seward had by this time experienced the ills to which authorship is exposed. She had inhaled the incense of applause and flattery; but she had also breathed in the vaporous atmosphere of criticism:—she was not prepared for these vicissitudes. She appears to have possessed a frame of too irritable a texture patiently and tranquilly to weigh the quantity of praise against the quantity of censure, and with modest complacency to balance her compensations.

Her first publications had been received with unqualified commendation; her youth, her sex, and the freshness of her fame, excited an enthusiasm in her favour. These recommendations were of a nature not to last; and every succeeding poem was examined with severer justice and increased impartiality. As her faults were prominent, the censure was pointed, and for some years she was fearful of encountering public criticism by any separate work; the activity of her muse, in the mean time, found occasional exercise in the periodical prints, which afforded her a temporary shelter from the asperity of professed criticism.

In 1787, however, appeared her ODE ON GENERAL ELIOT'S RETURN FROM GIBRALTAR. There is nothing in it, which if coming from one unknown to fame, would have attracted notice.

Among her occasional poems of the next year is one entitled,

"*EVAM*;" containing several lines of beautiful description, and moral pathos.

She occupied herself at this time by making paraphrases of various odes of Horace, which she communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine*—and of these productions she expresses herself to be very proud. They illustrate the common remark, that authors are bad judges of the comparative merit of their own compositions. She did not understand Latin; they were, therefore, founded on the prose versions of some of her friends. They are so paltry that criticism cannot condescend to them. Her faults are never the faults of the original; and though she is ever at variance with her model, she never deviates into excellence. She is tawdry, diffuse, obscure, and laboured; with scarcely any of the prettiness, she has all the pertness of modern poetry.

In 1797, Miss S. again ventured before the world with her *LLANGOLLEN VALE*, a poem, descriptive of the retreat of Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby. It met with severe usage from many of the critics. The poem is unsuccessfully laboured; and betrays, throughout, the struggle of a mind intent upon substituting the artifices of language for the force of nature. It was accompanied by two others, entitled, "*WREXHAM*," and "*HOYLE LAKE*."

The *MEMOIRS* of the author's friend, DR. DARWIN, which were published in 1804, were not calculated to add to her reputation, or to close her labours with honour. The matter and the manner are equally reprehensible.

Her collection of sonnets must be admitted to contain some very beautiful and affecting specimens. They were intended, it seems, to restore the strict rules of the legitimate sonnet, of which Petrarch was in a manner the real founder. After this effort Miss Seward attempted no considerable poem. Her powers declined as age advanced, and by all her attempts at composition, which were many during her latter years, she was writing herself out of reputation with unconscious alacrity; by consulting the ease of her faculties, she would have consulted the interests of her fame; but to live in unison with time and nature is the happiness of those, only, who have learned to put a sober value on the pleasures of a fugitive being, and to resign with cheerfulness, what if we struggle too long to retain; must at length be forfeited with disgrace.

"For a year or two," says her editor, "preceding 1807; Miss Seward had been, occasionally, engaged in preparing for the press the edition of her poems which is now given to the public. She had reconsidered them individually, and made

such additions and corrections as she conceived necessary. In harvest, 1807, she was assailed by a scorbutic disorder, which proved invincible; and in March, 1809, the editor had the pain of receiving the last farewell of his honoured friend. It was written at intervals, and the hand-writing gradually degenerated from the distinct and beautiful manuscript which Miss Seward used to write, into a scrawl so feebly traced as to be nearly illegible." We are then presented by Mr. Scott with her parting letter to him, written in the intervals of the paroxysms of her disorder. They disclose a powerful ascendancy of her intellectual part, notwithstanding her debility and sufferings of body, which raises our admiration. But we are far, very far indeed, from admiring the turn of thought and feeling which characterized, or the topics which engaged her dying hours. She thus concludes this farewell epistle:

"I am not able to add more than what I think will be my last benediction on you and yours. O! what a blessing is a sudden death! I always pray for it, but am not worthy to have my prayer granted. I thank you for all your kindness, and for the delightful hours your talents have given me,

affectionately your friend,

A. SEWARD."

On Thursday the 23d day of March, 1809, Miss Seward was seized with an universal stupor, which continued till the 25th, at six o'clock in the evening, when she expired.

Mr. Scott then presents us with a posthumous letter to himself, in which Miss Seward bequeathed to him her literary performances, for the publishing of which there was doubtless a sufficient reason, as it shews his warrant as editor; but we are persuaded he must have felt his delicacy distressed in printing the testimony it contains to his own "illustrious muse."

We have not time or room to enter into the character of Miss Seward. We must confess ourselves, however, to feel very differently on this subject from the editors of the poems and letters. Those who will give themselves the trouble of reading the correspondence of this lady, will be thereby enabled to develop her temper and the tone of her feelings and sentiments without our help. They will find in them, for the most part, decisive marks of a vigorous and excursive mind, but we think it will be very difficult for them to hold her in that high degree of moral estimation, to which her editors appear to think her entitled. Her abuse of Cowper throughout her letters, and in one of her poems, is mean, unjust, and unfeeling. What she could find so unamiable

ble in his religion it is difficult to imagine. If his own constitutional despondency was too strong for his religion, if he was the victim of his own morbid sensibility; his sadness and severity terminated in himself, and offered no outrage or offence to society. Who that reads the letters of that virtuous and tender being, and compares them with the bounding egotism, the sanguine self-sufficiency, and the vehement sentimentality of Miss Seward's correspondence, can hesitate for a moment on which of these characters to bestow the superior praise of charity, sense, and sensibility?

Throughout the letters of this indefatigable female letter-writer there appears to us to reign a most disgusting affectation of feelings, which from the internal evidence of the letters themselves may be plainly perceived to have had no real existence. Her letter to Mrs. Knowles in the first volume, written on the evening in which dear Lucy Porter was buried, is that sort of patch-work of levity and lamentation which hypocritical female sentimentalists are so apt to assume. Her recollections of the *dear lost* Honora are surrounded with the same affected effusions of merriment. It is not the "humorous sadness" of philosophy, nor the smile and the tear of tenderness, but an artificial conjunction of simulated feelings.

Her spleen towards Johnson seems well accounted for by herself, in page 205 of the first volume, where she frankly confesses that Johnson 'hated her.'

There is a disgusting indelicacy in the allusions of this maiden lady which, if it found place in her conversation, might well excite the disapprobation of persons of strict and even common morality. These instances are disgracefully numerous, but it may suffice to refer the reader to the end of the forty-fourth and fifty-first letters in the first volume of the letters. The thirtieth letter also in the same volume appears to us to exhibit a great coarseness of feeling. The reader may make for himself the application of this remark to the part of that letter to which it appears to him to belong.

We will produce a few specimens of this lady's prose style, not selected by us with any pains, but offering themselves almost in every page.

"I have to thank you for a charming letter as to talent, though of *lamented intelligence* respecting Mr. Park's health. So many fruitless medical experiments reduce us to *helpless sympathy*, and the *forlorn hope*, that time may subdue, or at least abate, the force of those maladies which pharmacy seems to combat in vain." (Vol. vi. p. 41.)

"Ah! dearest ladies, it is under the pressure of a severe cold, fierce cough, and inflamed lungs, that I address you. A duty so

delightful had, but for this incapacitating malady, been earlier paid." (Vol. vi. p. 49.)

"*Ah! yes!* on the 2d of August last the evening of my life suddenly darkened. Joy will illumine it no more.—*A dim chilled twilight all that remains.*" (*This for the loss of her lover.*)

"I thank you for the third volume of Cowper, which arrived the first of this month. Its contents perused with deliberate attention, still deeper impress my conviction, that far indeed from perfect was Cowper's character, his judgment, or his epistolary style;—that his character was sullied by want of charity to the failings of others, and by an unsocial exclusion of all except a few worshippers, whose attention himself and his writings wholly engross—his judgment perverted by jealous prejudice against the compositions of contemporary genius; his epistolary style, by a dearth of imagination and eloquence, inconceivable to me from the pen which gave us the Task.

"Aware as you were how little I thought his style in letter-writing deserved the superiority you allot to it, it seems strange that in this supplementary volume you should boast of universal concurrence in that attested pre-eminence; and add, that every intelligent reader must be sensible of its peculiar grace, ease, and harmony. So you sweep into the lumber of unintelligent readers that friend, to whose keen sensibility of the genuine emanations of genius of every species, and to whose ardour in praising them your pen has borne frequent testimony, &c. &c.

"——— Thus is this clamour of popularity almost exclusively in favour of Cowper not rational; and irrational popularity always fades away before the slowly-accumulating edicts of the impartially ingenious." (Vol. vi. p. 159.)

"My dear friend, the *fatal, fatal day* is come!—yet five hours of life, and health, and hope, remained in all the cunning flattery of nature, promising duration! I have been pouring forth the anguish of this day's sensations to her who sprung from him, whose extinction at evening, spread over the sun, to these eyes, the impervious veil of desolation. After short and interrupted slumbers, unblessed by any distinct idea of my soul's chosen friend, on that the anniversary of his last human sleep, I waked at day dawn.—Alas! with what sensations, my dear friend's congenial imagination will but too faithfully conceive! It will truly tell her that I count the hours, the minutes, with all the woe, if not the horror, with which the condemned criminal enumerates them on the day of execution." (Vol. vi. p. 188.)

"Present me *devoutly* to your beloved Lady Eleanor." (Vol. vi. p. 227.)

"Your letter has symptoms of a speedy return home; but I know not how to trust them, remembering how your ladyship loves to linger beneath her native bowers, even when, as now they are, cold and leafless, so long as glowing hearths, and the attractions of consanguinity deride their desolation; remembering also your heart's proneness to oblige her." (Vol. vi. p. 244.)

Of Cowper—

"His *generally insipid, VAIN, and SELF-ENGROSSED* letters." (Vol. vi. p. 162.)

All this from a lady, too, who deliberately copied into volumes, arranged and retouched all her letters which she *thought* worth publishing, and left them to a bookseller for the purpose—But we are tired of extracting for the sake of censuring: we will produce a passage or two for the purpose of entertainment.

The following is Miss Seward's opinion of Dr. Johnson's epistolary talents:

"Letter-writing appears not to have been his talent, though in the course of these epistles we find frequently scattered rays of Johnsonian fire. He, whose eloquence has, in his essays, unrivalled majesty and force, seems an unworldly trifier. When he will gambol, he gambols best with Dr. Taylor's great bull, a sort of cousin-german of his in strength and surliness.

"His playfulness wants the elegance, his wit the brilliance, and his style the polished ease of Gray's letters; which, as letters, are very superior indeed to Johnson's, though he pronounces them a dull work; but that was from envy." (Vol. ii. p. 39.)

There is an ingenious criticism in letter v. vol. iv. p. 25, which yet raises a smile at the lady's ignorance of her own characteristic defects.

—"I pointed out (she says) to Mr. White a passage in Richard III. of much poetic grandeur, though 'with most admired stupidity' expunged from the play as it is altered for the stage. Queen Margaret, surrounded by her conquerors of the York line, *says* to Gloucester,

" 'Those who stand high have many blasts to shake them.'

"He replies,

" 'That may be true, but I was born so high!—
Our eyrie buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.'

"Mr. White and I agreed, that *with all Dr. Darwin's consummate skill in fabricating the splendidly-ornamented and elaborate species of verse, he has yet too little taste for simple poetic greatness, generally most sublime when least adorned*, to feel the transcendent poetic excellence of this metaphoric allusion, whose simple expressions leave the effect to be produced solely by the grandeur of the idea. I observed to him, that if Darwin had chosen to describe an eagle's nest, he would, perhaps, do it somehow thus:—

" 'Build thy strong eyrie, plummy son of light,
Pois'd on the cedar top's majestic height;
Aloft in air the quivering cradle plays,
Scorns the loud storm, and mocks the solar rays.

"That if Pope had chosen to describe the same object, it would probably have been in this kind of numbers—

"Thus on the cedar-top the eagle builds
His dancing eyrie in ethereal fields;
It scorns the winters wind, and beating rain,
And summer-suns shoot vertical in vain."

Another piece of criticism in the same volume, p. 51, is worth transcribing:—

"Some of Cowley's poetry enchants me not less than yourself:—but in general, I am soon weary of treading the intricate mazes of his wit. His ode, entitled the Complaint, on the place at court promised to him being presented to another, is peculiarly my favourite. It has sublime imagery and beautiful allusion, with great simplicity of style, and its tender irony upon his own pursuits affects one strangely. Mrs. Brooke's sweet novel, the Excursion, has the same uncommon vein, as to irony I mean; where the credulity which excites our pitying smiles nothing diminishes our love and respect for the character that exhibits it.

Johnson, whose decision is, on the whole, not unfavourable to Cowley, speaks with scorn of that ode; but it was his custom, even where he spoke favourably in the aggregate, to reprobate the best work of the poet he is reviewing—as if unwilling that the reader should estimate him by that just test, viz. his most beautiful composition. Thus, while he commends Lord Lyttleton, he expresses scorn of the poem his fame must live by, his Monody. And it is thus he affects to despise those lovely little tales of Prior's, so highly original, so enchanting to the fancy."

In p. 107, Miss Seward thus speaks of the late Mrs. Tighe, whose *PSYCHE* has justly attracted so much notice.

"I must not conclude my letter" (Sep. 1795) "without observing, that, on my second visit to the fairy palace, (Llangollen) a lovely Being cast around its apartments the soft lunar rays of her congenial beauty—Mrs. Tighe, the wife of one of my friend's nephews, an elegant and intelligent young gentleman, whom I should have observed more, had his wife's beauty been less. I used the word *lunar* as characteristic of that beauty, for it is not resplendent and sunny, like Mrs. Plummer's, but, as it were, shaded, though exquisite. She is scarcely two-and-twenty. Is it not too much that Aonian inspiration should be added to the cestus of Venus? She left an elegant and accurate sonnet, addressed to Lady E. Butler and her friend, on leaving their enchanting bowers."

Miss Seward's opinions in politics appear to have been very unfixed; sometimes infected with violent whiggism; but occasionally alarmed at the excesses of the French revolution. She seems to have paid but a very superficial attention to the subject;

and of course to have formed hasty opinions concerning it. But few can now be found who will not concur with her in the following observations in a letter to Mr. Park, March 1796.

“What an admirable composition is Burke’s letter ! I read it for the first time, except in extract, last night. The west is indeed on fire with his descending glories. In what broad and effulgent day do they reveal the infatuation of the Duke of Bedford ; sharpening the axe for his own neck, and for the necks of all men of rank and property in the kingdom, whether they had been opposers or abettors of the dire imitation *here* of anarchy, atheism, and massacre. Surely this TRUMPET-TONGUED PAMPHLET will awaken the duke from his miserable day-dream, to behold his own certain fate in that of Orleans, should the malignant party succeed in ‘leading up the death-dance in England.’”

In pages 114, and 140, there is some very discriminative and able, though perhaps too indulgent criticism on Darwin’s poetry, caused by the ridicule thrown on it by *The Loves of the Triangles*.

In page 333 occurs the following passage.

“I disavow all partiality to Darwin ; his conduct to me has not been calculated to inspire it. He has taken pleasure, from the time he commenced author himself, to depreciate my writings, which till then he had warmly praised. His taking my Landscape of the Valley he cultivated near Litchfield, written and published in my name in the Gentlemen’s Magazine and Annual Register, before one line of his noble poem was written, and years before it came out : taking it, I say, and publishing it as the exordium of his work, without the least acknowledgment, could have no tendency to produce in me an exaggerating spirit concerning his talents. But treatment thus unhandsome shall not induce me to suppress the power of my testimony in their favour, when they appear to me unjustly arraigned.”

Affectation appears to have been the predominant foible of Miss Seward, and a fault which constantly clouded the beauty of her poetical as well as prose compositions ; all at least but her two first poetical publications. And it was a fault which increased with her years. Her correspondence, though it exhibits a mind always labouring with thought, always awake to the passing literature of the day, and never suffering to escape without reflection the novel occurrences which her narrow sphere of life threw in her way, is generally heavy ; often disgusting ; and sometimes soporific. We do not recollect that it once breaks forth into the touching strains of natural eloquence.

These letters deliberately copied into a book before they were sent for the purpose of future publication, afford not that flattering idea of our being admitted into the secret recesses of the writer’s

bosom, to which familiar letters owe their first attraction. All is study, ornament, and artifice; yet applied by one, who is but a very imperfect mistress of the rules of art.

Miss S. was not a scholar; it is not surprising therefore that she was insensible to the purities of a classical taste. But it was unfortunate, that ignorant of such models, she thought herself a perfect adept in the principles and rules of criticism. She had read the modern poets of her native tongue till she had imbibed their defects and excellencies with indiscriminate admiration. Her natural taste seemed to be more delighted by expression than by thought in composition; she therefore too often grasped at the shadow instead of the substance. Her enthusiasm was too frequently conjured up for the occasion, and the strut of empty and tawdry diction was the natural result.

In the whole compass of her poetry, or her prose, there is but little real pathos. If she felt any, it evaporated in the toil and struggle of composition. It appears, indeed, that she had little apprehension of the merit of simplicity in others. She preferred the style of Johnson to that of Addison; she could see no beauty in the exquisite language of Cowper's letters; and as for her contemporary, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, she thought her contemptibly vapid and dull.

But Miss S.'s judgment was not uniform; it was liable to be ridiculously counteracted not only by envy and neglect, but by partiality springing both from friendship and from flattery. Her exaggerated praises of rhyming correspondents are more often illplaced than her censures. It was her misfortune to pass her life in a country town; an unpropitious sphere for talents like hers to receive their due improvement and correction.

It is clear that she was not happy; and that her vanity exposed her to more mortification than she derived pleasure from her success. She was not able to wrap herself up in the creations of her own brain; the pleasures derived from the employments of intellect did not with her produce their own reward. For wit or humour with her pen she acknowledges that she had no talents; it is probable therefore that she did not possess it in company.

It may be admitted, on the testimony of her biographer, and of her letters, that she had some virtues of the heart. Her filial affection and attentions were amiable and praiseworthy. Her charity and benevolence are strongly insisted on. With petty squabbles and local prejudices it would ill become the biographer to stain his page. The writer, however, of the *Elegy on Cook*, of the *Monody on André*, of some parts of the *Louisa*, and of a few of the smaller poems, was no com-

mon person. If her letters do not exhibit the sense, the learning, and the comprehensive views of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter's; if they fall short of the exuberant sentiment, the natural imagery, and the elegant morality of Mrs. Katharine Talbot's; they still abound with matter of much interest to cultivated minds; they contain many beautiful, and some splendid passages; and they shew an occasional insight into the human character, which could only have been acquired by natural sagacity, improved by experience. They cannot be read without exercising both the memory and the judgement. Most of the modern works of her native country in the department of polite letters come in review before her; and anecdotes of their authors are agreeably interspersed.

The sonnets appear to have given her the most self-satisfaction, but they are not in general happy. To attain ease within the chains of the sonnet is certainly an arduous hope. Miss S. has not, we think, surmounted this difficulty. One of the best is the following:

SONNET XLI.

INVITATION TO A FRIEND.

“ Since dark December shrouds the transient day,
 And stormy winds are howling in their ire,
 Why com'st not Thou, who always canst inspire
 The soul of cheerfulness, and best array
 A sullen hour in smiles!—O haste to pay
 The cordial visit sullen hours require!—
 Around the circling walls a glowing fire
 Shines;—but it vainly shines in this delay
 To blend thy spirit's warm Promethean light.
 Come then, at Science, and at Friendship's call,
 Their vow'd disciple;—come, for they invite!
 The social powers without thee languish all.
 Come, that I may not hear the winds of Night,
 Nor count the heavy eave-drops as they fall.”

We must content ourselves with one short extract from her justly celebrated elegy.

“ Borne on fierce eddies black Tornado springs,
 Dashing the gulphy main with ebou wings;
 In the vex'd foam his sweeping trail he shrouds,
 And rears his serpent-crest amid the clouds;
 Wrapp'd in dark mists with hideous bellowing roars,
 Drives all his tempests on, and shakes the shores.

Already has the groaning ship resign'd
 Half her proud glories to the furious wind.
 The fear-struck mariner beholds from far,
 In gathering rage, the elemental war;
 As rolls the rising vortex, stands aghast,
 Folds the rent sail, or clasps the shivering mast!
 Onward, like Night, the frowning Demon comes,
 Show'rs a dread deluge from his shaken plumes;
 Fierce as he moves the gulphed sand uptears,
 And high in air the shatter'd canvass bears.
 Hardly the heroes in that fateful hour
 Save the torn navy from his whelming power;
 But soon from Industry's restoring hand,
 New masts aspire, and snowy sails expand.
 On a lone beach a rock-built temple stands,
 Stupendous pile! unwrought by mortal hands;
 Sublime the ponderous turrets rise in air,
 And the wide roof basaltic columns bear;
 Through the long aisles the murm'ring tempests blow,
 And Ocean chides his dashing waves below."

We are sorry to be obliged to refuse ourselves and our readers the gratification of extracting a few more specimens of Miss S.'s poetry, particularly from the beautiful elegy on the death of Captain Cook, which contains many descriptive passages of a force and splendour, of a richness and compass of thought which it is difficult to match in modern poetry. We have the less regret, however, when we consider that the whole scheme of the poem is so good that injustice would be done to it by the production of detached parts. Whatever may be our opinion of the censurableness of her general taste, when we think of the excellence of the elegy on Cook, we feel ready to abate one half of the asperity with which her other compositions, and particularly her epistolary productions, dispose us to treat her literary fame.

ART. VIII. *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire.* By C. W. Pasley, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers. Lloyd. London. 1811.

THERE is no circumstance which appears to us to afford more substantial ground for general congratulation, than the renovation of public spirit which has, of late, been gradually kindling throughout the country. To what cause or causes this may be

attributable it may not be immaterial to inquire. Different impressions made by the course of events on different descriptions of the community, may have led to this happy result. Amongst the reflecting, every succeeding year's experience must have confirmed the conviction, that, in the present state of Europe, a secure peace with France being utterly hopeless, a reliance on our own courage, fortitude, and exertions has become indispensable. The sympathies of the generous must have been powerfully excited, by the systematic injustice and barbarities perseveringly committed by the Vandal invaders of Spain and Portugal, and by the animated resistance of the people of those countries. Those whose opinions are formed (as is the case with a large portion of the community) by language held in the two houses of parliament, have of late been far less exposed than heretofore to the dangerous influence of that querulous impatience for peace, which has so often disgraced our public discussions. To the minds of all classes a powerful stimulus has been given, by the rapid and brilliant succession of our military achievements, and a fresh incentive to increased efforts furnished by a just confidence in the tried prowess of our army.

Another cause, and that by no means the least efficient, for the improved and improving state of the public mind, may be found in the altered tone of the press. This mighty engine seems now, with few exceptions, to be worked by one generally pervading principle. Journalists, pamphleteers, and reviewers, (however differing as to means, and measures, and men,) appear to have laid aside the language of despondency, concession, and even compromise; and, no matter whether from choice or interest, to be forward in the expression of sentiments more worthy of Englishmen at such a crisis. We are no longer sickened by childish lamentations over the evils of war, or by vapid descriptions of the blessings of repose. How the war should be best conducted seems to be the chief consideration, and the only material ground of difference. Some administrations have, perhaps justly, been thought to have done too little; others, to have aimed at too much; measures have been condemned, as rashly taken up, or hastily and improvidently abandoned; but no voice, of any importance, has of late been heard even to whisper the expediency of an overture to the enemy, and no pen has dared to intimate the necessity of submission.

Writers of capacity and reflection, who devote their labours to the great national object of fortifying the tone of the public mind, can scarcely be spoken of in terms of panegyric beyond their deserts. It is not enough for us to be told, in language

however forcible, that we should be courageous, and persevering, and patient under the sacrifices and burthens which such a war with such an enemy must require. We want the cheering prospect of final reward to the exercise of these virtues, and the conviction that by calling them into practice, we are not only consulting our present glory, but our future safety. This is a task in which the ablest pen may be the most usefully and honourably employed; and those, who in addition to this noble purpose in taking it up, are qualified by reading, observation, and experience, to trace past reverses to defective institutions, irrational systems, and injudicious or ill-concerted measures, and at the same to propose remedies and improvements, may be justly considered as entitled to no less applause, than the minister by whom such suggestions may be adopted, and successfully acted upon.

These preliminary observations bring us at once to Captain Pasley's work, an attentive perusal of which has, in fact, in a great degree suggested them. It is only strict justice to the author to say, that we recollect no modern publication, of the same description and character, at all comparable to it. The style is throughout easy, unaffected, and perspicuous; the reasoning close and logical; the sentiments elevated and original; and it has the rare merit of being unsullied by any feature of party spirit.—The author is well versed both in ancient and modern history; and draws from the abundant stores, with which such reading has furnished his mind, reflections generally accurate as referable to the present state of Great Britain, and often pointed with peculiar propriety and felicity of application. He frequently reminds us of Polybius by the profundity of his observations, though he bears no resemblance to him in point of prolixity. The arguments and suggestions are throughout traced from principles, not presumptuously and dogmatically laid down, but founded upon the experience of past times, and established by a judicious reference of effects to their proper causes. In composition, he aims at nothing beyond his powers; and there is every internal testimony, that his labours were instigated by the single and honourable motive of rendering service to his country, whose dangers he has correctly estimated, and whose capacity for exertion on a larger scale he has ably developed and vindicated.

It is fortunate, we will not say surprising, that a military man could be found, who from tone of mind, education, extensive reading, observation, and habits of reflection, was qualified to engage in a book of this nature; as no one but a military man could properly have undertaken it. This observation applies

also to the Roman historian before adverted to. In his works we think the soldier predominates; and the reverse in that of Captain Pasley, who, though an officer of established reputation, refers to recent expeditions and campaigns only with a view to illustrate his principles, or to point out defects which he proposes to remedy; but he is never betrayed into details, which might have exhibited his knowledge and science, without strengthening his argument. He was not writing a military history; but was engaged in the far more important task of pointing out to his country the means of present safety, and of future glory.

The work forms a large octavo volume, of more than five hundred pages, divided into nine chapters, replete with observations no less profound than interesting: to the most important of these we shall confine ourselves, and endeavour to compress, within a moderate compass, such specimens of the work as we may think worthy of being submitted to our readers, together with certain strictures which appear to us to be necessary.

Captain Pasley's principal objects seem to be—to rouse the nation and its rulers, whoever they may be, to a just sense of our military means with a view both to offensive and defensive war, and to point out the danger of neglecting them;—to shew the folly and hazard of an exclusive reliance on our naval superiority;—to prove that systems are better than expedients;—to point out the absurdity of coalitions, as usually formed, and the impolicy of subsidies, as generally granted;—to maintain, that our principal reliance should be on our own strength, properly called forth and applied; that we should pursue one object at a time, taking Roman policy for our model in this respect;—to ridicule a purely defensive system;—to condemn, generally speaking, insular conquests; and to reprobate the practice of hastily abandoning conquests of any sort when once made. In frequently enforcing these several topics, he supports his respective propositions by ample and able references to ancient and modern history, as illustrative of them; and is copious in his remarks on some recent transactions, particularly those connected with the Peninsula and Sicily. From a frank avowal of his political principles, by which we mean his general principles of policy, he never shrinks. The point which he most strenuously urges, and with a degree of enthusiasm which we cannot but admire, is the capacity of Great Britain to face Bonaparte successfully, on what has been vulgarly considered his own element, and the duty which she owes to herself, to Europe, and to the world, to enter into the contest with vigour; undertaking to shew, that by pursuing such a course, she has in

her own hands the means of delivering the continent from its state of thralldom, and to secure to herself the proud station of pre-eminence amongst the nations of the world.

In the first chapter Captain P. protests against being considered an alarmist, and fully obviates the charge that may be brought against him, of "filling the minds of men with notions of a gloomy and desponding nature." In mentioning the possible inferiority of our navy, some few years hence, as an irresistible argument for an improved military system, he says :

"If we do not improve our system of defence, either from a supposition, that as our little island is now superior by sea to the whole world, it is always to continue so ; or from a hope, that although the royal house of Bourbon, the republic of France, and now its self-made emperor, have all successively attempted our destruction, and out-done each their predecessors in their efforts for that end ; yet if we can be so happy as to maintain our independence during the life of Napoleon, we may see him succeeded in his government by a set of mild unambitious rulers, who will preserve perpetual peace with us ; or if we trust, that when his presiding genius shall no longer guide that vast empire, it is to fall to pieces, and be divided among his generals, as amongst so many successors of this new Alexander, instead of remaining consolidated like the conquests of the Romans ; we shall confide our dearest rights, that glorious constitution, that sound liberty, and those proud national honours, which we have inherited from our ancestors, to such a combination of improbable chances in our favor, as the most desperate gamester would scarcely venture to act upon."

The justness of these sentiments and the spirit with which they are expressed are so striking, that we shall not stop to comment upon them. They are shortly followed up by others of a similar character, in a passage which we cannot avoid presenting to our readers. Supposing the day to be arrived when the fleets of Europe may block up those of Great Britain in its own harbours, and that, our military means of resistance having been neglected, the formidable armies of the continent were disembarked on our shores, Captain P. observes,

"Gloomy as such a prospect would be, still it would be our duty to push our exertions for meeting the storm to the utmost, in hopes that Divine Providence, which has so often interposed in favour of nations, that have not abandoned themselves to despair when reduced to the very brink of destruction, may work some unexpected change in our favor, or at least to have the satisfaction of falling with arms in our hands, in a manner worthy of the ancient renown of the British nation, and of the sacred cause in which we should fight, for the last remains of liberty to be found in the world. But it appears to me that our case is by no means so hopeless."

These extracts stamp the character of the author at least, if not of the work. They breathe the lofty spirit of a Burke or a Windham, and must be sufficient to bespeak, indeed to command, the interest of a British reader in all that follows. In the whole book there is not a passage in which we more cordially concur than that which closes the last extract, that "our case is by no means so hopeless" as that previously described; and this, for reasons in addition to, and differing from those given by our author. Hitherto his observations have been confined to defensive war, though in subsequently developing his plan, he shews that the same measures which would establish our security at home, would be calculated to render us formidable and triumphant abroad. "A great object of this essay," he says, "shall be, to endeavour to prove, that, by certain new measures, and by certain additions to our means of defence, supposing we had not a single ship on the ocean, we might still hope to maintain our independence." And he afterwards goes on to say, "I shall also attempt to trace the grand causes of the general success of our arms by sea, and of our almost universal failures by land; which will involve not only a consideration of our military institutions, but of the policy with which we have conducted our wars." We think it may be convenient to take the division of the subject, which he has thus chalked out; and as his reprobation of a defensive system occupies many pages in the subsequent chapters, we shall endeavour to concentrate here such of his remarks on its impolicy as may appear most material. In entering into an examination of this important question of military policy, we enlist under his banner as steady and faithful soldiers, prepared by his side to combat those mischievous and shallow doctrines, which we have heard broached in high quarters, and which, if acted upon, would augment the dangers, degrade the character, tarnish the laurels, and blast the hopes of a great and high-minded nation.

On referring to dates, we are willing to hope that between Captain P.'s opinions and our own there may now be but little difference. It appears by the preface, that the two first chapters were written in the spring of 1808. Since that period two defensive measures, of the very first importance, have been adopted by the legislature; the one in the summer of the same year, the other during the last session of parliament. We refer to the local militia bill, and the bill for allowing the interchange of the English and Irish militias. Before the year 1808, Great Britain, in a considerable degree, owed her security to the volunteer system established (we mean, on the extended scale) on the renewal of the war in 1803,—a splendid and glorious era, when

the public spirit of the nation burst forth with a blaze, of which history affords no parallel, and which can never cease to astonish and animate future generations. It was no partial flame; it displayed itself in every city, town, and hamlet. The government of the day, which had been instrumental in exciting it, turned it to its proper account; and in the course of a few weeks 400,000 men were, in this island alone, in a state of military training for its defence. The attempt at invasion was not made, though long threatened, and certainly intended. And we shall never cease to believe, that the country derived incalculable advantages, if it were not saved from real danger, by this signal display of universal zeal and patriotism. But as, from the formation of new continental confederacies, all domestic alarm subsided; as from that and other causes, into which we shall not now enter, the public ardor cooled; privations began to be felt; the service slackened; discipline became relaxed; and the numbers of our voluntary defenders gradually diminished. Under these circumstances, Captain P.'s second chapter was written; and had we read it at the time, considering the increased power and preponderance of France on the continent, we should have been of opinion, that our situation would become perilous indeed, unless some new means, of a permanent nature, were resorted to for our protection. To rely exclusively on our naval superiority, would be little better than to anticipate the *væ victis*!

Strengthened then as our internal security has since been, by the two invaluable measures to which we have just adverted, we could hardly bring ourselves to entertain any apprehensions for the preservation of our independence, were those suggestions which Captain P. so strongly recommends entirely disregarded; and were even those results in the prosecution of the war to take place, the possibility of which he so providently anticipates. If properly maintained and enforced, we are of opinion that conjointly the two measures have rendered the country invulnerable. The first of them, of which the original vastness of the volunteer system had laid, and was, as we believe, intended to lay the foundation, has permanently secured to the country an auxiliary defensive force of 400,000 men. About one half of these now constitute our local militia; gradually increasing, infinitely improved in discipline, and, when embodied, subject to martial law. As their service is only for four years, the whole active population of the country is becoming military by rotation; and our late campaigns have formed excellent officers to lead them on in the defence of their country.

The other measure, scarcely inferior to this in value, had been

long called for, but had perhaps been necessarily delayed. Exclusively of other obvious recommendations, it renders the whole of the old militia of either island available with their own consent for service in the other, in the event of invasion; and, by the additional security thus given to Ireland, either in case of domestic commotion or foreign attack, leaves at liberty a larger portion of our regular army for foreign operations, than it might otherwise be safe to spare.

Perhaps Captain P. will admit the justice of these remarks, and that they establish a material difference between the years 1811 and 1803 as to home defence. In drawing a comparison between the volunteers and a regular army, he forcibly asks (speaking of the former when called into real service); "Where would be that habitual contempt of danger and of death, so foreign to the feelings of civil life? Where would be that implicit respect, and that unbounded obedience to the will of superior officers? Where would be that ardent spirit to attack, that unconquerable firmness in defeat and calamity, derived from the mutual confidence which all ranks have in each other? Where would be the minds broken in and prepared to bear all the extremities of hardship, wounds, and disease, often without shelter, attendance, or even pity?"

These questions are strictly applicable to such a force, if it were proposed to employ it on *foreign* service. But in fighting for their homes and their altars, we do not see how they could ever be placed in the predicament described in the last line of this extract; and as to, "the contempt of death, the ardent spirit, and unconquerable firmness," we cannot but hope and believe that these high feelings would in no small measure be supplied by that enthusiasm, an *exclusive* reliance on which Captain P. afterwards so justly deprecates, by that spirit of loyalty which he so warmly extols, by the love of that free constitution which he so eloquently inculcates, and by that pride of independence and passion for freedom, of which he is at once the pattern and the panegyrist. But let him speak for himself in one of his most splendid passages.

"For these disadvantages, which at present attend our warlike measures, we may perhaps console ourselves in the superior spirit and patriotism of the people of this country. Independent of the generous feeling of national spirit and pride, which has often been seen to animate to great exertions the people of a state which has held a reputable rank among the nations of the world, under a native government, however bad, we have a still more sacred and durable principle of action, which scarcely any other nation can boast: I mean that noble spirit, that additional incentive to loyalty and pa-

triotism, which arises from the freedom of our constitution, and the impartial administration of our laws; the blessings of which come so much home to every individual amongst us, that cold indeed must be the heart, and weak the head, of him who would not undergo every danger and privation, or who would shrink at any sacrifice for preserving them from destruction! Such, I am persuaded, would be the general feeling in England in the event of invasion; and certainly, of all the spectacles presented by history in modern times, none, if we have the good fortune to survive the present contest, will be regarded with greater admiration by succeeding ages, than the noble effort exhibited in this island; when, at the commencement of the present war, threatened with a formidable invasion, which our ordinary military establishments were incapable of resisting, four hundred thousand Britons started at once from the various occupations of civil life, and voluntarily took up arms in defence of their country."

We know not from what author we could extract a more powerful antidote to the cold treachery, or frantic ravings of jacobinism than this passage exhibits.

We cannot leave this part of the subject without giving our readers one more passage relating to it, which indeed we are bound to do in justice to the author.

"If our insular situation keeps the sense of danger away from our eyes, and remote from our feelings; if invasion, the threat of which will be constantly held out, shall be delayed so long as to come to be considered a mere bravado; if the great body of the people, or their representatives, ignorant of the nature of warlike operations, of which this island has happily not lately been the scene; ignorant of what can, and of what cannot be done, by a country partly overrun by hostile armies, should form popular or insular prejudices, and be led to prefer some imperfect kind of military force to a much better one, under the idea of its being more constitutional; or to reject some necessary system or measures of defence, because they shock old ideas and habits; just as if any kind of system could be considered constitutional, that was not capable of securing our constitution in the hour of danger; if, I say, from such feelings and prejudices we persist in half measures, and remain contented with defective establishments, till the storm of war shall burst all at once upon us like a thunderbolt; we may find that enthusiasm however exalted, and patriotism however fervent and sincere, will not be able to command impossibilities. We may find that brave, well-organized and disciplined armies, that strong and well-provided fortresses cannot spring up all at once, like the work of magic, because a free people wish it should be so; because

* We hope Captain P. does not here mean the Martello towers. He knows too well that the main reliance of the country must be "on man and steel, the soldier and the sword."

a people, who feels the want of them too late, who feels too late, that without them the existence of the country hangs upon a thread, has been sleeping in security in the idle belief, 'that a nation of freemen, animated with a general determination to resist a foreign yoke, can never be subdued.' This maxim, which men so triumphantly apply to the prospects of this country, is one of those prejudices which is contradicted by the testimony of all history; but which, as it flatters our comforts, our indolence, and our national pride, has been too generally received by us, and may do us infinite mischief."

Having dwelt, as long as our limits will admit, on this interesting part of the work, we shall now proceed to examine the question of offensive war. And let us, *in limine*, candidly acknowledge, that there was a time, when, from too contracted an estimate of our resources, and of the means by which they might be called forth and applied, we had been led to apprehend that security was the most that we could reasonably expect as the result of this contest, and that this would be best provided for by a system principally defensive. Till the renewal of hostilities in 1803, it had not entered into our contemplation that Great Britain was capable of exhibiting herself to the world as a military nation of the first order. Disheartened as we were by the repeated failures of the formidable coalitions, which more than half of Europe in our alliance had formed against the gigantic power of France, we had despaired of a successful resistance on the continent: we were sickened by the succession of profuse, impoverishing, and useless subsidies;—old prejudices perhaps, and uninterrupted successes by sea, attached us to maritime efforts almost exclusively; and we mistrusted the patience of the country under the pressure which war on an enlarged scale necessarily imposes, though we never doubted the invincible courage of the people in the protection of it's independence.

Had not the impressions which we have described been now banished from our minds, it would have remained for Captain P. to be instrumental in removing them; though we cannot promise to accompany him to the full extent of the line of march which he has persuaded himself that the country is capable of pursuing.

On the former point we think the following extracts conclusive.

"I have stated," he says, "in a former part of this work, the probability that the French empire may, in course of time, acquire a superiority over us in naval power, commerce, revenue, &c. in proportion to its superiority of population; and that the principal

or the only impediment which prevents, or can possibly prevent, its attaining this great increase of comparative strength, is the continuation of the present war. If, however, we confine ourselves to a war *purely defensive*, straining our naval and military powers to the utmost extent of which they are capable, without deriving proper benefit even from the former, and keeping the latter totally inactive and useless; whilst we thus waste our own resources to no purpose without injuring or even attempting to injure those of the enemy; it will be an easy task for him to consolidate his own power, and to extinguish all hopes of resistance among the people of the countries already subdued by him; and to overawe those princes who still possess a precarious independence, but who seem, even at this moment, half conquered by their own contemptible fears; so that we who, by the defensive system, must always pin our faith, and rest our hopes, upon the exertions of foreign princes and mobs, shall be left without a straw to lean upon; and shall, in all human probability, be forced to make a peace by the ruinous effects of our own unenterprising policy, after an inglorious and useless war. Then it appears more a matter of certainty than of doubt, that, without some wonderful changes in our favour, we shall sink from our present flourishing and formidable condition, to the most lamentable state of comparative weakness and insignificance; and that soon after the renewal of war with France at some future period, we may find ourselves shut up in our own island, without commerce and colonies, without a naval power, and, what is worse, without hope or courage in our national councils to protect us."

In another part of his work Captain P. justly observes :

"If we continue looking on, with our hands folded, in anxious expectation of the dissolution of the French empire, like the clown in the fable, who stood offering up vows to Hercules instead of putting his own shoulders to the wheel, it is possible, that the fickle deity to which we trust our fate, may in like manner turn a deaf ear to our prayers. The chances to which we look forward may disappoint our hopes; and the French empire may not fall to pieces. What then is to be done? Not daring to make peace, we shall have nothing before us but the gloomy prospect of eternal war. And what kind of war will it be? *A war solely defensive: a war of fear against hope; a war in which if we should prove constantly victorious we gain nothing; in which, if we are beaten, we lose every thing!*"

But in the following passage we cannot help thinking that the author goes a little too far; and gives the rein to the ardour of his mind in stretching the capacities of the country somewhat beyond their legitimate bounds.

"Until we adopt a more enlarged system of martial policy suited to the present times; till we shall shake off with disdain the narrow, or dastardly spirit, which would confine British valour and enter-

prize within the limits of what, with a mixture of overweening pride and presumption, we have been pleased to stifle our own element; till we shall send forth our armies to fight the enemy on the Ebro, the Elbe, or the Loire, with as much confidence as we believe we should feel in fighting on those of the Thames; till we plant the British flag on the mountains of Sicily, of the Apennines, or on the plains of Champagne, with the same undaunted hearts with which we now display it on the ocean, or on some beggarly rock that is encircled by its waves; till we come forward in the face of the universe, with a view to the applause of present and future ages, and throwing the gauntlet to our adversary, boldly challenge him to meet us hand to hand in any part of the known world; it is my opinion that we shall see all the efforts of our armies terminate, as they have lately done (in 1809) either in disappointment or disgrace. From the want of this daring spirit in our national councils and policy, all our failures, all our disasters by land have arisen."

Now if Captain P. can point out to us in his second volume, which we are impatiently looking for, the practical means of raising and keeping up such armies, as warfare on a scale of such magnitude must require; if he can show the mode by which such an enormous expense may be defrayed, which in the whole course of the present volume we do not find once adverted to, we will examine his suggestions with all the attention and deference due to a person with whom it would be always our wish to concur.

To all his observations in reprobation of a purely defensive system we give our cordial and unqualified assent. We agree with him that "it is equally impossible for a nation, as for an individual, to defend itself merely by parrying the blows of an adversary." If the poor plea of the necessity of husbanding our resources should be urged in justification of so humiliating a system, and that we should be so far prepared not only to sacrifice the respect of Europe and of the world, but to cease to respect ourselves, it would be more just to the people to announce at once our incapacity to continue the struggle, and to accept such terms of pacification as our enemy may condescend to grant.

"Oremus pacem, et dexteras tendamus inermes."

But, in truth, it is not in the nature of things that, especially when engaged in war, the affairs of any country can remain stationary. "A stationary power," as Captain P. again observes, "cannot possibly resist an increasing one; it is therefore right for a nation in our present situation to conquer from a principle of self-preservation." This subject is well treated by another writer, whose mind appears to be no less ardent

than Captain P.'s, but who differs from his plan of active warfare, by recommending an extension of our insular dominion; in favour of which some striking arguments are advanced. We have indeed great authorities for showing, that at no time can the prosperity of a great country remain stationary, and amongst the rest those of Harrington and Algernon Sidney. These are quoted by Captain P. to prove that a system of external war, and even of conquest was not, in the opinion of these known friends of civil liberty, at all inconsistent with its security. The passages are too long to admit of our extracting them for our readers. We recommend, however, a reference to them in p. 128, both being very strong and pertinent, and some parts of them almost prophetic.

Upon the whole we are fully satisfied of the solidity of these arguments, as well as of those more abundant and powerful reasons which directly prove the expedience of offensive war. It is not upon the *disposal* but on the *amount* of our means, that we presume to differ with Captain P., and we think that he has exaggerated not our danger but our still latent powers of resisting it, while he has studiously extenuated those now in operation. We shall devote the few following pages to the investigation of this important question.

In the prosecution of his great object, that of animating his countrymen to increased military efforts, the author, in the course of his work, makes powerful appeals to our hopes and fears, and judiciously begins with the latter. The second chapter is almost exclusively devoted to a comparative view of the force and resources of the French and British empires, from which he draws results, on the whole very unfavourable to the latter, as they may at the present time be estimated. He observes, "That the great and leading points to be considered between nations at war, are their population, their revenue, their means of raising seamen, the energy of their executive governments, and the spirit and patriotism of the people." All these points are separately discussed; and the general inference drawn from this relative view is, the necessity of augmented exertion in this country. In population he states that of France to be superior to ours nearly in the proportion of five to one, estimating the one (including all the countries subject to her control or influence) at 77,000,000, and the other at 15,000,000. This statement we think is as much exaggerated on the one side, as it is extenuated on the other. Under present circumstances we can by no means consent to include the Peninsula, containing near 13,000,000 in the estimate of the former; on the contrary, we believe that the military contributions of more than an equal

number of French subjects may be subtracted from the mass in opposition to us on account of the Spanish war; and we believe that near 2,000,000 may be fairly added to the estimate of our own population. He includes also Denmark; and might with just the same propriety include Sweden and Norway. In revenue, he calculates the difference between the two empires in favour of France to be less than three to one; but contends that her means of extending it are much greater than our own, partly because ours have been so immensely augmented by increased taxation of late years, and partly because Bonaparte's power is such as to enable him to push the financial resources of the continent more nearly to their utmost stretch with a view to our annoyance and subjection. He then proceeds to examine the grand question of political economy, which has been discussed by so many able writers in this country, and into which we shall not now follow him, viz. whether national wealth depends most on agriculture, or on commerce and manufactures? But we are, with too much truth indeed, informed,—

“That the general combination of almost all foreign nations against our commerce, however improbable it may have formerly appeared, is now in a way of being realized. By the absolute decrees of Bonaparte, all the ports of the French empire, and of the lesser states under its influence, are shut against our manufactures. Our Copenhagen expedition only anticipated a little the period of their exclusion from Denmark. The emperor of Russia, after having drawn us into an unnecessary and inglorious (he might have added unjust) war with the Turks, has also declared against us. If the Americans should proceed to extremities, as they seem inclined, our manufactures will be excluded from the markets of almost the whole world; and our foreign trade will be confined to so very few, and such distant countries, that it may be considered as on the eve of being nearly annihilated, in comparison of what it was a few years ago.”

These are certainly dire forebodings, and unhappily they are in part realised! Captain P. will, however, allow us to cheer a little this gloomy prospect, by reminding him of our immense commerce carried on in the East, recently extended and secured by conquests of strength and value; by pointing out to him the Mediterranean and the Levant still open to us, the latter by a renewal of friendly connections with the Porte; and by calling his attention to the vast continent of South America, where, we will venture to prophecy, that our trade *must* ultimately force its way, whether the independence of the Peninsula be lost or preserved; we purposely omit, as irrelevant, our domestic commerce, which is of thrice the value and importance of any foreign trade which we could possibly enjoy.

We are aware of the answer which is to be given to the foregoing observations. Admitting them to be correct, how is commerce to be protected without a naval superiority? And what just grounds have we for confidently concluding that such superiority we may be very long able to command? The first of these questions involves a self-evident proposition; and unless something like a satisfactory answer can be found to the second, we are bound to come to the author's conclusion.

It is obvious, that the country which possesses the greatest wealth, the largest population, the best dock-yards, the greatest facilities in procuring timber and other materials for ship-building, the most convenient ports, and, above all, the most extensive commerce, must have, or be in a fair way to have, a pre-eminence in naval power over that which is in these respects inferior to it. All of these requisites are not equally indispensable; and a comparative deficiency in some of them may be greatly counter-balanced by the naval skill and invincible spirit of the natives. At the present time, the first and last of these are the great rocks on which our naval superiority rests; which was never so great as at this time. On these foundations then stand not only the power, but in a great degree the safety of Great Britain. In the map of Europe we can now see little but France; all the ports, arsenals, and dock-yards, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, are in her possession or under her control; with the exception, indeed, of those in the Peninsula which have hitherto escaped her grasp, but can hardly be pronounced out of her reach. All the forests of Europe at her command; every facility of transporting naval stores by means of inland navigation; in the Texel, in the Scheldt, at Genoa and at Venice, besides her own old established ports, the instruments of her future pretensions to the sway of the tri-ent are secretly but rapidly preparing. With this summary sketch before us, what reflecting man can entertain a hope, that our own naval force could keep pace with her growing strength in that respect, should a peace deprive us of the means of restraining the rapidity of its progress? On the continuance of war, therefore, we agree with Captain P. that the preservation of our naval preponderance, *under the present state of Europe*, entirely depends: and that it is our wisest policy to carry it on in such a way as to afford a chance of altering the present state of Europe; for that, until the French empire either falls to pieces of itself, or is controlled and reduced by our efforts in conjunction with those of other powers, in peace we can have no security.

On the two other topics, namely, the respective energy of the two governments, and the patriotism of the people, we need not long detain our readers. Balancing the great advantages of a

free constitution against those possessed by the nation whose whole executive power is vested in one individual; Captain P. thus wisely cautions his countrymen against too confident a reliance on them.

“The idea,—that a great nation determined to be free can never be subdued; that a band of free men is equal to a host of slaves; and that the satellites of despotism, however disciplined, are ultimately to be destroyed by the generous efforts and invincible spirit of a patriotic army;’ may be very suitable to poetry, and pleasing in the mouth of a tragic hero; and like the maxim believed by the common people of the country, ‘that one Englishman is equal to two foreigners,’ it may even be useful in some cases; but it is in reality no less devoid of truth, and should equally be banished with contempt by all just reasoners on the defence of states. The page of history exhibits to nations, if they would attend to it without being deluded by vanity and presumption, the instructive lesson of one state constantly overpowering another, not by superior freedom, virtue, and patriotism; for the free, the corrupted, and the enslaved, have equally flourished and equally fallen in their turns; but by having more numerous, braver and better disciplined and commanded armies, with a more vigorous system of military policy, and a better mode of repairing disasters in war.”

The high estimation in which Captain P. holds the characteristic qualities of his countrymen is discernible in almost every page. And yet these qualities are accompanied with defects of which he is not insensible, and which they will not, we trust, be offended with us for noticing without reserve.

One of those constitutes a problem not easy to solve; viz.—That a nation of free men, individually bold, high-minded and persevering, should have been observed on some occasions to exhibit a sort of panic, unbecoming a petty continental principality. The frequent clamours for peace are in part attributable to this cause; and how can reflecting men otherwise account for the almost universal applause which sanctioned the expedition to Zealand in 1807? For our own parts, we shall ever ascribe the perversion of judgment and disregard of justice which prevailed at that time to the apprehensions excited by the peace of Tilsit, and to its supposed secret articles by which Russia, a few days before our zealous ally, was at once converted by our fears into a formidable auxiliary instrument of our destruction. Those who are so easily depressed, are as easily and as unnecessarily elated.

Almeida falls; and Lord Wellington retreats to the neighbourhood of Lisbon. All is lost; the game is over! The cause of Portugal hopeless; ministers almost deserving of impeach-

ment for protracting the contest! A few months afterwards Massena retreats in his turn, is closely pursued by a British army,—is driven out of Portugal. From the very same mouths now issue the notes of confidence and the songs of triumph. The campaign is over, our successes are decisive; Portugal is freed; we hail the happy moment, that of victory, when it would become us to offer peace to a *vanquished* enemy!!!—That such feelings should operate on the vulgar, is lamentable; that such language should be held by the more enlightened, to whose opinions the vulgar may defer, is disgusting. Here it is, that ancient Rome may justly be held out by Captain P. as a model for his own country; of whose future destinies we should consider it a highly favourable omen, if a British general should ever, in case of a severe reverse, be thanked for not having despaired of his country. It was by an unbending spirit under difficulties, by an unyielding firmness under defeat, by opposing a stubborn fortitude to the vagaries of chance or the fickleness of fortune, no less than by systematic principles of conduct, that—

“Fortis Etruria crevit
Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,”

whose characteristic quality perhaps in her best days, was her invincible equanimity under all the fluctuations, results, and contingencies of war.

We think that the people ought long since to have been cured of their disposition to form hasty opinions of the conduct of their officers when entrusted with great commands, and of their propensity to judge from events. We have not forgotten the popular clamour so unwarrantably directed against Lord Howe, previous to his great naval victory of the 1st of June 1795; we reflect with pain on the odium cast on Sir John Moore, for having remained so long at Salamanca, from whence it is only to be regretted, that he suffered himself to be prevailed on to advance; we recollect with disgust, that Lord Wellington himself did not escape censure for having so long delayed his march into Spain previous to the battle of Talavera. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, before he sailed from the coast of Asia Minor for Egypt, is understood to have expressed great doubts of the competency of his force for the expulsion of the French from that country. Had he returned, *re infectâ*, before it was known here that the French force opposed to him doubled his own, to what reproaches and calamities would not that gallant veteran have been exposed! The buccaneering expedition in 1806 against Buenos Ayres, undertaken without orders, and than which a more rash or a more mischievous project was never conceived,

was applauded, because it succeeded; and had the attack upon Copenhagen failed, all danger of which was precluded by the means employed, we suspect, that the justice as well as policy of it would have been more than doubted. The people are often in the right; *generally* when time is allowed for the operation of their sound judgment; *seldom*, when they act on the sudden impulse of feeling or the stimulus of impatience; and only *so by accident*, when they take results as the grounds of their decision.

Having done with the discouraging side of the question, we are now prepared to tread with Captain P. the flowery path of hope, and to accompany him in his view of brighter and more animating prospects. The encouragement which he holds out to us rests on negative as well as positive grounds. We must begin by avoiding past errors, political and military: "*Sapientia prima est, stultitiâ caruisse.*" This may be taken as his motto for a great part of what remains for us to examine. The foundation-stone of our future hopes is to qualify ourselves to assume a prouder attitude, and to take a more leading part in continental warfare, by mixing politics with war; by the union of improved military institutions with wise councils; in short, by determining to become a great military nation. We will begin with past errors, which will afford us occasion to consider some of those recent measures on which our author comments with freedom, and generally with candour.

There is no part of our system which Captain P. more unequivocally and, in our opinion, more justly condemns, than our persevering practice of insular conquests. This had before been strongly and frequently protested against both by the voice and pen of Mr. Burke. It was in justification of this mode of conducting the war that, we apprehend, the words "indemnity for the past and security for the future" were so often in the mouths of those who had the management of that which broke out in 1793. To us these terms always appeared highly exceptionable. The two objects were inconsistent with each other; and we were not pursuing the course to obtain either. For some years after the commencement of the war, our best hopes of a favourable result rested on the royalists, to whom it was our true and obvious policy to give every possible support and encouragement, and to afford every proof of disinterestedness, honour, and justice. Was this to be done by outraging their feelings, and ruining their fortunes, by a systematic dismemberment of the insular dominions of France? But its richest islands, successively captured, were perhaps to be restored at a peace. If so, what became of indemnity? In truth, security for the future to ourselves and to

the continent of Europe could be the only just, legitimate, and rational object of *such* a war; and by such selfish pursuits, by dividing our force for their attainment, we were paralysing the means of attaining our true object.

It may be said, perhaps, that the public mind would have languished and soon grown sick of war, unless it was kept alive by conquest and animated by views of interest. There certainly may be occasions when the minister of a country acts wisely in giving way to the feelings of the people: but in great emergencies it is his indispensable duty to endeavour to lead and to direct them. Never did there exist an occasion which so imperiously called for the exercise of this duty; and never had we a minister more capable of executing it. He *did* in fact, in conjunction with Mr. Burke, rouse the country to a just feeling of the necessity of the war, and might perhaps, by a due effort of his vast powers, have carried with him general concurrence and support in the only wise mode of conducting it.

At the present time there may not perhaps be precisely *the same* objections to this system of colonial conquest; but there are others no less decisive. These are ably stated by Captain P. If it is bad intrinsically, it is bad in proportion as the danger of Europe has been increased by the immense accession of strength and power to France at home. Distant insular possessions seldom or never can afford to maintain themselves, and of course are a burden on our finances:—they necessarily employ a large part of our disposable force; the transporting of these is heavily expensive; the climate probably injurious to the health of our men; large sums must be devoted to the construction and repair of fortifications, &c. &c. But the grand objection which counterbalances alone all the advantages of such conquests is, that the number of troops necessarily employed in their subjection and subsequent protection might be turned to infinitely better account elsewhere.

From his general objections to transmarine conquests Captain P. properly excepts all such as have a revenue more than sufficient to maintain themselves; such as by their population could be instrumental in recruiting our army, or by their nautical habits of manning our navy; such as by their position and the value of their harbours are calculated for commanding naval or military stations, &c. Of possessions of this description he well describes the value and importance; and enforces the prudence and policy of determining to keep such of them as our arms have once acquired.

Coalitions and subsidies have so uniformly gone hand in hand; as far as Great Britain was concerned, since the commencement

of the last war, that they may be generally treated as one and the same subject. For the last eighteen years our government has been the *primum mobile* of all the confederacies that have been formed; and not one has been unaccompanied by pecuniary aid from this country to one or more of the coalesced powers. By them it seems to have been considered as a matter of course, that they should be paid by *us* when they are fighting for *themselves*; and it may fairly be a question, whether they may not have been sometimes prematurely hurried into hostilities by the prospect and promise of pecuniary assistance. It was not, however, in the nature of things that any rational dependence could be placed on the duration of our alliances, especially under severe reverses, unless they were founded on some sound principle of *common danger*, and *common interests*, and evidently not resorted to as expedients to turn the tide of war from our own shores.

On the subject of coalitions Captain P. has many striking remarks, and were we to judge as he does, from results, those who have been constantly condemning coalitions would undoubtedly appear to us to have the advantage over those who have promoted or applauded them. But we can never assent to the grounds on which they have been declaimed against by the former, much as we question the policy of the grounds on which some have been formed, which wore at first so imposing an aspect, and from which such important consequences were expected. There is not a single instance of a continental power having been "*tempted*" and "*seduced*" by our money into hostilities with France, without having had some motive of her own. The sums that we have lately expended have been in subsidies of a totally different character from those heretofore granted to Swiss, Hanoverians, Hessians, &c.; to petty states, who had no sort of interest in the contest for which they were taken into our pay. To such aids much of Captain P.'s reasoning would correctly apply. The two motives for great continental powers to engage in war are justly stated to be those which alone could be rationally supposed to be the main incitements to it: but these are not *wholly unconnected* with foreign gold. Surely Captain P. cannot mean to deny, that a power may be stimulated by ambitious motives to some act of aggression against his neighbours, and yet may be disabled by poverty from carrying his wishes into effect—from equipping and maintaining an adequate army. It is money alone that enables him. Captain P.'s observations may, perhaps, apply to some of the parties to the first coalition, to whom the dismemberment of France, from ambitious views of their own, may have been the primary object. And though we fully concur with

him in thinking that our money was not likely to produce a rigorous, persevering co-operation on the part of our allies who received it, it might surely have quickened their disposition to arm, with a view to avert some future danger that they anticipated to themselves. With both his cases, therefore, gold might be more or less connected.

It is not historically true, as Captain P. observes, that *all* parties when in power have followed the same system. No coalition seems to have been formed, and no subsidy granted by that administration which was called to his Majesty's councils in 1801. For this omission the minister of that day and his colleagues were severely condemned; but we are disposed to think that their conduct in this instance was dictated by the soundest considerations of wise policy. They had witnessed the successive failures of alliances so formed; and they well knew that, except under more auspicious circumstances, the country would be averse to an attempt to renew them. They saw that France was persisting in acts of outrage and aggression on the continent; and might reasonably conclude that a spontaneous effort would be made by the greater powers to avert their common danger, and to provide for their common safety. In that case Great Britain, instead of courting as heretofore, could not fail to be courted in her turn; she might then have entered into a league against France on her own terms; and a confederacy so formed and so cemented would have afforded the fairest promise of being cordial, vigorous, and permanent. Perhaps too it was their deliberate determination to answer the threats of Bonaparte by defiance, and to prove to him and to Europe, that we dared to rely on our own resources, strength, and courage. If such were their motives, their measures corresponded with them; and they were justified and encouraged by the spirit of their countrymen. Before the end of the first year of the present war, a force of no less than* 700,000 men was in arms for our protection; and the nation saw and felt that, so prepared, we had little to fear from such a struggle. Such conduct on the part of the government exhibited nothing like neglect, timidity, or weakness; and its manly policy will be recognized in the impartial page of history.

In reprobating what Captain P. calls our "evacuating system, our timid abandoning policy," he is not a little diffuse; often strong and pointed; but not always conclusive.

"Let us consider (he says) the consequences of such policy. We are at war with some nation. If we get hold of a worthless

* Vide Lord Castlereagh's speech in December 1803.

rock, we keep it; but if we conquer some great island or province, we generally give it up at a peace. By our humane and moderate conduct we may, during our temporary occupation, have surmounted the prejudices and secured the affections of the natives. The war ceases; their former government resumes its power. Under some pretext or other all our principal adherents are persecuted or disgraced, or even put to death, or banished, and we are burthened with the support of the families of the victims to our cause; or they wander about the world in a state of beggary. The people of the country which we have abandoned are oppressed more than before by their former masters, who believe, perhaps truly, that we have shaken their allegiance, and that on any new occasion they would be glad to take protection under the British flag. Is this conduct of ours, I ask, reconcileable either to wisdom or to justice? Does it not, on the contrary, give the world an impression that we are the most selfish and tyrannical of nations, since we make them over without reluctance to the revenge and cruelty of their former governments, or of any government, if by so doing we can gain good terms for ourselves at a peace?"

These are unquestionably admirable reasons for extreme caution and consideration, not only as to what conquests we may attempt, but as to what countries we may instigate in joining with us in resistance to France. The latter in particular ought never to be resorted to, except when we have a very fair prospect of giving permanent protection and security to the people so roused to hostilities. In this respect we have seen much to censure—much to lament; and are not surprised at the tardiness sometimes shewn to listen to our solicitations, and to enlist under our banners. If we have *systematically* acted in the manner described by Captain P.; if we have *without reluctance* abandoned those whom we have subdued to the vindictive cruelty of their former masters, or have *wantonly* deserted those we had stimulated to arm in our cause, our conduct has not only been impolitic but flagitious. But what do we find recommended?—that we should always act on a contrary system; that we should declare in all cases that we would maintain our conquests to the last extremity; that we should give a solemn pledge in some instances to countries about to be occupied that they should never be ceded. Our short answer to this advice is, that such engagements are impracticable; that we should be promising what it might be impossible to perform; and that such declarations might, therefore, only tend to aggravate our own dishonour. Surely the author had forgotten our form of government; that here the king always acts by the advice of his ministers; that they are in office to-day, in opposition perhaps to-morrow; and that the policy of one set of men could by no possibility

pledge and bind the conduct of another. Nay, we go farther; we can hardly conceive a case where such an assurance could be prudently given, even by a despotic prince. The empire of France will cease to be "*one and indivisible*" the moment it ceases to be uniformly victorious. Many moments indeed have occurred, particularly one which was thrown away in a manner "*never to be forgot, nor ever to be forgiven*," in which to procure peace she would willingly have given up countries previously declared to be integral parts of the republic.

To the following passage we give our entire assent.

That part of our national policy which deserves the most unqualified censure is, the constant desire which we have shewn to court the friendship of all nations *indiscriminately*, even the most weak and contemptible; a policy which, for reasons already stated, has always ended in the overthrow of our allies and in disappointment to ourselves. It is to be hoped, now that we have had such ample experience to convince us, that the alliance of petty states to a nation in our situation is a burden, not a benefit; that we shall no longer waste our resources in attempting to restore such allies to their former dominions."

We now proceed with some reluctance to notice a few political principles which Captain P. has too much manliness to disguise. His fifth chapter is written very much, not only in the style but in the imputed spirit of Machiavel; a charge, however, against which Captain P. strongly protests. He begins by stating "the secondary causes of general failures of any nation engaged in war." These are principally three, viz. defective military institutions; an erroneous treatment of the natives of the country which is the seat of war; a mistaken policy in regard to other powers, which are either neutrals, or at least not principals in the quarrel. The consideration of the two last subjects comprehends the politics of war. The general principles on which a nation ought to act in war, in order to avoid failure, are as follows:

"First, endeavour by every means in your power to make and to preserve the people of every country which you enter, either as a conqueror, or an ally, your friends; for the people (by which I mean almost every individual in a nation, exclusive of the legislative and executive powers, and of a part of the nobility) is in all countries the strongest party."

"Secondly, as there are some powers whose friendship in war is likely, upon the whole, to be more fatal to you than their enmity, decline or refuse the alliance of such states, even if pressed upon you; courting only the friendship of states of a contrary description."

"Thirdly, *respect in all cases the law of nations*, avoiding a *treacherous, intriguing, timid policy*. Be a true friend to your allies in their utmost adversity. Be an open, a determined, a terrible enemy. Support not only your interest but your dignity; for whenever you forget the latter you lose sight of the former. An insult should therefore be resented more deeply than an injury. The honour of a great nation, such as we are, should be as spotless as that of a soldier; but it will be found, that unless by adopting a more manly system of martial policy we set ourselves above fear, it will be impossible for us to set ourselves above reproach."

There is something in the wording of the first of these three general maxims which a little excites our suspicion, and which we do not exactly understand. To the prudence of the second we cannot but assent; nor refuse to the greater part of the last our tribute of unqualified applause and admiration. The concluding sentence of it, indeed, is not quite free from ambiguity; because after having energetically laid down the golden rule of "*respecting the law of nations*," and of "*preserving our honour spotless*," our author's text might be construed to imply, that unless we are strong enough to be able to afford to be honest, necessity *may* make us the reverse. And this construction is supported by a subsequent declaration, "*that it will be impossible for us, unless we become an ambitious and a thoroughly warlike people, even with the best intentions in the world, to act in a way at all reconcileable either to the law of nations or to any just notions of true honour.*"

Had Captain P. stopped here, though we might have expressed some surprise at such a doctrine, we should have abstained from censure, and perhaps even from comment: but we are afterwards told (referring, as we suspect, to Sicily,) "*that as in arbitrary governments the rich and the noble are mostly of a depraved, effeminate, and tyrannical character, your great object in making war in such a country must be to conciliate the friendship of the rest of the nation;*"—"but you must scarcely ever interfere except by *promises*." "You must take *great care not to revolutionize*." "Having accomplished your purpose, you must not act according to the wishes or feelings, but according to what *you* believe to be most for the real good of the people." In attempting to conciliate the conquered—"you may perhaps succeed more readily by flattering the passions of men by *vague professions of friendship* than by deeds,"—"we have acted with the best intentions, and have principally been led astray by judging of men abroad from ourselves; we would ourselves sooner perish than suffer a foreign power to interfere in

our domestic affairs ;" and yet he tells us, " we ought to interfere with those of other powers, because, from our fear of offending their national pride, and other high feelings, which we ourselves possess, we may render ourselves contemptible by a conduct that may subject us to the imputation of imbecility." In describing a situation exactly parallel to that in which we stand with respect to the government of Palermo, we are directed not to wait for the discovery of some proof of bad faith on their part to warrant measures of coercion, but " in case of our advice being rejected, to look carefully into their conduct, and on finding any flaw in their title deeds, or that they have not strictly fulfilled every part of the mutual agreement between us, to charge them with perfidy, and withdraw our assistance!" A *political* reason is then given " why we should not think of *conquering* Portugal for ourselves:" and we are told " that Sicily commenced direct hostilities against Great Britain, and might have been legitimately attacked;" because their government had admitted into their Neapolitan territories a French army which she could not resist, and paid a tribute which they could not and dared not refuse.

These passages appear to us more or less exceptionable in proportion as they exhibit principles more or less loose. They come from the pen of a writer who tells us that " he disdains an artifice, and reverences the law of nations." How are these apparent inconsistencies to be reconciled? We would have made allowances for the generous indignation of an honourable mind like his, if he had told us at once that that tyrannical court, that doubtful ally presented an exception to all general rules; and that the oppression of the natives, the danger of its becoming a French province, the just suspicion of its government, the injury done to our national character by the apparent support and protection we have given to it, and the perilous predicament in which our army is placed there, would justify us in taking forcible possession of that highly favoured, but ill-fated island.

" Alas! for Sicily!" exclaims our most feeling poet, in weeping over its miseries occasioned by volcanos and earthquakes forty years ago. Alas! for Sicily! we cannot help exclaiming when we contemplate its unrivalled capacities for the enjoyment of every sublunary comfort and blessing, and see this earthly paradise converted into a scene of torment by the relentless despotism of a wicked, unfeeling, and imbecile government! Let it not, however, be said that we are the instruments of, or parties to, such oppression: however incidentally the presence of a British army may be supposed to operate in suppressing insurrection, it is placed there not to support the tyranny of the government, but to secure the island from Bonaparte's grasp:

to whom it would be left an easy, perhaps an unresisting prey, were we to abandon it, as our author seems to advise, in case of the rejection of our just demands. It would be a *just* demand that a British general should have the supreme command there, and, in our opinion, ought to be peremptorily insisted on, and enforced by the threat of withholding or reducing the subsidy in case of refusal. But an attempt at coercion or revolution there we deprecate as no less impolitic than unjust. Having taken a full view of this interesting and difficult subject in a former number*, we shall dismiss it with earnestly recommending it to our rulers, whoever they may be, to hold out no threat which could not be fully justified, and which they have not the means, and are not completely prepared to carry into effect.

Considering the frequent references made by Captain P. to the law of nations, and the frequent application of it to particular cases, we are surprised that it should not have led him into a discussion of the justice of the expedition to Zealand in 1807. Of the policy of this notable enterprise we have already given our opinion, to which we shall only add, that if injustice marked the commencement of this enterprise, folly and imbecility distinguished the close of it. The abandonment of the conquest had somewhat of the semblance of remorse. Those who had not blushed to make it, need not have been squeamish about retaining it. For this there were indeed sound reasons of policy. The possession of Zealand, while the war lasted, would have been invaluable to us: but we should have been bound to give the most unequivocal pledge to restore to Denmark her independence as well as her ships at the close of it. This would have been some, and the only palliation, of which such injustice was susceptible. This timid and half-witted enterprise was sanctioned by parliament, and applauded by the people; who are described by Mr. Burke, when their feelings are not properly directed, "To be full of a blind elevation in prosperity; to be overpowered with unexpected reverses; to find no clue in a labyrinth of difficulties; to be always disposed to get out of a *present inconvenience with any risk of future ruin; to admire successful, though wicked enterprise, and to imitate what they admire.*" Such however ought not to be the feelings and conduct of statesmen.

If the public judgment was erroneous as to the Baltic expedition, it was right as to that to the Scheldt. Here no principle was compromised; it was a question of expediency: had it been practicable, the policy of the attempt was as evident as its

justice. As Captain P. was professionally employed; and gave evidence upon it at the bar of the House of Commons, we applaud the reserve with which he adverts to it, especially as his general principles and maxims of policy were not applicable to it, as to the former. Of the importance of Walcheren to Great Britain we knew his opinions before, as well as of its defensibility if in our possession. These are here restated; but on the latter point he does not tell us whether he thought the abandonment of it, under the peculiar circumstances in which it took place, was prudent or otherwise.

We will nevertheless hazard a decided opinion, that the evacuation of it, *at the time when it took place*, was right, and that it was indeed too long delayed. Our troops were dropping off by hundreds; the effective garrison there did not exceed 5000 men; the dreadful scourge had not then ceased its ravages; no less than 12,000 of our troops had fallen victims to it, or were completely *hors de combat* by its effects; so that, considering the demands on our disposable force for increased efforts in the Peninsula, we had scarcely any means left of reinforcing it. It was too late to construct those "conveniencies" mentioned by Captain P.; and the opinions of Sir Eyre Coote and General Don were expressed so strongly in their respective dispatches, as hardly to leave ministers a choice as to the course to be pursued.

So far then we approve: every thing else connected with this expedition we must condemn. Though planned by a noble lord of acknowledged talents, it exhibited neither judgment, foresight, nor combination. From the evidence it appeared that the naval and military commanders had never been conjointly consulted about the mode of conducting this arduous and complicated enterprise; that so total was the ignorance of the navigation of the Scheldt, that the possible escape of the French fleet above the citadel of Antwerp does not appear to have been thought of; and that so uninformed were ministers of the means of defence which Flushing possessed, that instead of holding out three weeks it might have bid us defiance for six months, had its commander obeyed his orders and done his duty.

Had our government been content to look only to the conquest of Walcheren, which was, after all, the only *permanently* important object, the key of the Scheldt would have been secured to this country. Our force has generally been too small for successful operations: here it was too large. The expedition should have sailed early in June. Considering the havoc occasioned by fatigue and disease in our army then recently returned from Spain, let justice be done to the extraordinary efforts made in

collecting so formidable a force. But 12,000 men might have been embarked by the end of May, in a fourth part of the ships actually employed: and such a force would have been fully adequate to that limited object. At that time the object of the expedition was a secret; Walcheren itself, possibly the French fleet then above Flushing, might have been captured by a coup de main: two months might have been employed in constructing huts, &c. on the sand-hills for the reception of our troops before the fever sets in; being fresh and recruited, they would have been less susceptible of its malignancy; an abundant force in reserve would have remained in Great Britain; and every useful purpose of efficient and reasonable diversion would have been afforded to our hard-pressed ally. The battle of Wagram probably would not have been fought, or if fought, might have had a different result. The doom of Austria might not have been sealed.

"Trojaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres."

We weep over such a fatal and unaccountable oversight. By Captain P.'s plan of a partial inundation, there can scarcely be a doubt but that Flushing might have been made impregnable, and perhaps the whole island also in the course of the year. Here would have been a constant source of jealousy, and incessant means of annoyance to our enemy; not to mention immediate disgrace to his arms. Add to this, that, as Captain P. somewhere justly observes, half the force sent to the Scheldt might, by well-timed operations on the northern coast of Spain, have given a totally different result to the campaign of that year in the Peninsula. Thus it is, that by attempting too much, we lose all; and that by looking at two great objects at a time, we fail in both.

We feel it due to Captain P., and indeed to our readers and ourselves, to discuss and to express our unreserved opinions, on such of our leading military operations in the present war as he refers to and dwells upon, as illustrations of those rules of policy and action, with which his book is so copiously and richly charged. But our readers perhaps may not be sorry to learn that the article on Spanish affairs to be found in this number relieves us in our own opinion from the duty of noticing Captain P.'s observations on the same subject, which occupy more than 100 pages of his work.

In treating the subject of martial policy, he attributes most of our failures to vacillation in our measures; to the employment of inadequate means; to the habit of magnifying difficulties into impossibilities; to want of information, from a deficiency of proper maps, charts, &c.; and to our general ignorance

of the character of the natives where our arms are carried, whether as allies or enemies. We fear there may be too just grounds for this opinion. On the second of these causes of disappointment he enlarges the most; and though we are by no means friendly to the system of making war by dribblets, he leaves us quite behind him, when he talks (we had almost said rants) of "sending out armies by fifties of thousands at a time"—of "a hundred thousand men directed to one particular point"—of "our having a British army large enough to cope with *any* which the French could bring against it in *any* direction," and asserts "that we may cope with the greatest army that they can possibly bring into the field." It is, we humbly think, a radical and characteristic mistake which pervades the whole work, to suppose that Great Britain, an insular power, hardly released from the fetters imposed on her military efforts by the constitutional dread of a standing army, and but just beginning to aspire to high military pre-eminence, should all at once be qualified to rival ancient Rome, in furnishing the means of offensive war; to emulate a country in which every citizen was a soldier from his cradle, and whose earliest destinies proclaimed that she must, if she was to exist, be a great military nation.

Our contracted limits preclude us from taking more than a cursory notice of several of the topics in Captain P.'s work, which he discusses more or less at length, and on many of which his remarks are extremely judicious and useful. In all his observations on the expeditions to Alexandria and Buenos Ayres we cordially concur; they were ill-conceived, futile, and impolitic. To dream of the conquest of South America, engaged as we were in such a contest in Europe, or indeed at any time, was nothing less than a preposterous vision. To induce the Spanish provinces to accept our aid in asserting their independence—this was, indeed, within the reach of practicability, had proper steps been taken to accomplish that great object. With respect to Madeira and Ceuta, the reasoning seems to be incorrect. We are in possession of them, (though of the last only partially,) by the consent of the authorities empowered to grant it. We should of course surrender them to the same in case of a peace; but should these authorities be superseded by successful usurpation, or by the force of arms, we should have a right to keep these possessions, till the opportunity might occur of their being restored to their legitimate proprietors. Who could call this injustice?

The government of 1802 is severely condemned for its treatment of the Maltese. "After having been called," says the author, "to the supreme power in Malta by the wishes of the

people; and having established our dominion solely by their aid, what was the use which we made of our authority? The very first public act of ours was to abuse their confidence, by transferring them, even without asking their consent, to their unworthy masters, the knights; by a treaty, unknown to them, with the very same tyrants whose cruelty and oppression had, a little before, driven them to despair, and induced them to become voluntary subjects of Great Britain. I fear that little can be said in favour of the policy, and nothing in defence of the justice of such conduct." Is this a correct statement of the facts? Was it not rather to escape from the tyranny of French masters that they flew to us for protection and assistance? When the terms of the peace of Amiens were discussed in parliament, and by those no less capable, and perhaps more disposed, than Captain P. to point out its errors and defects, this objection was never once hinted from any quarter. We believe him to have been quite misinformed on this subject, as might perhaps be demonstrated by a reference to official documents. We perfectly recollect, that a deputation was sent from Malta, to represent the claims and the situation of the Maltese to our government, which of course had every possible consideration paid to them; and it was asserted by ministers in parliament, and never contradicted, that the deputies returned to Malta perfectly satisfied with the proposed arrangement.

In entering into a general examination of the leading feature of the work before us, namely, the inducement to, the means of, and the objects in, offensive warfare on the part of Great Britain, we shall not attempt to accompany the author in discussing the policy applicable to Russia, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and the other great continental powers. If an ardent zeal for his country's *safety* displays itself in the earlier part of the work, an impassioned desire for her pre-eminence, supported by an evident conviction of her capacity for attaining it, animates his latter pages. He had before told us, "That ambition, (by which he means the wish to extend the power and dominion of a nation), is only criminal when it passes the limits of necessity; but before it passes those limits it is a virtue, and the want of it is a most pernicious and glaring defect, both in the character of a people and its rulers." So qualified, no one can dispute the justness of his remark.

"In order to attain the just objects of ambition," says Captain P. "we must determine to become a military nation;" and the authority of Lord Bacon is quoted to prove—"that of all things tending to the greatness of any kingdom or state, the principal is to have a race of military men." Britons are, perhaps,

of all the people in the world, the most eminently qualified to become so; and abundant experience has proved that they are the same in the field as on the waves. He defines a "military nation" as one *that prospers in war*; which does not appear to be quite correct. It is rather a result than a definition of the term: Rome had never a juster claim to the appellation of a military nation than when, as in the days of Hannibal, she was experiencing the severest reverses. It was *because* she was one, that in the course of some years she was enabled to surmount them. So it might be with France. It has been to their military policy and military institutions that these great powers owe their title to that formidable distinction. In the former, as was the case too in the principal Grecian commonwealths, every citizen was a soldier from his birth; every individual was liable to be called upon to serve in arms. To this the French conscription in a great degree corresponds; a measure bred in the womb of anarchy itself, where alone perhaps, at least in modern times, it could have been engendered; now in full and frightful vigour, and the terrific instrument of French aggrandizement and continental slavery. This mighty engine of military power has at once afforded to Buonaparte the inexhaustible means of foreign conquest and domestic despotism. Without it his genius as a statesman, his capacity and experience as a soldier, would have availed him nothing. To his reliance on this permanent resource we may no less attribute the formation of his gigantic plans, than the colossal strides which have marked his progress in carrying them into effect. It is this that constitutes the peculiar and distinguishing feature of French ascendancy at the present moment; it presents the main objection to, the grand stumbling block in the way of, our acting up to Captain P.'s manly and energetic call, to prove that Great Britain is capable of coping single-handed with France on the continent. "Were we," says he, "at *this moment* to stake France proper and Great Britain single-handed in Spain, in Germany, or in Italy, I have not the smallest doubt but that we should be able to encounter the French with armies equal to, or greater in numbers, than any that they could bring into the field against us."

True it is that unless this stupendous power can be successfully resisted, this country must sooner or later be swallowed up in the overwhelming tide of French dominion. Our security cannot be purchased by concession or compromise of any sort. We must set the example; must discard timid policy; must cease to depend on our naval pre-eminence; must determine, to the *utmost of our means*, to become a "military nation." The steps which we have already taken towards it are encouraging;

and Spain and Portugal have abundantly shewn, what may be accomplished by persevering valour, by the fixed resolve to conquer or perish. This is the impulse under which alone such a war can be successfully conducted.—“It is made,” says Mr. Burke, in a splendid passage, “if ever war was made, to touch all the great springs of action in the human breast. It ought not to be a war of apology. We have, in this conflict, where-withal to glory in success; to be consoled in adversity; to hold high our principle in all fortunes. If it is not given to the minister to support the falling edifice, he ought to bury himself under the ruins of the civilised world.”

“We must become a military nation. To the attainment of this object, in any country, (says Captain P.) despotism is not necessary; crimes, confiscations, and massacres, are not necessary: the successes of the French have been gained, not by means of, but in spite of, their sufferings and injustice. A free government is an advantage, so is a commercial spirit; nor is the exercise of other arts prejudicial to the views of a military nation. Both an arbitrary and a democratic form of government labour under peculiar disadvantages, from which we are exempt. In the first, every thing depends on the personal character of the prince alone; and by a reference to all history it will appear, that a nation, ruled by a despotic government, has seldom enjoyed the reputation of being a military nation for more than one or two reigns at most; although it may, during the course of its existence as an independent state, have been engaged in almost constant wars. In the last, though a democracy is favourable to the martial spirit, it is so subject to fluctuations in its measures, to such sudden changes in its principles, from obvious causes, that it is by no means calculated to carry on war with vigour and perseverance.”

These observations are perfectly just, and are supported by the following spirited passage:—

“If a sanguinary democracy, such as the late, or a degrading despotism, like the present government of France, had ever, in the history of mankind, conquered a well-regulated mixed monarchy, or even a well-regulated commonwealth, not democratical, of equal resources, acting upon martial principles equally vigorous; then I should be ready to admit the notion, which seems to have been hastily adopted by some Englishmen, that unless it be ruled by the despotism of the one, or that of the many, no country can become a military nation. The very contrary inference, however, ought to be drawn, even from the history of the present times. What has raised Great Britain to a rank amongst the nations, so much higher than the other states originally of greater resources? What is it that has preserved her existence, whilst the nations around her have been destroyed by France? Let us speak with proper

veneration and gratitude of the constitution with which Divine Providence has blessed us ; the superior excellence of which over a more popular form of government has been allowed even by the citizens of other free states. *The British constitution has alone been the cause of our grandeur ; that alone has preserved our independence.* Democracy against democracy—or despotism against despotism—Britain never could have been able, nor will she ever be able, if we unfortunately should hereafter have *a revolution in the country, to resist France.*”

To such sentiments, and they frequently recur, we eagerly pay the tribute of our unmixed applause, admiration, and gratitude.

After several luminous and animating observations on the double comparison which our enemies are so fond of drawing, between Rome and Carthage, and France and England, Captain P. very justly adds :

“ The downfall of Carthage arose not from her commerce—(that was an advantage in war) not from her want of martial spirit (no nation ever had more)—but from a political error committed by the first founders of the commonwealth.”

This remark, which is new to us, is supported by a relative view of the policy of those rival states, no less accurate than profound. He observes, “ that Rome, as she conquered in Italy, extended the rights of citizenship, consequently giving the vanquished a share and an interest in the government. This might have been the effect of necessity as much as of wisdom, as it held out an inducement to the petty states of Italy to an earlier submission.” Thus their own military population may be said to have been increased : and Hannibal, when he invaded Italy, found the greatest part of the people Romans in their hearts. “ The Carthaginians, on the contrary, having established their dominion in Africa among barbarous tribes, instead of endeavouring to civilize, and of granting such privileges to their new subjects, as would give them a national feeling, and an interest in the state, treated them always as a conquered people. Consequently, the people of Africa looked upon their conquerors as foreigners and oppressors, and were always ripe for rebellion.” Then, while a large proportion of the Roman armies was composed of free citizens ; the reverse was the case with the rival state, the population of whose city alone did not admit of it. Her force principally consisted of mercenaries. Thus, too, she was necessarily weak at home ; “ and therefore, she fell, as soon as she proved unable to keep the war out of her own country.”

The application of these reflections to the two rival powers

of the present day, is too cheering to be omitted ; we give it in the author's own words.

“ From these considerations it will appear, that the French empire, which is an uniform system of slavery and oppression, both at home and abroad, labours throughout under the very same disease which proved the ruin of Carthage, from which we ourselves are happily exempt. If the French be Romans, it must be recollected, that the Romans, under their *imperial despots*, were not very formidable enemies. If we ourselves are like the Carthaginians in our commercial spirit, so much the better. Let us imitate them in the vigour of their martial policy, the only point in which we are inferior to them ; and we—the foundation of whose power does not consist in a single city, but in fifteen millions of brave, active, and ingenious people ; we—who are not obliged to trust to mercenaries either at home or abroad, but may bring almost as many subjects into the field as any nation that exists, may easily effect what they, with their poor resources, had so nearly accomplished.”

The only defect in the parallel seems to be, that France cannot justly be considered as weak at home. In other respects its correctness appears to be incontrovertible ; and it is throughout calculated to administer in future sweeter sleep to those, who have suffered themselves to be disturbed and terrified by gloomy anticipations of a similarity in British and Punic destinies.

The main question remains to be answered : which has the best claim to the appellation of a “ military nation,” Great Britain or France ? Is it true, as Captain P. asserts, that the former has a much better title to it than the latter, “ whom she has so often beaten in the field,” or that “ we may cope on the continent with the greatest army that she can possibly bring into action ?”—or is the objection more correct which he himself anticipates—“ That we cannot furnish troops enough to make an impression on the French empire ?” Should we, in considering this fundamental point, be found to lean to the latter opinion, we desire it to be distinctly understood, that we are no less alive than Captain P. himself to the necessity and the policy of *increased exertions* ;—no less conscious of the superiority of British prowess—no less aware of the commanding importance of endeavouring, at least, to rival France in her military pre-eminence ; we would “ think nothing gained till nought remains,” in our efforts to accomplish this ; and would consider the improvement of our military system, and the enlargement of our means of offensive warfare, as the grand objects to which the national attention should be directed. The statesmen by whom, with a due regard to economy, they were most vigorously pursued, would stand in our estimation the highest—the

fittest to govern in this arduous crisis. But they should be pursued with system, not by expedient; deliberately, not by fits and starts; with zeal, persevering, principled vigour, not with the ostentatious parade of it. Any improvement of our military institutions should, if it can be found, rest on some permanent foundation; any extension of our military operations should be directed to some definite object, regulated on some well-digested plan, and that object resolutely persisted in.

In comparing the respective capacity of either power to prosecute this contest on the continent, it is not sufficient to shew what force either can *at present* bring into the field. Into this error Captain P. seems to have fallen, when making his estimate; in which, by an odd sort of reasoning, he endeavours to shew, that 240,000 men is the largest number that Bonaparte can collect. Calculating the Austrians, British, Spaniards, and Portuguese in arms against him in 1809 at that amount, he says, "Having seen that this force has checked the *whole* force of the French empire, it is evident that the troops whom Bonaparte can bring into the field cannot exceed that number." This is a singular species of reasoning; and sets out with begging a main question. Was it his *whole* force?—In all probability he employed no more in these different services than he thought would be sufficient for his purpose, which the result proved these to have been, as with one moiety he completely subjugated Austria, and with the other nearly subjugated Spain, the entire conquest of which we could hardly have expected in one campaign. The difficulty of provisioning, and the enormous expence, would necessarily deter him from calling from home more than he wanted. But he had the means of recruiting these armies, even *supposing* them to constitute his whole force, to an almost indefinite amount; such a supposition, however, we cannot possibly admit.

Our military force consisted in March last of 211,574 infantry, 31,375 cavalry, 22,346 artillery, making together, 265,295 men. So it appeared by returns presented to the House of Commons. Such a force cannot be contemplated without exultation. On the 1st of February, 1808, the period to which Captain P. refers, the aggregate amount was 229,596 men; so that since that time there has been an increase of more than 35,000. This addition we believe to have been principally produced by volunteering from the militia, as we know of no other extra measure that has been resorted to. Of this force a considerable proportion is employed in the East and West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, &c. &c.

If, however, the whole were applicable, like that of Bon-

part, to service on the continent, could we afford to run the same risks? What are our means of repairing any serious disasters? Is the comparatively greater difficulty, as well as expence, of transporting armies by sea to marching them by land to be lost sight of? And we find Captain P. himself admitting, that "when a nation has to fight her battles beyond sea, like Great Britain, it is impossible to employ above a certain, and that a *small proportion* of her population in the contest." Let it be recollected too, that a very large proportion of our population, no less than 145,000 men, is employed on board our ships of war, exclusive of those concerned in trade. Here the enemy in purely military resources has decisive advantages over us; especially when we take into the account the immensely superior population of France.

But we are told in one place, "that we may have 60,000 men in Italy;" in another, "that Prussia, as an article of peace with us, ought to engage to keep 80,000 British troops in her territory;" in a third, "that a corps of 30 or 40,000 men, taken prisoners, or cut to pieces, may be replaced in a moment, and by troops equally good." By the enemy such a loss might be instantly repaired (not by troops equally good) through its great recruiting instrument, the conscription. What have we to put in competition with this?—Our average casualties were lately officially estimated at above 22,000; our average recruiting, including foreigners, at 14,000; and the difference was to be made up by the threadbare expedient of receiving volunteers from the militia. Has the local militia proved, as had been hoped, an adequate nursery for the army? We fear not. If Captain P. will, in his next volume, suggest a practical mode of attaining this great national desideratum, he will have the very first pretensions to national gratitude. If he cannot, it is little better than idle talk to assert—that soldiers may be as easily procured as seamen.

In briefly reviewing the military measures of the successive governments for the last twelve years, it is but justice to remark that in these (as in those connected with finance) the largest and most correct views of the nature and true character of the contest with France, and of the means and resources of this country, were manifested during Mr. Addington's administration. Against that minister, when in office, the absurd charge was brought of not having done enough: it would be easy to demonstrate that no one ever did so much. Since his retirement, ample justice has been done to the vigour and even boldness of his measures. From official documents now before us it appears, that in the first year of his government,

and even during the negotiations for peace, our military strength was increased by above 22,000 men: that in the following year the peace establishment was nearly 100,000 men, being triple that of the year 1792, in the course of which the war on the continent commenced; and that on his quitting office in 1804, it appeared that near 200,000 men had been raised for the public service, since the renewal of the war in the preceding year. We have before adverted to the volunteer force then raised. A rapid progress was thus made towards military pre-eminence; but it remained for another no less calumniated minister to introduce a radical improvement into our whole military system, which though slow perhaps in its operations, promised to give that pre-eminence a permanent character. We speak of the late Mr. Windham's plan of limited service; a measure founded in wisdom, in justice, in sound policy, in a knowledge of human nature; which, however, unfortunately for the country had never a fair trial; but was strangled in its infancy by the higher bounties given for unlimited service by his successor in office. We fear it might now be impossible to revive this the only measure, in our apprehension, capable of answering *in this country* the demands which warfare on an extended scale must necessarily create. It is gone, and has left nothing behind it but reputation to its projector. The modes of adding to our military strength resorted to by other administrations seem to have been principally confined to temporary expedients; so that unless some means can be devised of efficiently and uniformly repairing our military casualties, which no one is more capable of suggesting than Captain P. the prospects which he unfolds to us, to the extent to which he would push them, must prove little better than splendid visions.

We have before observed, that the expence attendant on such vast operations seems scarcely to have engaged our author's attention for a moment. Money, he need not be told, is one of the main sinews of war; and our financial must go hand in hand with our military capabilities. This is a consideration which a statesman-like mind like his ought not to have passed by. That our expenditure and our revenue *ought* to be commensurate is now universally admitted: but we know of only one minister since the commencement of the war, who, while bringing into action all our military resources, not only laid down the principles but provided the means by which this most desirable end was to be accomplished*. To relieve the country from its financial embarrassments was evidently one great motive

* Vide Mr. Vansittart's speech in the Political Register on the 20th of June, 1809.

for the peace of Amiens; and the purpose was completely answered. After that event the minister at once discharged the mortgage on the income tax by funding no less a sum than 97,000,000, and he imposed taxes exceeding the interest of that sum by more than a million and a half, which have actually realized his estimate of their produce. We think that it is nothing more than strict and impartial justice to make this statement; nor can we avoid adding, that these means were drawn from a country, which the timid, the factious, and the ignorant had described as *exhausted* by the efforts of a nine years' war; and we must observe, that they were called forth by a minister who had been calumniated as having calculated rashly on the continuance of peace, and as not having provided with energy for the exigencies of a protracted contest. Since that period our expenses have enormously increased, and must still be progressive, if Captain P.'s suggestions should be acted upon; and thus unless some new means of improving our revenue can be found, we should be fighting our way to inevitable ruin.

In all the conscious pride of British superiority the author describes the terms on which alone peace ought to be made. From Denmark (if separately treated with) he would *only* require the cession of Zealand during the war, and a contingent of troops to be furnished to Great Britain, equal to the garrison that we should be obliged to keep there, to serve under our banners in any part of Europe. "From France we must demand, as a *ground for an armistice*, and preliminary to a negotiation, that she should consent to renounce maritime affairs for ever, and should deliver up to us every vessel she possesses; from a three-decker to a gun-boat, inclusive. It is *probable* that Bonaparte may object to these proposals; but by giving up his ships of war, he would be rid of an useless expense," &c. &c. This is downright trifling; and we lament that a mind so enlightened should have given birth to such unaccountable extravagancies. If the author means, that in the present state of things peace is hopeless and impracticable, we understand, and perfectly agree with him.

We think with Captain P. that Bonaparte's successes are in a great degree attributable to the cowardice of the continental governments; in no less a degree, perhaps, to their mutual mistrust and jealousy. This is, we fear, an incurable evil, and likely to prove a lasting bar to the formation of any useful confederacies amongst themselves against him. But the cause of Europe is far, very far from hopeless. It would be folly and presumption so to pronounce it. History presents to us no less wonderful vicissitudes in the affairs of empires than of individuals;

and even during the eventful period of the last eighteen years, how often have we seen, even where the prospects were most gloomy, a ray of light unexpectedly dawn, which has restored hope and sunshine to oppressed and desponding nations. A few years ago, who could have foreseen the great events which have marked the destinies of the still struggling, still unconquered Peninsula? In the spring of 1811, who could have anticipated the triumphant result of British skill, valour, and discipline in that quarter, in spite of all the efforts of our powerful enemy? Even if, from any unforeseen causes, that theatre of our past and present glory, and of our future hopes, should be closed upon us, and that the cruel doom of our brave allies should be sealed, other occasions *may* present themselves, other views *may* open, no less favourable to British enterprize, no less inviting to British policy to take advantage of.

“ Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Retulit in melius; multos alterna revisens
Lusit, et in solido rursus fortuna locavit.”

This is no poetical rhapsody, but a sound philosophical observation, containing in it matter of lively hope and substantial comfort.

We now take leave of this valuable author not without reluctance. The best proof that we could give of the respect in which we hold his labours is to be found in the attention which we have paid to them. These labours we hope will be continued for his own credit, and for the public benefit. Many of his topics well deserving of consideration have been unnoticed by us, from want of time and space. His motives for this publication cannot be too highly applauded; and the performance has abundantly kept pace with them. He is a well-informed, nervous, and truly patriotic writer. Where we have felt ourselves compelled to notice what appeared to us errors or defects, we have done it with regret; and if we have anywhere mistated his inferences, or misconstrued his principles, we feel confident that he will not suspect us to have done so intentionally. In his lofty sentiments, and aspiring views, dictated by an enthusiastic ardour for his country's welfare and glory, we cannot always follow him. Warmed by his subject, and animated by his own conceptions, he often appears insensible to objections which cooler reflection might have suggested. To the timid we would recommend the work, as affording matter to excite hope. To the sanguine, as suggesting a great deal to confirm it. We implore for it, in conclusion, a conspicuous place in the library of every British statesman.

ART. IX. *Hindu Infanticide. An Account of the Measures for suppressing the Practice of the systematic Murder by their Parents of Female Infants; with incidental Remarks on other Customs peculiar to the Natives of India.* Edited with Notes and Illustrations, by Edward Moor, F. R. S., Author of the *Hindu Pantheon*. London. 1811. Johnson.

Two Discourses preached, &c., and a Sermon preached, &c.; to which are added, Christian Researches in Asia. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D.; late Vice Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal. 1811. Cambridge, Deighton; and London, Cadell.

MR. Malcolm's excellent work afforded us an opportunity of laying before our readers in the last number of the *British Review*, the results of a laborious critical research, and of an extensive inquiry deduced from living authorities, into the nature and foundations of our power in India. Providence having now placed in the hands of Great Britain an uncontrolled authority over the greatest part of those extensive regions, and ample means, if they be properly managed, justly to acquire it over the remainder, has undoubtedly imposed duties upon her, with respect to their management, the contemplation of which may well perplex the boldest judgment. Although—

“Oriens sibi victus ad usque
Decolor extremo quæ cingitur India Gange;”

are lines which do not apply to us with the same geographical propriety with which the Roman poets supposed them to apply to Bacchus, yet they have enough of resemblance to our own case to afford a prospect not to be surveyed by a christian nation without the deepest interest. If the ancient hero undertook the conquest less to gratify a passion for military glory than to propagate discoveries useful to mankind, such as the cultivation of the ground, the use of the vine, and the properties of honey, can we without shame, professing to be guided by the doctrines of christianity, consent to exhibit ourselves in the page of history, actuated by inferior motives; or to expose ourselves to the imputation, that for the base and sordid object of mercantile profit, we carried our arms among a degenerate people; and having attained our selfish purpose, permitted them without exertion on our part to grovel on enslaved to the grossest vices and superstitions? Assuredly we shall not be content without endeavouring to sanctify the success with which it has pleased Providence to propitiate our warfare in India, by every means which ex-

tensive research into the native languages, history, and customs, and which ardent zeal tempered by prudence can suggest.

For ourselves individually, we confess that no race-horse, about to start for the prize after a long and laborious training, was ever agitated with more tremulous eagerness, than that which quivers through our frame, when we reflect on the situation in all its bearings, in which Great Britain now stands with respect to the natives of India. Sixty millions of human beings, either *absolutely subjects of the East India Company*, or under their influence,—beings who for countless ages, certainly not less than twenty centuries, have had their minds debased by the grossest and most disgusting superstitions, and their feelings blunted and confused by a strange and inconsistent mixture of cruelty and humanity; of cruelty extending to the murder of parents and children with stony-hearted apathy, of humanity exaggerated in the preservation of noxious reptiles at the public expense, with the most affected aversion to the taking away of life; these, and as we shall shortly perceive, much greater abominations constitute the picture which India offers to the British philanthropist, and call upon us emphatically in the present extended state of our dominion to consider the responsibility we have assumed. Some attention has already been paid to the internal polity of India; with what success it was our intention to have investigated in the present number, by reviewing Colonel Wilks's *History of the South of India*. But we are so fully convinced of the superior claims which her religious and moral state have upon our attention, and indeed of the utter futility of all regulations of polity without an amended system in those respects, that we have not hesitated to postpone an object very interesting to our minds, and eagerly to seize the occasion offered by the works before us, to enter into a critical dissertation on the important subjects of which they treat.

We shall begin by a general statement of the nature of the two works, and shall then proceed to lay before our readers: 1st, a detailed account of the dreadful evils to which we have alluded, extracted not only from the works before us, but from other sources within our reach:

And 2dly—the remedies that have been proposed or that appear likely to eradicate the evil; upon which subject we think that we have perceived (with the usual admixture of party feeling and gross invective) as much false reasoning as it has often been our lot to encounter.

The principal object of Mr. Moor's work is to give a more detailed account than appears in the *Asiatic Researches*, of the prevalence of the crime of infanticide in various parts of India;

and of the successful exertions made by Colonel Walker, and Mr. Duncan, now governor of Bombay, for its abolition. With this view he has published at length the official correspondence which passed between the principal actors in this philanthropic undertaking, and the public authorities. To these he has added several notes and observations on the religion and manners of the Hindus, such as might reasonably be expected from his profound knowledge of their mythology, and the opportunities of investigation which his long residence and active employments in India afforded.

"On a practice," he says, "so universally abhorrent to every humane breast as infanticide, an uniformity of sentiment must prevail. Every one, who thinks, speaks, or writes on it, must experience the same train of emotions, and express himself in nearly the same terms. This will sufficiently account for, and excuse any sameness of phraseology or repetition observable in this volume, wherein different persons write, and the same person at distant periods, on the same subject. It will also relieve me from the necessity of any reflections. It is not from deficiency of sympathy that I have so coolly edited this work on a practice, the contemplation of which must move a stoic. I have checked mental ebullition, and erased its result when it hath heedlessly escaped me. Nor I am confident will my countrymen require any stimuli to direct their feelings to a due appreciation of the enormity of the crime of infanticide, and of the merits of those good men to whose benevolent zeal humanity is indebted for one of her greatest victories. And I persuade myself, that my generous countrymen, who have so nobly and successfully exerted themselves in the abolition of the detestable traffic in their brethren of Africa, will not contemplate without interest the honourable efforts of individuals of our own nation, who have without éclat, and without any expectation of publicity or recompense, save the consciousness of approving Heaven, laboured, and to the extent of British influence with equal success, in the same vineyard; and have under the aid and blessing of Providence rescued from annual destruction thousands of our sisters in Asia."

After having fully attained the principal objects of his publication, Mr. Moor enters into some general reasonings as to the origin of infanticide; adopting Mr. Malthus's ideas, and tracing its cause to *necessity*.

If we are not mistaken he carries this doctrine further than Mr. Malthus has ventured to press it; at least in the later editions of his elaborate work on population. In differing completely with Mr. Moor on this subject, it becomes us to do so with diffidence, as it seems to imply a qualified dissent from opinions so ably enforced and so generally received as those in

the Essay on Population. But we may be permitted to observe, that the appeal to necessity was not on the present occasion by any means requisite, Mr. Moor having very satisfactorily traced the causes of infanticide in India to other sources; and the same to which we are fully convinced that they are to be ascribed in every other country: namely, laziness, and that selfish hardness of heart, which always arises from a long course of slavery to ignorance and vice; that it is not the want of *ability*, but the want of *inclination* to bring up the offspring, because it would interfere with the personal and vicious indulgences of the parents, that gives rise to infanticide.

On this occasion, we trust that a short digression will be allowed to us while we declare our firm conviction, not derived from a hasty judgment, that not only this crime, but every other *positive* check to population whose origin can be resolved into vice, so far from being *necessary* to the subsistence of mankind, is nothing more or less than a *substitute for civilization*, an *expedient* for the *perseverance* of a people in a state of brutality and ignorance, and the *premature removal* of that impulse, which was intended by a gracious Providence to urge mankind to a continual improvement in their moral and political condition. We are quite convinced that it may be satisfactorily shewn, (and we heartily wish that some man of competent learning and ability would undertake the task,) that when a people will make such reasonable progress in those improvements as it is perfectly within their power to make, the *natural progress of population*, during every specific step in that career, (*which so far from being always in an uniform and given ratio, alters with every such step*) will always be slow enough to keep the number of people sufficiently within the limits of their subsistence: not only within the *possible limits under an Utopian division of the produce of the land*, but within such limits as may be marked by a reasonable and practicable system of laws and polity. We are further convinced, that whenever the progress of improvement is impeded by the adoption of any of the positive checks arising from vice, the inversion of the ways of Providence is usually visited upon the people which adopts them, by all the miseries incident to a retrogressive course in the scale of society; and we would cite as a proof of this the history of the S. Sea Islands, particularly the delightful garden of Otaheite; a paradise which once supported, without the labour of seriously tilling the earth, a population of above 200,000 souls, but which by an indulgence in this very crime of infanticide, *under the plea of necessity*, (though they never attempted to increase their means by labour,) is by

the last account reduced to 5000, and gives reason to expect that it may become entirely extinct, and leave the island in fee to the descendants of the missionaries*.

Nor can it be said that the confined limits of the island, however well cultivated by the industry of its inhabitants, must at last be inadequate to feed their continually increasing numbers. For from the first commencement of civilization, the *natural progress of population* becomes less rapid, and continues diminishing with every step in the career of society. And long before the knot of the Friendly Islands were cultivated to the utmost possible extent of production, we have no doubt that the population would *naturally* have arrived at that point in the scale of progression, at which it would barely be able to keep up its own numbers. It would be improper to enlarge more fully in this place on the principle of population, which we doubt not will be found by no means to have been investigated to the bottom; particularly in the highest states of civilization, such as that now existing in Great Britain. We shall therefore close this digression, by observing, that we wait impatiently for some publication that will afford the opportunity of entering completely into the discussion.

Dr. Buchanan's work consists in the first place of three sermons; two preached before the university of Cambridge, and one before the society for missions to Africa and the East. Like every thing that flows from his pen, they are well worthy of attention, but the space required for reviewing his other matter will not admit of the discussion of them in this place.

The remainder of this small volume gives the most interesting and comprehensive account we have ever read, in the same compass, of the moral and religious state of the immense continent of India; resulting from the actual observation of the learned author himself, whose zeal, enterprize, and activity in pursuit of the information here detailed, are as far beyond all praise, as are the disinterestedness and noble disregard to personal safety and convenience, with which he pursued the truth over the burning plains and under the vertical sun of those tropical regions. We have heard this excellent person accused of ambition and interested motives in his exertions for the liberation of our Indian subjects from the yoke of superstition; we have heard it asserted, that among all his direct and manly views, a tortuous glance may sometimes be discovered at the future primacy of India, which he has set up in his own imagination. In answer to this most illiberal insinuation, we shall make but very few

* See Turnbull's Voyages.

observations : and First, That many of the exertions, and much of the personal risk incurred by Dr. Buchanan, are evidently of a nature that cannot possibly be ascribed to selfish motives ; and that so far from exhibiting symptoms of a worldly or calculating spirit, reasonable doubts may be entertained whether, on the very practical subjects on which he treats, his ardent spirit may not have sometimes prompted him, *in this as well as in his former publications*, to overstep that delicate and almost imperceptible line which separates zeal from enthusiasm. In stating this, however, we are anxious not to be thought to entertain the least doubt concerning the accuracy of those facts of which Dr. Buchanan declares himself to have been eye-witness. We only doubt the frequent recurrence of some of the most enormous of them, particularly of self-immolation before the idols in their periodical processions ; because we know that many persons who have resided half their lives in India, and who have witnessed these processions, never saw either an instance of the sort, or any one within whose view it had passed. Dr. Buchanan's attendants might have discovered his prepossessions, and would not have been backward in furnishing him with tales of wonder. But so large a proportion of what he relates fell under his own immediate observation, and receives such strong collateral support from the accounts of other travellers, as well as from what may be collected from various respectable authorities concerning the grossness of the Hindu superstitions, that the subtraction (if any should be made) from the whole amount of his statements is very small indeed.

Secondly ; We would observe, that even granting secular views to have entered into Dr. B.'s motives, we should be rejoiced to see every episcopal throne, not only in India but in Europe, filled by persons who have exhibited such zeal and firmness, such courage and perseverance, such learning and extensive research, in the cause of true religion, and who stand pledged by so many motives, even of a mere worldly nature, to make the interests of religion and the propagation of christianity the exclusive objects of an active life.

In pursuit of his philanthropic views and of his researches into the idolatries of India, Dr. B. twice traversed the whole Peninsula, penetrated unto the inmost recesses of the mountainous districts of the south, where the foot of an European had never trodden, or the face of a stranger disturbed the last refuge of a christian church which emigrated from Syria 1300 years before. He visited Ceylon ; with admirable constancy endeavoured to fathom the diabolical depths of the Inquisition at the Portuguese settlement of Goa ; and finally, collected and

brought to England many manuscripts, and other original documents, or information orally collected, calculated to throw light on the early and less ascertained transactions of the christian churches of Asia. It may be very possible, as we have somewhere read, (and we fear that we have observed but too evident symptoms of it) that “the *sober discretion* of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate the fervour of the first christians.”—But we are quite sure that those who accuse Dr. B. of ambitious views, and of coveting a bishopric, can never join in the ironical reproach upon the later candidates for episcopacy implied by the sarcastic historian, who in discussing the merits of the early christians, has the following passage: “*Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multique avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.*” Sulp. Sev.

We now proceed to a detail of the moral and religious evils which darken the otherwise glorious face of India; and we humbly solicit those who under colour of a trifling resemblance between the laws of Menu and the Old Testament*, from complete ignorance as to what constitutes real christianity, or from any other cause, venture to insinuate, if not openly to assert, “that *modern Hinduism* is upon the whole as good as *CHRISTIANITY*,” to proceed with an unbiassed mind to the perusal of the few following pages; in which it is our intention to state a sufficient number of authentic facts; to prove that there is no part of the extensive country in question, in which some gross wickedness is not countenanced and practised either under the cloke of religion, or with the direct assent of its professors.

We use the term *modern Hinduism*, because we are convinced, that the religion, as it is now practised, is an enormous superstructure of priestcraft raised upon the foundation of the ancient and genuine religion of Brahma, which we have reason to think was a pure and sublime system; considering the period at which it was established. We have the high and undoubted authority of Mr. Colebrooke (see Moor’s Hindu Pantheon, p. 8.) founded upon the Veda or Hindu Scriptures, that their ancient religion *recognized but one God*:—and the whole of Mr. Moor’s ingenious and scientific work just referred to is nothing less than one continued proof that the idols and the rites, the allegories and the incarnations, which have been gradually introduced

* See the Advertisement to the 5th volume of the Asiatic Researches, quarto edition.

into the system for the last three thousand* years, are the works of the priests, for the purpose of operating to their own emolument upon the hopes and fears of the enthusiastic and trembling supplicant; that they are in many instances directly opposite to the pure religion of Brahma, and constitute a craft no less gross, though infinitely more mischievous, than the Neapolitan procession of St. Januarius, or the mummeries of our Lady of Loretto. We wish the reader constantly to bear this fact in mind, and to recollect also, that the *Hindus are divided into many religious sects*, each retaining its own appropriate idols and superstitions, concerning which the other sects are sufficiently indifferent. The constant reference in the mind to these two circumstances will tend to the solution of many difficulties and apparent inconsistencies, and will bear so often upon the following arguments, that their constant repetition would be tedious.

There can scarcely, perhaps, be a stronger proof of the general prevalence of superstition, than the arrogant call upon the Deity for his direct interference in the petty disputes of men, implied in a custom which is to be found in the earlier pages of our own history;—we mean the trial by ordeal. This is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Benares†, and is performed in nine different ways: of which one is placing the foot in the fire; if unscorched, the innocence of the accused is acknowledged; others are holding the head under water for a certain time, or swallowing poison with impunity;—dipping the hand into a jar for a ring which is accompanied by a hooded snake;—thrusting the hand into hot oil;—holding a red-hot iron ball or head of a lance in the hand. To such extent is the credulity of the people carried on these occasions, that an account was rendered to the Bengal government, in the year 1783, stating, that a man accused of larceny‡ was tried by the red-hot ball at Benares in presence of upwards of five thousand of the natives, and of the pandits of the court and city, who having worshipped the god of knowledge, and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, and bathed the accused in the Ganges, proceeded to form nine circles of cow-dung on the ground, and placed the red-hot ball in his hands. The accused walked with it step by step through seven of the rings, and threw the ball into the ninth, where it burnt the grass:—his hands were afterwards examined and *not even a blister* appeared upon

* The age of the Ramas, who are universally allowed to be Avatars or incarnations of the Deity, and who founded the Brahmanical system of religion of India, is fixed by Sir William Jones at about 3800 years ago.

† Asiatic Res. vol. i. quarto ed. p. 389.

‡ Asiatic Res. quarto ed. p. 394.

them; he was of course declared innocent. That this piece of legerdemain was actually practised in the ordinary course of administering justice there can be no doubt; any more than that a linen painter accused by a *Brahman* or *priest*, of having stolen his goods, was subjected to the trial by hot oil, and his hand being burnt, was declared to be guilty, and was obliged to *pay the priest* the price of what *he was alleged to have stolen**.

Among the Asiatic Researches is also to be found a very curious dissertation, by the learned president Sir William Jones, on the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus, "which consists almost wholly of a religious allegory, though it seems, on a transient view, to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism, in which the limits between vice and enthusiasm are so minute as to be hardly distinguishable." The following are sentences taken at random from this paper.

"Rise, O my soul, that I may pour thee forth on the pencil of that supreme artist, who comprised in a turn of his compass all this wonderful scenery."

"Call for wine and scatter flowers around; what more can'st thou ask from fate? Thus spake the nightingale this morning; what sayest thou, sweet rose, to his precepts?"

"Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly guidance one cheering shower before the moment when I must rise up like a particle of dry dust!"

"The sum of our transactions in this universe is nothing: bring us the wine of devotion; for the possessions of this world vanish."

"May the hand never shake which gathered the grapes! May the foot never slip which pressed them!"

"That poignant liquor, which the Zealot calls *Mother of Sins*, is pleasanter and sweeter to me than the kisses of a maiden."

"How delightful is dancing to lively notes and the cheerful melody of the flute! especially when we touch the hand of a beautiful girl!"

"From the moment when I heard the divine sentence, *I have breathed into man a portion of my Spirit*, I was assured that we were *Hrs*, and *He* ours!"

"Bring thy couch to the garden of roses, that thou mayest kiss the cheeks and lips of lovely damsels, quaff rich wine, and smell odoriferous blossoms!"

Such is the strange and inconsistent medley which passes among the Asiatics for the effusions of sanctity, and is venerated as a divine composition. Their sages assure us that "they profess eager desire but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup but no material goblet; since all things are spiritual in

* Asiatic Res. quarto edit. p. 939.

their sect; all is mystery within mystery." Dr. B.'s visit to Juggernaut will convince us how far this apology is valid.

The loves of Crishna and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the Bhagavat, and are the subject of a pastoral drama which is translated by Sir W. Jones, omitting, as he says, "those passages which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European taste*." If a judgment may be formed of these omissions, by some passages which Sir W.'s opinion of *European taste* has induced him to retain, we will venture to assert that a greater profanation never existed on the face of the earth. The following is one of the purest passages:

"*She mourns, O Sovereign of the world, in her verdant bower; she looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach; then gaining strength from the delightful idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few steps and falls languid on the ground. When she rises she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she dresses herself like her beloved, and looking at herself in sport exclaims, 'Behold the vanquisher of Madhu!' Then she repeats again and again the name of Heri, and catching at a dark blue cloud strives to embrace it, saying, 'It is my beloved who approaches!' Thus while thou art dilatory she lies expecting thee; she mourns; she weeps; she puts on her gayest ornaments to receive her lord; she compresses her deep sighs within her bosom, and then meditating on thee, O cruel! she is drowned in a sea of rapturous imaginations. If a leaf but quiver she supposes thee arrived; she spreads her couch, she forms in her mind a hundred modes of delight; yet if thou go not to her bower, she must die this night through excessive anguish.*"

After this foundation of precept, we think it highly incumbent to present the reader without delay with the superstructure of practice, as it fell under Dr. B.'s observation at the pagoda of Juggernaut, an idolatrous temple and noted sea-mark on the shore of the Peninsula of India, in the province of Orissa. Our readers will bear in mind that the natives crowd to this idol in multitudes, countless (as a Brahman remarked) as the sand on the sea-shore, from all parts of India; and that the same idol is worshipped by similar rites, at least as far as obscenity is concerned, in various places over the whole surface of India.

The following are extracts from Dr. B.'s journal of his tour to the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, in the year 1806.

"Buddruck in Orissa, May 30th, 1806.

"We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2000 in

number, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some of them, with whom I have conversed, say that they have been two months on their march, travelling slowly in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Some old persons are among them who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road; and their bodies generally remain unburied: On a plain by the river, near the pilgrim's caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking *tameness*. The obscene animals will not leave the body sometimes till we come close to them. This Buddruck is a horrid place. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other. Surely Juggernaut cannot be worse than Buddruck."

"In sight of Juggernaut; 12th June.

"— Many thousands of pilgrims have accompanied us for some days past. They cover the road before and behind as far as the eye can reach. At nine o'clock this morning, the temple of Juggernaut appeared in view at a great distance. When the multitude first saw it, they gave a shout, and fell to the ground and worshipped. I have heard nothing to-day but shouts and acclamations by the successive bodies of pilgrims. From the place where I now stand I have a view of a host of people like an army, encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut; where a guard of soldiers is posted to prevent their entering the town, until they have paid the pilgrim's tax.—I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut, by the *length of his body*, as a penance of merit to please the god." (P. 129.)

"Juggernaut, 14th June.

"— I have seen Juggernaut. The scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the 'valley of Hinnom.' The idol called Juggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are *three* deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height."

"— This morning I viewed the temple; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion; so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and various) of that vice, which constitutes the essence of his

worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture.—I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; where dogs and vultures are ever seen, who sometimes begin their attacks before the pilgrim is quite dead!" (P. 133.)

“ *Juggernaut, 18th of June.*

“ — I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindoostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised, by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes, and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and, behold, a *grove* advancing! A body of men, having green branches, or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon, and worshipped. And the multitude again sent forth a voice ‘like the sound of a great thunder.’—But the voices I now heard were not those of melody or of joyful acclamation; for there is no harmony in the praise of Moloch’s worshippers. Their number indeed brought to my mind the countless multitude of the Revelations; but their voices gave no tuneful Hosannah or Hallelujah; but rather a yell of approbation, united with a kind of *hissing* applause.—I was at a loss how to account for this latter noise, until I was directed to notice the women; who emitted a sound like that of *whistling*, with the lips circular, and the tongue vibrating: as if a serpent would speak by their organs, uttering human sounds.

“ The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship’s cable, by which the people drew it along. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol surrounding his throne. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour.—Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons, which sounded musically as they moved.

“ I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh thunder. After a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began.—A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the

people; who responded at intervals in the same strain. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can only move when he is pleased with the song.'—The car moved on a little way, and then stopped. A boy of about twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along.—After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition.—I felt a consciousness of doing wrong in witnessing it. I was also somewhat appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle; I felt like a guilty person, on whom all eyes were fixed, and I was about to withdraw. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former. Now comes the blood.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to *smile* when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *Hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the proprietors of India stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue."

"Juggernaut, 20th June.

Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears. MILTON.

"—The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case; but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the Place of Skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones.

"And this, thought I, is the worship of the Brahmins of Hindoo-stan! And their worship in its sublimest degree! What then shall we think of their private manners, and their moral principles! For it is equally true of India as of Europe: If you would know the state of the people, look at the state of the temple." (P. 135 et seq.)

"Juggernaut, 21st June.

"The idolatrous processions continue for some days longer, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities,

that I mean to hasten away from this place sooner than I at first intended.—I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the Place of Skulls;—a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said, ‘they had no home but where their mother was.’—O, there is no pity at Juggernaut! no mercy, no tenderness of heart in Moloch’s kingdom! Those who support *his* kingdom err, I trust, from ignorance. ‘They know not what they do.’

“As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of the numbers at particular festivals, usually say that a lack of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. ‘How can I tell,’ said he, ‘how many grains there are in a handful of sand?’

“The languages spoken here are various, as there are Hindoos from every country in India.” (P. 141.)

The annual expenses of supporting this idol amount to very near 9000*l.* sterling, which has been paid by the British government since Orissa came into its possession; and a tribute is levied from the pilgrims resorting to the temple, in order to reimburse the government. We think it right to state, that Marquis Wellesley, when it was proposed to him to pass a regulation for levying this tax, positively declined interfering at all in such an affair, but permitted the pilgrims to visit Juggernaut without paying tribute. The regulation however was passed April 3, 1806. The following is a detail of the annual expenses of the idol Juggernaut, presented to the English government.

[Extracted from the official accounts.]

	Rupees.	£ Sterling.
1. Expenses attending the table of the idol	36,115	or 4,514
2. Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel -	2,712	339
3. Ditto of the wages of his servants - -	10,057	1,259
4. Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons of pilgrimage - - -	10,989	1,373
5. Ditto of his elephants and horses - -	3,030	378
6. Ditto of his rutt or annual state carriage	6,713	839
	Rupees 69,616	£ 8,702

“In item third, ‘wages of his servants,’ are included the wages of the *courtesans*, who are kept for the service of the temple.”

If any thing can make this recital more impressive, it may be afforded by a very learned note in the first-mentioned of the publications before us, and by the profound research of Mr.

Moor into the ancient Hindu mythology. From these authorities it appears more than probable, that the term Moloch, which Dr. B. in the warmth of his indignation applies to the idol of Juggernaut, is *strictly applicable* to it. There is every reason to suppose that it is no other than a modification of Siva the regenerator, always accompanied by indecent emblems, who was known to be the Kronos of the Greeks, the Moloch of the Tyrians, and Canaanites, and the Melech of the east. Consequently it is more than probable that this abomination has descended through a regular and uninterrupted gradation of enormity for near 3000 years; and driven from the chosen land by the people of Israel, gradually retreated before the successive attacks of the Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, till at length it took refuge in the extremities of the east. The mode of the sacrifice indeed is a little altered, for

“Those who were sacrificed to Kronos were thrown into the arms of a molten idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out with the hands turned upwards as it were to receive them; yet sloping downwards, so that they dropped from thence into a glowing furnace. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered, and as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents.

“What can be more horrid to the imagination than to suppose a father leading the dearest of his sons to such an infernal shrine? Or a mother the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of Devi the sanguinary goddess of the Hindus, or of Baal? Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised, and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking. They embraced their children with great fondness, encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appalled at the sight of the hellish process, and exhorted them to submit with cheerfulness to this fearful operation. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry unawares escaping, the mother smothered it with her kisses, that there might not be any shew of backwardness or constraint, but the whole be a free-will offering. These cruel epdearments being over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life, and with the blood, warm as it ran, besmeared the grim visage of the idol. The Scythians and Germans received the blood in a vessel; so did the Hindoos; the vessel called *patra* is seen in many plates of the Hindu pantheon.

“These were the customs which the Israelites learned of the people of Canaan, and for which they were upbraided by the Psalmist in the 106th Psalm. ‘They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them; but were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works.—Yea, they sacrificed

their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and the land was polluted with blood. Thus they were defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions.” (Moor’s Infanticide, p. 247.)

“ First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents’ tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children’s cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol.—

Next Chemos the obscene dread of Moab’s sons,
Peor his other name, when he enticed
Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile,
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged
Even to that hill of scandal, by the Grove
Of Moloch homicide, *Lust hard by Hate.*” Par. Lost, b. 1.

To those who are blest with that inestimable christian gift the “heart of flesh,” we must have now detailed, from the most authentic sources, more than enough to set every pulse in agitation with eagerness to redress the evil; and we think that our only remaining task would be to temper the zeal which would be apt to fly to modes of redress too hasty to be successful, and to keep it, as we shall presently shew to be necessary, within very moderate bounds. But as experience has taught us that on this subject we have “hearts of stone” to deal with—men, who from their situations must (we should think) have been eye-witnesses of the effects of Indian religion and morality, yet have ventured to declare them, in the face of the British public, to be peculiarly calculated to establish purity of life and decency of conduct;—we think it an imperative duty to proceed in the shocking detail before us.—We trust that we shall be excused for betraying some warmth of feeling upon this occasion, and for declaring that we are resolved, as far as in us lies, not to leave a loophole, no, not

“ A chink so very small
That some believe there’s none at all,”

out of which these gentlemen can creep with their opinions on their backs.

Men’s minds in a state of mere nature are affected in different ways. Some, who may contemplate the idol Juggernaut with apathy, may be penetrated by the account of one hundred and fifteen females immolated on the funeral piles of their husbands in six months of the year 1804, and within thirty miles of Calcutta; particularly as the practice is notoriously prevalent all

over India, and as we know on the authority of Diodorus Siculus, that it has subsisted for above 2000 years. That historian describes an Indian woman who burnt herself to death on the corpse of her husband in the army of Eumenes, the most worthy of Alexander's captains, who was put to death by Antigonus 315 years before the birth of Christ.

If this abomination still do not reach their hearts, perhaps the contents of the following extract may be more successful.

"Lord Wellesley had been informed that it had been a custom of the Hindoos to sacrifice children in consequence of vows, by drowning them, or exposing them to sharks and crocodiles; and that twenty-three persons had perished at Saugor in one month (January 1801,) many of whom were sacrificed in this manner. He immediately instituted an enquiry into the principle of this ancient atrocity, heard what natives and Europeans had to say on the subject; and then passed a law, 'declaring the practice to be murder punishable by death.'—The law is entitled 'A Regulation for preventing the Sacrifice of Children at Saugor and other places; passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 20th of August 1802.'—The purpose of this regulation was completely effected. Not a murmur was heard on the subject: nor has any attempt of the kind come to our knowledge since. It is impossible to calculate the number of human lives that have been saved, during the last eight years, by this humane law.—Now it is well known that it is as easy to prevent the sacrifice of women as the sacrifice of children." (Buchanan's Res. p. 152.)

Should this be still insufficient to satisfy sceptics, our catalogue of modern Brahmanical virtue is by no means yet exhausted. In volume iv. p. 537 of the Asiatic Researches is to be found a singular mode by which the Brahmans in their private quarrels sometimes transfer their vengeance from the objects which excited it, to others perfectly innocent, in order that the guilt of injured innocence may rest on the head of those who gave the original provocation. In the year 1788, two Brahmans in the province of Benares having been injured by a man named Gowry of a neighbouring village, took their own mother to its skirts, and called aloud upon Gowry to make restitution. It is probable that they were not overheard;—but no notice being taken of the appeal, they immediately cut off their own mother's head, who declared with her last breath that she would blast the said Gowry and all his relations. In 1793 another Brahman murdered his own daughter in the presence of a person with whom he had a dispute about some land which they could not settle.

It is well known in India that Hindûs of the lowest class have

been taught firmly to believe, that their souls are of the same species with those of the *jackalls*, and that through eternal trans-migrations they shall never rise higher than those animals;

“Darkling condemned in forms obscene to prowl,
And swell the midnight melancholy howl.”

(Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East,
by Charles Grant, Esq. A.M.)

At the pagoda of Perwuttum in a wild and desolate country on the south bank of the Kitsna, in the centre of India, indecent emblems are worshipped with much ceremony and with great effect on the people. They are carved in company with naked women in various ornaments about the exterior of the pagoda. (*Asiatic Res.* vol. v. p. 30.)

The late Mr. Swartz, relating an account of his journey to Seringapatam in 1779, states, “On the 24th of August we arrived near the fort of Mysore. An high mountain with a pagoda on its summit was formerly dangerous to travellers. The pagan inhabitants of the mountains imagining that their idol was highly gratified with the sacrifice of noses, &c. used to rush out upon travellers, cut off their noses, and offer them to their idol. But Hyder has most rigorously prohibited it.” (Swartz’s Letters.) We could easily multiply these instances to an almost indefinite number, resting on good authority; though in some cases the records are mixed up with a portion of enthusiasm, natural enough in the situation of the missionaries, but which in this cool country would be qualified as *cant*. We have no doubt that some of the critics of Dr. B.’s work will again, (as they have done on former occasions of a similar nature,) ransack the missionary records, and with their usual candour, select as a *general and fair statement* of the evidence of Europeans with respect to the Hindu religion, the most flaming and nonsensical effusions they can lay their hands upon. For these reasons we have been particularly careful in the preceding details to select our instances from authorities which even Mr. Twining or Mr. Scott Waring themselves could not hesitate to admit; and we trust that the evidence will in some degree blunt the edge of their *very refined* feelings, and render them less indignant at any prudent measures which may be recommended in the hopes of reforming the said religion. But in order to close at length the disgusting recital of Indian atrocities, we must hasten to the contents of Mr. Moor’s interesting publication, and shew the success and the comparative facility with which one of these atrocities was completely checked, if not abolished, by British influence.

In the year 1789 Mr. Duncan, then resident at Benares, first ascertained that among the tribe of Rajkumâr, inhabiting the frontiers of Juanpore, in the territory of Oude, a custom existed of murdering their female infants; the excuse alleged was, that they were a warlike tribe, that daughters were expensive to breed up—difficult to get married, and that it was a much more convenient and a cheaper plan for them, when they wanted wives, to buy them from other tribes than to breed them themselves. After some negotiation the Rajkumârs of Juanpore entered into the following engagement with Mr. Duncan.

“Whereas it hath become known to the government of the Hon. East India Company, that we of the tribe of Rajkumâr do not suffer our female children to live; and whereas this is a great crime, as mentioned in the Brehma Bywant Purana, where it is said, that killing even a fetus is as criminal as killing a Brahman, and that for killing a female or woman the punishment is, to suffer in the Naraka or Hell, called Kat Shutula, for as many years as there are hairs on that female’s head; and that afterwards such murderer shall be born again, and successively become a leper, and afflicted with the jakhima; and whereas the British government in India, whose subjects we are, hold in detestation such murderous practices, and we do ourselves acknowledge, that, although customary among us, they are highly sinful.—We do therefore hereby agree not to commit any longer such detestable acts, and if any among us be hereafter guilty thereof (which God forbid) he shall be expelled our tribe, &c.; besides suffering hereafter the punishments denounced in the said Purana and Sastra. We have therefore entered into this engagement. Dated 17th Dec. 1789.” (P. 7.)

It appears that this engagement, fortified by the natural affection of the mothers for their offspring, effectually abolished the practice in Juanpore.

When Mr. Duncan afterwards became governor of Bombay, he recollected that in his former inquiries into the practice of infanticide in India, Captain Wilford had suggested to him, that the Greek and Roman historians had stated the custom to be prevalent in India, and had referred to Barygaza, or Barouch, and its vicinity as the more immediate scite where it had been observed. Mr. Duncan therefore upon his first visit to Surat in 1800, enquired of Kerpa Rama, the minister of the Nabob of that place, whether any traces of the practice yet remained. Kerpa Rama gave him the following answer in writing.

“Heretofore I have heard people say, that among the tribe of Rajput, particularly among the rajahs of that class, the birth of a daughter in their houses was considered as disgraceful; on which account their women refused to let their daughters newly born have

access to their milk, and do put them in any way to death ; but this practice is not general through all the subdivisions of their tribe, though in several places they do thus *stony-heartedly* kill them." (P. 16.)

Following up this and other hints, Mr. Duncan discovered that the practice was very general among the Jarejah tribes of Guzerat and Kutch, and that the mothers had in many instances not only assisted in destroying their offspring, " but when the *Mussulman prejudices* occasionally interfered to preserve them, they held those daughters in the greatest contempt, calling them *Majen* ; thereby insinuating, that their fathers had derogated from their *military* cast, and become pedlars." (P. 23.)

Through the agency of Colonel Walker, resident at Baroda, who entered with great zeal and humanity into his views, Mr. Duncan ascertained, that whenever a female child was born, it was immediately put by the nurse into a pot of milk with its head undermost, and the father informed that his wife had brought forth NOTHING ; when a son was born, great rejoicings were made. Upon further inquiry, Colonel Walker composed and forwarded to Mr. Duncan a detailed memoir, consisting with its postscript of 317 short paragraphs, in which he enters at length into the history, causes, and consequence of the infanticide of Guzerat. Mr. Moor has printed this memoir at length, and we consider it as one of the most curious of the many singular and interesting documents which our intercourse with India and our increasing knowledge of the languages and customs of the natives have contributed, for the information of the British public. From this document it appears probable, that the practice was originally recommended by a Brahman, as an expedient necessary to prevent the Jarejah tribe from violating the privileges of their *caste* by intermarriage with other and inferior tribes : that the Brahman offered to take upon himself the guilt, *if any there were in the custom*, and to absolve the tribe from it ; that the sentiments of nature and humanity were thus shaken by superstition, assisted by pride and avarice ; and that the right of destroying their daughters grew into a privilege, which they regarded as a distinction and honour peculiar to their caste.

Did not the authentic accounts of barbarous and heathen nations but too strongly corroborate the facts we are about to state, and too clearly establish the almost incredible fact, that even the maternal feeling can for a time be smothered by superstition and custom, we should hesitate at recording the coolness with which this practice was spoken of without delicacy and without any pain by the Jarejahs of *both* sexes. But we are the less averse, on the present occasion, as the result of

Mr. Duncan's measures in Juanpore will shew, that the spark though latent was not extinguished ; and when the chord was once struck, that blessings flowed from every female mouth, and were showered from every female heart on the head of that benevolent European who had opened their souls to pity, and restored to them, after the lapse of centuries, the full enjoyment of the most delightful of the female gratifications.

"The women of Juanpore were ready to burst from the concealment of their houses for the purpose of throwing themselves at his feet, in expression of gratitude, for being exonerated from an office every way so abhorrent to the maternal character."

And we shall presently see, that the parents of Guzerat were by no means behindhand in redeeming their nature from the stain and reproach which had so long polluted it.

"In conversation or in discussing the subject with the Jarejahs, the term used was dikri babut, or the article or subject of girls ;" "the common expressions are, 'the custom of killing daughters,' or the custom of killing young daughters." (P. 52.)

"To render this deed if possible more horrible, the mother is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Women of rank may have their slaves and attendants who perform this office, but the far greater number execute it with their own hands. This compliance of the women must appear the more extraordinary, as they belong to castes who rear their females, and are brought up in families where their own existence is evidence against this unnatural practice ; but as they are betrothed at an early age, they imbibe the superstition of their husbands, and some of them appeared even as advocates for the custom. They have been known to pride themselves like the Jarejahs on the destruction of their daughters, and to consider their murder as an act of duty ; an act which these females, who are mild, modest, and affectionate, would, if married into any other caste, hold in detestation.

"They appear to have several methods of destroying the infant, but two are prevalent. Immediately after the birth of a female they put into its mouth some opium, or draw the umbilical cord over its face, which prevents respiration. But the destruction of so tender and young a subject is not difficult, and it is effected without causing a struggle." (P. 55.)

We shall not harrow up the feelings of our readers by entering further into these details, but shall simply observe, that the annual deaths by infanticide in Guzerat and Kutch amounted to some thousands ; by one calculation to 30,000 ; by the lowest to 3000 ; and that the Jarejahs do not appear in other respects to be a people deficient in humanity. A professed robber among them brought his daughters (whom he had preserved contrary to the custom) to the British camp to be vaccinated ; he appeared

very fond of them : but they were dressed in turbans, like boys, to avoid the taunts and reproaches of the multitude. It is also clear that they know infanticide to be a crime ; but that they consider their priests answerable for it.

“ The Jarejahs will sometimes remark, that their gurus, or priests, are poor and despised ; which they make no scruple of attributing to the sin of infanticide, and to the wrath of God for having the weight of that crime on their heads. This singular opinion expressed nearly in their own words, instead of producing any abhorrence in the Jarejahs against the act, has served to confirm their idea, that they have nothing to do with its responsibility and punishment.” (P. 77.)

Colonel Walker, by indefatigable exertions and frequent conferences, by discussing the subject in the public Katchery or Court of Justice, and exposing the enormity of the practice as equally contrary to the precepts and the religion of Brahma, and to the dictates of nature, induced every caste to express its abhorrence of infanticide. The maxims and passions which favoured it were for the first time publicly canvassed, and censured with freedom ; and the obstinate and deeply-rooted prejudices of the Jarejahs began to be shaken. At length, one of the chiefs gave a writing to the following effect : “ From motives of friendship, the honourable company have urged me to preserve my daughters ; to this I consent, if the chiefs of Nowanaggar and Gondal agree.” Shortly afterwards these chiefs did agree, and bound themselves in 1808 under the strongest ties, to discontinue the practice, and there is every reason to believe that the agreement will be adhered to. By the last accounts very few offences had occurred against its conditions ; and as Colonel Walker very justly observes, “ Even a temporary disuse of infanticide would assist towards its entire abolition, by allowing reason and natural feelings to recover their ascendancy. The great satisfaction of the country, and the general contentment of the Jarejahs themselves, after they had signed the instruments for abolishing infanticide, (whatever repugnance they had before expressed to the measure,) appeared to me to afford strong grounds for believing that the engagements would be permanent.” (P. 101.)

“ Dec. 25, 1809.

“ I have the honour to inclose a list of those Jarejahs who have preserved their female children, which fell under my own direct observation. On my halt at Dherole, I had all those in the immediate neighbourhood brought to my tent, and many were too young to be brought to any distance. It was extremely gratifying on this occasion to observe the triumph of nature, feeling, and parental

affection, over prejudice and a horrid superstition; and that those who but a short period before would, (as many of them had done,) have doomed their infants to destruction without compunction, should now glory in their preservation, and doat on them with fondness." (P. 300.)

"We find also from a note by Mr. Moor at the end of this volume, that the Jarejah fathers who a short time back would not have listened to the preservation of their daughters, now exhibited them with pride and fondness. Their mothers and nurses also attended on this interesting occasion. True to the feelings which are found in other countries to prevail so forcibly, the emotions of nature here exhibited were extremely moving. The mothers placed their infants in the hands of Colonel Walker, calling on him and their gods, to protect what he alone had taught them to preserve. These infants they emphatically called 'his children.' And it is likely that this distinction will continue to exist for some years in Guzerat. Scenes like this, however impressive, are not easily described." (P. 308.)

After the foregoing details we shall not insult the understanding even of the warmest advocates for modern Brahmanical virtue and Hindu purity, by entering into a single argument to prove, that they are completely mistaken, or misinformed; and that the religion of the Hindus is at present little else than a compound of the grossest priestcraft and superstition, leading directly to every species of vice and abomination, and sanctioning the most horrid cruelty and atrocities in actual practice. We do not mean to say that many sublime, many highly moral and refined doctrines may not be found by the learned in their scriptures. To prove this it would be sufficient to cite the beautiful Arya couplet, said to have been written at least three centuries before the christian æra; though we are rather disposed to doubt the fact, and to suspect it to be an interpolation in the Hindu scriptures, made about the time of the first introduction of christianity into the east in the apostolic age. It pronounces the duty of a good man to consist even in the moment of destruction, *not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting his destroyer; —as the sandal tree in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe which fells it; or the verse of Sadi, which represents a return of good for good as a slight reciprocity, but says to the virtuous man, confer benefits on him who has injured thee*.* These are noble passages, on which much hope may be built for the future civilization of India. But this we do assert, without fear of contradiction, that whatever the religion of the Hindus might have been many centuries ago, it is now nothing but a gross system of priestcraft, in which the Brahmins and Pandits,

by their artifices, perfectly understand how to defraud the credulous people of their goods and money; but never give themselves the trouble to entertain a single thought either in natural or moral philosophy; much less to make any physical or moral discoveries, or to write books upon such subjects. We are convinced, that whatever pure or sublime passages some few learned Brahmins may produce from their scriptures, or set forth as their DOCTRINE, the mass both of the priests and people has altogether deviated from it in PRACTICE; and this not merely to the extent which few established religions can perhaps wholly escape, of apathy and negligence in enforcing the doctrines most abhorrent to the criminal indulgences, and most opposite to the bad passions and degenerate nature, of mankind; but to the gross and preposterous degree of a complete inversion of the end and design of all religion. If the object of religion be to counteract the corrupt passions and propensities of human nature, the Brahmins have converted theirs into an instrument to rouse into active energy any vice which might perchance be latent; into a pandar to lust, and a spur to cruelty and bloodshed. They have contrived by a singular complication of degeneracy to extract from the disposition of their disciples all the manly virtues, yet to leave them the vices to which the possessors of those virtues are too prone. They have made them cowards and effeminate, yet have left them cruel and ferocious. They have never found energy to resist those invaders who have successively oppressed them, yet find no difficulty in wreaking on their helpless mothers and daughters that vengeance which they dare not openly avow to efficient enemies,

If the object of religion be to direct the natural passions into the paths of virtue and charity, or filial and parental duty, the Brahmins have converted theirs into a sanction for parricide and infanticide, into a system of extortion and robbery, of murder, hatred, and revenge. If the object of religion be to worship God in simplicity and truth, the Brahmins have converted theirs into a confused tissue of unintelligible absurdities, in the depths of which the clearest understanding and the most patient investigation are completely baffled and submerged. Witness the thousand grotesque monsters with their attributes and incarnations, their wild and diversified allegories, which Mr. Moor has given to the British public, under the names of various gods, in his laborious and highly curious and interesting work the Hindu Pantheon: where, though infinite labour has been bestowed in unravelling the intricate web of eastern mythology, much, as he justly observes, "still remains to be done, before the inquirer can be repaid by the *development of those truths, that are unquestionably buried in the amazing mass.*"

We now, therefore, think ourselves fully justified in laying down this conclusion; that the British government is bound by all the principles which can actuate the policy of a christian nation, zealously to adopt every measure *consistent with prudence* to put an end to these enormities. But we are by no means ignorant that the condition, "*consistent with prudence*" implies a great deal, and may give rise to a variety of opinions. Granting that after the foregoing detail no man of common sense and common humanity will either wish or venture to support modern Hinduism in preference to christianity, although he will not deny his assent to the proposition, that in a *moral point* of view the Hindoos should be converted to christianity, if it can be done with safety; yet we are fully aware that many prudential arguments of no slight importance must be weighed before a government could consent to lend its direct sanction to such an attempt, and to support it with all its authority. For it is very certain, that if by a hasty attack upon superstitions, from which the Hindu priests draw their importance and their wealth, that powerful body should be exasperated, while they retain any extensive influence over the minds of the mass of the population, the British dominion over India would be placed in the utmost jeopardy, and the very object, for the sake of which the danger was incurred, would (humanly speaking) be placed for ever beyond the reach of probability. On the other hand, the success of Colonel Walker's and Mr. Duncan's attempts should teach us not to be too timid where so great an object is in view. The following answers to Major Walker's early applications to the Jarejahs to abolish the practice of infanticide, would have checked the career of timid politicians; and it would have been concluded by the constituted authorities to whom the report of them might have been at any time made, that all *practicable efforts* had been used for the abolition of infanticide, but that it had been found, that the object could not have been effected without such an exasperation of the religious prejudices of the natives, as to endanger our political ascendancy,

"*Letter from the Jareja Jehaji of Murvi to Major Walker.*—
24th Sept. 1807.

"Your letter, Sir, I have received, in which it is written to rear up and protect our daughters: but the circumstances of the case are, that from time immemorial the Jarejahs have never reared their daughters, nor can it now be the case," &c. (P. 116.)

"*From the Mother of Jehaji to Major Walker.*—*Letter same date.*

"Your letter has been received, and its contents understood. You have called upon Koer Jehaji to rear up his daughters: but

it is so, that for many years past none of the Jarejah tribes have ever reared their female offspring. Further particulars of this concern you will learn from Koer Jehaji's writing; and you must excuse him on this score." (P. 117.)

"Letter from Fattch Mahommed Jemadar to Major Walker.—
21st Oct. 1807.

"It is notorious that since the Avatara (or incarnation) of Sri Krishna, the Jarejahs, who are descended from the Jadus, have during a period of 4900 years been in the habits of killing their daughters; and it has no doubt reached your knowledge, that all of God's creation, even the mighty emperors of Hindustan, SHAH Jehan, AURUNGZEBE and AKBER, who have successively reigned in Hindustan; those of Khorasan and Iran, and the Rajahs of the four quarters of Hindustan, besides all others, the conductors of the affairs of this world, who have existed from time to time, have always preserved friendship with this court, and never acted in this respect (female infanticide) unreasonably.

"Even the King of the World, who is protected by God the King of Rum, (i. e. the Grand Seigneur) descended, &c. never once thought of putting a stop to the custom which prevails among the Jarejahs of killing their daughters; but, on the contrary, has at all times preserved friendship with this Durbar; and merchants possessing lakhs of wealth belonging to his country reside here, and people of equal wealth of this country reside there, but he never once uttered any thing on this subject.

"But you who follow the paths of the king, and who are an *Amir* of the great *Sirkar*, the Honourable Company, having written me on this subject, I have derived much uneasiness; for it does not accord with your good character. You should reflect that though the authority of many kings and rajahs, the King of Rum excepted, has decayed, or passed into the hands of others, still the government of this country contains so many brothers of one heart descended from a common parent, as is not to be found in any other quarter; but they have not to this day departed from the habit of female infanticide. They have, however, approved of two good customs: first, in this country neither birds nor animals are killed, goats excepted; and but few eat them: and secondly, charitable places for *Fakirs* going and coming from Mecca, and *Hindus* performing pilgrimages, are so strongly planted, that the pilgrims suffer no annoyance.

"This *Durbar* has always maintained friendship beyond bounds with the *Sirkar* of the Honourable Company; and notwithstanding this you have acted so unreasonably in this respect, that I am much distressed.

"God is the giver, and God is the taker away; if any one's affairs go to ruin he must attribute his fortune to God. No one has until this day wantonly quarrelled with this *Durbar*, who has not in the end suffered loss.

"This *Durbar* wishes no one ill, nor has ever wantonly quarrelled with any one. Every thing that may happen is from God. I bow obedient.—Do not again address me on this subject." (P. 123.)

How decidedly would a disciple of Machiavelli have considered these letters conclusive on a subject, where no personal or strictly political interests were concerned, and where the cause of morality and religion only was in question! How coolly would he have placed them in his portfolio, to produce occasionally for the purpose of silencing *enthusiastic declaimers*, and have set down to dinner under the full conviction that nothing further could be done *with prudence*! And with what authority would it have been copied from one historian to another, perhaps for two thousand years more, that the crime of infanticide was so deeply interwoven with the customs of India, that notwithstanding all the strenuous and zealous exertions of the British residents, no progress could be made towards its abolition? Such is the policy which seems to have animated the Mahomedan government in the neighbourhood of Guzerat, who, detesting the practice of infanticide, took no effectual steps to abolish it; and an useful hint this affords in answer to those who are continually declaiming as a warning to the British government, that all the power of the Mohammedan conquerors could never make any impression upon the religious notions and practices of the Hindoos. In truth, they never attempted it except by the sword; a weapon, which since the beginning of time, has not been found efficient against public opinion. But will it be believed? by the prudence and perseverance of Colonel Walker's persuasions and remonstrances, not only the Jarejah tribes, but the very writers of these letters, Jarejah Jehaji, Jehaji's mother, and Fattah Mohammed, within twelve months of the date of their respective letters, formally abjured the practice of infanticide, and with their wives, families and dependants, positively declared themselves highly satisfied and happy with the arrangement they had entered into. This event affords an invaluable lesson concerning the character of the Hindoos, and a very apt precedent for the use of those who may be employed in services of a similar nature in our other settlements. They should by all means study the documents at length in Major Moor's publication.

Moreover, it is no less creditable to the political sagacity, than to the humane feelings and christian principles of Colonel Walker, that he perceived through the mist of all these discouraging circumstances the bright elements of ultimate success; and his example may afford an useful lesson to those, who, in the future struggles of christianity in India, may be disposed

to tremble and retreat at the *first symptoms* of opposition from the Brahmins. The difference between rashness and laudable zeal appears to consist in the foresight of consequences. If they cannot be foreseen with certainty, slight risks may be incurred for the attainment of a great object; but the power to stop at any given point should always be retained. Thus we may gradually proceed as far as experience shews that we can with prudence; and a solid foundation is laid for further progress, in proportion as remaining prejudices are weakened or obliterated.

Influenced by considerations of this nature, we do not hesitate to declare ourselves the advocates for a temperate, deeply laid, and well considered plan, for the *gradual* conversion of the Hindoos to christianity. We are quite aware of the indignation with which some persons will throw down our book at this declaration, and put their mark upon us as convicted zealots, if not as blind enthusiasts. Those, too, who like Mr. Twining and Mr. Scott Waring have engaged all their *delicate sensibilities* on the side of the religion of the Hindus, will naturally add the irritations of *outraged feeling* (*not humanity, we trust*) to the disapprobation of their sober judgement. After the detail in the preceding pages of the *amiable* effects of the religion which has so won the *affections* of these gentlemen, we shall certainly now make no parade of the feeling which animates our breasts; but to prove that however zealously disposed we are no enthusiasts, we will in all humility state the very sober and gradual means by which it appears to us that this supremely important end may be best and most effectually attained. It is with some regret that we make on this occasion so large a demand on the reader's patience, but if he do not find our ideas absolutely ridiculous, we trust that the awful importance of the subject will in some degree plead our excuse.

The first ingredients to be considered are those actually in operation; among the first of these are the missions. To whatever extent the providence of God may be pleased to crown with success the holy fervour of such exemplary mortals as Swartz, Ziegenbalg, Grundler, Carey, and their present successors, we apprehend that their endeavours must, humanly speaking, be confined within a narrow scope, and even there not be very successful, so long as the lives and conduct of the majority of European nominal christians, resident in the country, afford a striking contrast to the doctrines which these pious persons have promulgated as the rule of a christian's life. Moreover, considering the firm conviction which the experience of the Mahomedan government has impressed upon the minds of the Hindus, that

if the ruling power *wishes* for an object, it will *force* it, provided fair means be found ineffectual: we think it incumbent on the government not to give any *direct* support to the missionaries, till the superstitions of the mass of the natives are weakened by the general example and conduct of the European christians. At the same time it appears perfectly reasonable, that the missionaries should be left at liberty to make such converts, and to avail themselves of such influence and exertion, as their own zeal, or the piety and liberality of societies or individuals may place within their means. This can excite no well founded jealousy: for the most perfect toleration, and free liberty to any man to preach any doctrine, and to hold any creed, is a fundamental law of the Brahmins. The only penalty for deserting the religion of their ancestors is the loss of caste.

The translation of the Scriptures also is a perfectly legitimate expedient, and here the government may fairly render their assistance: for as many thousand christians, talking the various languages of the east, are actually under our dominion in Hindustan, it is both reasonable and natural that versions of the Scriptures should be printed for their use. And the same principle which sanctions the personal exertions of private societies or individual missionaries, should, *a fortiori*, be sufficient to justify their purchasing and distributing the Holy Scriptures. Upon the two subjects of the translation of the Scriptures and the christian natives of India, there is some curious matter in Dr. B.'s Researches. Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, was the first scene of the protestant mission in India. Ziegenbalg, Swartz, Gericke, and Jænicke, successively ministered in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar and Tanjore in the early part of the last century. But it seems that religion flourished most among the natives of those provinces where there are few Europeans; "for we find (said they) that European example in large towns is the bane of christian instruction." Dr. Buchanan, on his visit to these churches, preached from Swartz's pulpit to a congregation of native christians. Upon observing their manners, he exclaims, "Here the christian virtues are found in exercise by the feeble-minded Hindu in a vigour and purity, which will surprise those who have never known the native character but under the greatest disadvantages, as in Bengal. It certainly surprised me, and when I reflected on the moral conduct, upright dealing, and decorous manners of the native christians of Tanjore, I found in my breast a new evidence of the peculiar excellence and benign influence of the christian faith." (P. 170.) There seem to exist many tribes of christians, covering a large portion of territory, in the kingdom of Tanjore. Dr. B. next

passed over to Ceylon, where 500,000 persons out of a population of a million and half are supposed to profess christianity: they were divided by the Dutch into 240 churches; but at this time, we blush to state, that there is but one solitary minister, and he a missionary, in a district where the Dutch had 32, and it is probable that this proportion is not exceeded throughout the island. The churches, which were handsome, are now in ruins; the New Testament, however, has been translated into the Cingalese language, but it is difficult to procure a copy.

But the most interesting account rendered by Dr. B. of his christian researches in Asia, relates to a church of Syrian christians who inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar, in the south-western corner of the Peninsula, and who have been settled there from the earliest ages of christianity. When the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama first arrived at Cochin on the coast of Malabar, in 1503, they found a christian king reigning over a nation of Hindu christians, who had maintained the order and discipline of a regular church under episcopal jurisdiction for thirteen hundred years, under a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. The bigotted Portuguese of that day, upon enquiring into the tenets of this church, found "that the clergy married wives; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory; and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church than bishop, priest, and deacon."

We have good reason to believe that a laborious investigation of the old Portuguese, and other authors, would enable a learned inquirer plainly to trace the settlement of this church to the apostolic age*; and the foregoing account of their tenets would,

* We will here subjoin a few remarks upon these authors for the benefit of those who are disposed to enter upon so interesting an enquiry. They are principally, 1. GRÉGOIRE'S History of the Church of Malabar, London, 1694. 2. LA CROZE Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, à la Haye, 1724. 3. VON WREDE, Memoir in the Asiat. Researches, Vol. VII. We may also add another, whose Report was printed at Madras, and we think republished in one of the religious Magazines here. 4. The Rev. Dr. KERR'S "Report on the State of Christianity on the Malabar Coast, delivered in to the Governor in Council at Madras, 4 Nov. 1806."—The first is a translation of the acts and decrees of that synod, which in 1599 reduced the native Christians in India to the obedience of the see of Rome. The original was published in Portuguese by Gouvea, at Coimbra, 1606: it was, we think, translated into French also, and printed at Brussels within three or four years of that time.—From these La Croze extracted the bulk of his volume, though he prefaced his materials by a brief summary of the previous history of the Christianity of the East, and continued the annals of the church of Malabar, through their subjection to Portugal, to their revolt in the middle of the 17th century, and to their independence in his own day. The Baron von Wrede relies more upon LA CROZE than upon his own researches; and as the fourth author

in that case, afford a conclusive proof of the truly apostolic model which has been followed with admirable precision by the church of England. It will, however, be readily believed that these tenets and practices could not be tolerated by the catholics of the sixteenth century; they immediately began to persecute their persons, and to burn their books; and compelled some of the churches on the sea coast to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. Others however resisted, and preferred flight and a hardy life among the mountains and fastnesses of the interior, to an abjuration of their principles. In this sequestered solitude they still exist; but having enjoyed little intercourse with the rest of christianity, and scarcely any means of procuring the Scriptures, it is not wonderful that their religion should have degenerated from its original purity. Dr. B. personally visited some of these churches, of which he gives the most interesting and affecting account, which we much regret that our limits will not permit us to insert, but which we are determined not to mar by the exhibition of mutilated fragments. It is pleasing to reflect that the Roman catholic bishop, presiding over the church descended from the Portuguese, seems to have thrown aside the

Dr. KERR states, "wherever he departs from LA CROZE, becomes less interesting, or misleads his reader."

GEDDES indeed always speaks of this ancient apostolic church; though in the spirit of his age, he hesitates to believe any thing that a papist had asserted.

Eusebius, Theodoret, and St. Jerome, mention the apostolical preaching of the Gospel in India. In the second century we find christians there; and in the first years of the fourth, the christians of India are represented at the council of Nice: it does not therefore seem too much to connect these facts together, and to identify accordingly the church of Malabar in the fourth century with that planted by St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew in the first.—In the 6th century that church still existed, for Cosmas, whom La Croze quotes, found them there; and though they might then have imbibed Nestorian heresies, yet it is evident that they could claim an establishment in the east before his time; and it is not unreasonable therefore generally to assume, that those doctrines (which are not manifestly connected with his creed, or introduced by the paganism which enclosed this church on all sides) are the relics of their original apostolical foundation; and where they differ from the church of Rome, they afford a new presumption that the dogmas of that church are not those which are fairly deducible from the gospel.—On this rests much of the interest of the inquiry. "The archbishop Menezes perceiving that the form with which they the native christians consecrated the Eucharist contained some errors contrary to the truth of the divine sacrament, did establish the true form * * * in contradiction to the error and heresie of those who say, that the sacrament is only the figure of the body of Christ our Lord. From whence it is more than probable, that the heretics of our times, the revivers of the errors of the ancient condemned sects, took this opinion." Preface to a missal of the archbishop Menezes, p. 446. GEDDES.—At the time of the Synod, they held also many other doctrines, which we believe to be evidences that the origin of their church was thus far at least pure. They denied transubstantiation. They cried out when an image of the Virgin was presented to them "We are christians, not idolaters." They denied the pope's supremacy, and purgatory.

usual bigotry of his sect: for he was perfectly willing to second Dr. B. in distributing a translation of the Scriptures into Malabar among his flock.

We should have been glad that in all this detail of christian churches, Dr. B. had favoured us with a computation, from probable data, of the number of christians under our dominion in Asia. But we can have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be very large; still less can we demur to the reasonableness of providing versions of the Scriptures in the several languages which they understand. This at least appears to be our bounden duty, as well as to profit to the utmost by the reaction to be expected upon the natives in general, from the restoration of pure christianity among these degraded believers, who talk the same language and live in a similar state of society: It gives us, therefore, the most lively satisfaction to find from Dr. B.'s work (p. 179,) that translations of the Scriptures into the five principal languages spoken by the Hindus inhabiting the countries subject to the British empire are either finished or in progress; the whole, indeed, would have been long since completed, if the college, so wisely and patriotically established at Calcutta by Marquis Wellesley, had not been reduced by the Court of Directors to limits so narrow, that the translations of the Scriptures and some other literary works were suspended. By the exertions of individuals, however, they are providently once more in progress, and bid fair to be completed within no long period.

Besides the translation of the Scriptures, we think that no man will hesitate to agree that we are bound both in duty and decency no longer to intermeddle with the tax on the pilgrims to Juggernaut, or to make ourselves parties either directly or indirectly to the support of the murders, debaucheries, and abominations committed before the obscene face of that or of any other idol. For obvious reasons, we would never persecute or do violence either to the pilgrims or the priests; but we would undoubtedly withdraw our countenance, and leave them to themselves and to Providence, endeavouring, in the mean time, to enlighten the people by every means in our power.

We think also that the practices of self-immolation and obscenity, together with all abominable sculptures, should be gradually but decidedly abolished and obliterated by the authority of government. The precedent afforded by Colonel Walker's success against the infanticide of Guzerat, and the well known fact that the self-immolation of widows is not allowed in Bombay, or under our influence in the west of India, (though still to our surprise tolerated in Bengal,) may serve to prove that these

boons to the Hindus would not meet with serious resistance. We have good authority for thinking that, generally speaking, reasoning with the Brahmans at the temples or places where the enormities are perpetrated, and pointing out the gross wickedness of the acts which they tolerate, and perhaps encourage, would induce each sect to submit quietly to a law for their abolition, and would excite no jealousy in the remaining sects. Nor let it be thought that this step, (however incumbent upon us, without any view to the conversion of the Hindus to christianity,) would be any deviation from the direct course towards that object. The natural consequence would be, that in the course of a few years, much of the grossness which now darkens the pure religion of Brahma would have disappeared, generally, from the face of Hindustan. The attentive reader of this article will have perceived that many of the pure precepts of the Hindu Scriptures bear a close resemblance to those of the New Testament, and did our limits suffice, further proofs could be adduced, as well as of the facilities afforded by the *incarnation* of our Saviour. We do not, therefore, see any thing so very preposterous in the supposition, that in another generation or two by prudent management, on our part, the Brahmans themselves, (their strong holds of superstition gradually rendered untenable,) might at length be gained over to the ministry of the gospel.

All these cannot be denied to be very good auxiliary means; but it appears to us, that beyond comparison the most effectual, perhaps the only mode of introducing the *love* of christianity among the natives of Hindustan, must have its rise from the general example set by their European visitors, by the civil, military, and religious servants of the East India Company. If these gentlemen *generally* shew by their public and private conduct, that their system of morals and of manners is founded upon self-indulgence, avarice and oppression, upon dissipation, the love of pleasure, and irregular gratifications, will not a modification of the argument used by the Peruvians to the Spanish missionaries be cast in the teeth of ours? If, on the contrary, the British residents in India exhibit to the natives patterns of purity of life, of generosity, charity, and justice, what a powerful argument would not their example, and the necessary consequences of such conduct on the condition of their native dependants, afford in aid of the doctrines of the teacher? It really appears to us that the whole will turn on this point. We cannot persuade ourselves that the mind of a Hindu, so long the prey of crude and indistinct notions upon religion, where vice has been implanted with the sanctions of virtue, and debauchery under the

garb of moral duty, can be accessible to mere argument in opposition to obstinate prejudice, unless it be fortified by reference to some sensible proof of the practical superiority of the doctrines inculcated; or that they will give up their vices in obedience to certain doctrines, while they see the majority of the professors of those very doctrines as deeply immersed as themselves in many of the same vices. To overlook this truth appears to us to be to sin against the conviction which the annals of almost every mission, for the last three hundred years, press irresistibly upon the mind. Should we, in any of our important concerns, give credit to one man's word in direct opposition to the actions of hundreds of those whom we look upon as his companions, and as actuated by an identity of principles and motives?

If then there be any truth in these observations, we think ourselves entitled to ask, with due deference, what measures have been taken to secure to the youths who are sent to struggle, at an early age, against all the temptations of Asiatic luxury, and the allurements and inflammatory provocations which are daily before their eyes?—What measures have been taken to ascertain that the minds of these youths are imbued with the only knowledge which can give them a chance of resisting this combination of attacks? Do they undergo any examination as to their knowledge of the peculiar and fundamental laws of christianity? When a competent acquaintance with the classics, with arithmetic and mathematics, with Arabic, French, and Persian is required of them, is it thought equally requisite to provide them the means of giving a reason for the faith which they profess, and which is shortly to undergo such rude and violent shocks? Let these questions be answered with the seriousness and solemnity which their supreme importance requires, and which are so emphatically demanded by the responsibility of those whose private interests the youths are sent to promote*. Let us not lay ourselves under the anathema due to a double crime. Let us not in pursuit of worldly emolument send our servants and dependants to certain destruction, and by the very act which is personally so fatal to them, perpetuate as far as in us lies the moral dark-

* That theology is not totally neglected at the college at Hertford will appear from the following extract from a newspaper of last month, which we have great pleasure in transcribing. "At the last examination of the students at the East-India College, at Hertford, the following prizes were awarded to Mr. Henry W. Hobhouse, son of B. Hobhouse, esq. M. P.—The first prize for Theology, a gold medal; first prize for Classics, a gold medal; first prize for Political Economy and History, a gold medal; first prize for Sanscrit, a gold medal; first prize for Persian, a gold medal; first prize for French, books—an instance of talents, application, and success, among numerous juvenile competitors, probably unparalleled."

ness of our Indian subjects; but let us do our utmost to save the former, and also to render them instruments of salvation to the latter. Then may each of us at least say, "*Liberavi animam meam.*"

We trust that these arguments and those which immediately follow will not be so far misunderstood, as to be thought to intend any personal reflection either upon the gentlemen now serving in India, or upon those who have, honourably to themselves and usefully to their country, passed their best years in the civil and military service of the Company. Of the talents and dispositions of many of them who have adorned stations from the most exalted to the lowest, too much can scarcely be said in praise.—But we *observe generally* that it has always appeared to us a strange anomaly in a christian country, in which religion must be without affectation allowed to be the foundation of all worldly prosperity, that a proficiency in its knowledge is the only thing which is taken for granted in an inquiry into the competency of its public agents; and, generally speaking, it is that in which of all others they would be found, we fear, the most deficient. It is almost too trite a question to ask, what positive security a state can have for the honest discharge of public duty except in the religious convictions of its officers? But if this be so experimentally just as to be almost proverbially true in our own country, where so many collateral sanctions of a merely worldly nature fortify the principle of rectitude, it must be doubly so in India, where those sanctions are for the most part removed, and the temptations to deviate multiplied in proportion.

We are not enthusiastic enough to suppose that the utmost attention paid to these objects in the institutions where the youth destined for India are prepared for the active scenes of life, would of itself be sufficient even in the majority of cases to secure the objects we have in view: but we think it the first and most important step, the "*sine quâ non*" in the account. It is perfectly evident however that a provision to keep up these impressions in their hearts, when actually engaged in the duties of their calling in India, is no less necessary; and that it is no less incumbent upon their country to provide that they shall have the means of enjoying it. If we chuse to be great proprietors and governors of extensive territories, we must not flinch from the duties and the responsibility which these characters impose. If we chuse to have a large European christian community in India, we are as much bound to provide religious instruction, as sustenance and raiment for their bodies.

For the absolute nudity of India in this respect we would rather refer to Dr. B.'s authority than rest entirely upon our own.

"After the disturbance among the British officers in Bengal in 1794, which for a time had a most alarming aspect, (being of the same character with that which took place lately at Madras,) a memorial was presented to the government, by persons who had been long in the service of the Company, and who were well acquainted with the circumstances of the empire at large; representing the necessity of a suitable '*religious establishment* for British India;' and illustrating that necessity by the events which had recently taken place in the army. That memorial referred to the almost total extinction of christian worship at the military stations, where the seventh day was only distinguished by the British flag; and noticed the fatal consequences that might be expected from large bodies of men, far remote from the controlling power of the parent state, enjoying luxury and independence, and seeing nothing, from youth to age, of the religion of their country. It shewed further, that, of the whole number of English who go to India, not a *tenth* part return; and assigned this fact as a reason why their religion should follow them to the East; that it might be, in the first place, a solace to themselves, in the dreary prospect of dying in that land (for of a thousand soldiers in sickly India, there will be generally a hundred in declining health); and secondly, 'that it might be some security for their loyalty to their king, and their attachment to the principles of their country.'" (P. 353.)

Our minds indeed have long been made up as to the absolute necessity of some religious establishment in India; and *thinking of course*, that every body must feel its necessity as strongly as ourselves, we can only account for the delay which has taken place, by the difficulty which exists in pointing out a satisfactory method of establishing it. The subject is much too grave and comprehensive to be treated collaterally. But we may venture to suggest, that in a country, to which no individual can legally have access without the express permission of the Company which governs it,—the creation of a few religious residencies, with salaries annexed, to be bestowed on the sons, nephews, or dependents of the directors and proprietors, will by no means answer our views of a religious establishment for India, nor afford the slightest chance of any thing more than perpetuating the darkness which we wish to see turned into broad day-light. Perhaps the safest and most efficacious method would be to educate a certain number of youths at home for the purpose, then send them out to the college at Fort William, and authorise their appointment to the several religious stations as they became vacant, according to their diligence and merit, and the distinctions they may have acquired in theological compositions, preaching, or other attainments. The college of Hertford has now within its walls a gentleman whom a late controversial work

shews to be admirably calculated for a useful instrument in such a plan.

Before the conclusion of this article we think it but bare justice to the authors of the works before us to observe, that they contain a great mass of interesting information and learned research, to which our limits do not permit us even to allude, and which we shall be happy to see opened by some of our contemporaries, who may review the works upon a plan different from ours. We cannot however wholly omit all notice of two very interesting letters written by King George I. to the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Grundlerus, which are well worthy of the reader's attention; and a third letter from Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same reign and to the same persons, which is a pattern of episcopal writing, and affords an admirable proof of the correct doctrine, ardent zeal, and humble and fervent piety of that excellent prelate.—Witness the following passages.

“Jan. 7, 1719.

“Let others indulge in a ministry, if not idle, certainly less laborious, among christians at home. Let them enjoy in the bosom of the church titles and honours, obtained without labour and without danger. Your praise it will be, (a praise of endless duration on earth, and followed by a just recompense in heaven,) to have laboured in the vineyard which yourselves have planted; to have declared the name of Christ, where it was not known before; and through much peril and difficulty to have converted to the faith those among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province, therefore, brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the church. Let others be pontiffs, patriarchs, or popes; let them glitter in purple, in scarlet, or in gold; let them seek the admiration of the wondering multitude, and receive obeisance on the bended knee. Ye have acquired a better name than they, and a more sacred fame. And when that day shall arrive when the chief Shepherd shall give to every man *according to his work*, a greater reward shall be adjudged to you. Admitted into the glorious society of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, ye with them shall shine, like the sun among the lesser stars, in the kingdom of your Father; for ever.

“God hath already given to you an illustrious pledge of his favour; an increase not to be expected without the aid of his grace. Ye have begun happily, proceed with spirit. He, who hath carried you safely through the dangers of the seas to such a remote country, and who hath given you favour in the eyes of those whose countenance you most desired; he who hath so liberally and unexpectedly ministered unto your wants, and who doth now daily add members to your church; he will continue to prosper your endeavours, and will subdue unto himself, by your means, the *whole continent of Oriental India*.

"O happy men! who, standing before the tribunal of Christ, shall exhibit so many nations converted to his faith by your preaching; happy men! to whom it shall be given to say before the assembly of the whole human race, 'Behold us, O Lord, and the children whom thou hast given us;' happy men! who being justified by the Saviour, shall receive in that day the reward of your labours, and also shall hear that glorious encomium; 'Well done, good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord.'" (P. 159.)

Such a man was Archbishop Wake at the beginning of the last century! Such was his zeal and earnestness in any cause that had for its object the propagation of christianity or the promotion of real piety! Dr. B.'s firm and courageous attempt to penetrate the depths of the inquisition at Goa also call loudly upon us for notice,—but our contracting limits render it absolutely impossible to do more than merely to observe, that although he is in this instance the hero of his own most interesting tale,—yet there is a simplicity and modesty about the narrative which would force a conviction of its truth upon the heart, were any collateral proof necessary in aid of Dr. B.'s bare assertions.

We can only now afford space in conclusion, for a few remarks in answer to two objections which are generally made to every attempt in favour of improvement in the moral condition of the Hindus. First, that from the internal constitution of the religious polity of the Brahmans, there is no chance of success, but "extreme danger in the attempt to our very existence in India*." Secondly, (which we are almost ashamed to commit to paper) that supposing success to follow to the extent of generally converting the Hindus to christianity, *Great Britain would lose her dominion over them in a few years.*

With respect to the first objection let us see what Dr. B. has to say.

"The fear (he states) is grounded solely on ignorance of facts, and on the remoteness of the scene. Christianity began to be preached to Hindoos by Europeans 300 years ago, and whole provinces are now covered with christians. In the present endeavours of protestant missionaries, the chief difficulty which they generally experience is to awaken the mind of the torpid Hindoos to the subject. They know that every man may chuse the religion he likes best, and profess it with impunity; that he may lose his cast and buy a cast again, as he buys an article of merchandize. There are a hundred casts of religion in Hindostan; and there is no common interest about a particular religion. When one native meets another on the road, he seldom expects to find that he is of the same cast with himself. They are a divided people. Hindostan is like the

* Mr. Twining's Letter, 1807.

great world in miniature; when you pass a great river or lofty mountain, you generally find a new variety. Some persons in Europe think it must be a novelty to the Hindoos to see a missionary. There have been for ages past numerous casts of missionaries in Hindostan, pagan, mahomedan, and christian, all seeking to proselyte individuals to a new religion, or to some new sect of an old one. The difficulty, as the author has already observed, in regard to the protestant teachers, is to awaken attention to *their* doctrine.

"The general indifference of the natives to these attempts, whether successful or not, has been demonstrated by recent events. After the adversaries of christian missions had circulated their pamphlets through British India, with the best intention no doubt, according to their judgment, announcing the intelligence that some of the English wanted to convert the inhabitants by force, and to set Hindostan in flames; the natives seem to have considered the information as absurd or unintelligible, and to have treated it with contempt. For immediately afterwards, when, by the defection of the British troops, the foundations of our empire were shaken to their centre, both mahomedans and Hindoos (who, if they wished to rebel, needed only to sound that trumpet which was first sounded by a senior merchant in Leadenhall-street, no doubt with the best intentions) evinced their accustomed loyalty, and crowded round the standard of the supreme government in the hour of danger." (351, &c.)

That this statement is in the main perfectly correct we have no doubt. It is notorious that the natives are divided into different sects, indifferent to each other; and though any direct attack on the *general* system of religion would unite them all against us, yet the fact plainly leads to the greatest facilities for gradually undermining their several and distinct superstitions. With respect to losing or buying casts "like an article of merchandize," we must in the first place observe, that the natives out of the reach of our tuition have no such expression as "losing caste." We have taught them many words now in common use, and fancied by us at home to be native, such as Gentoo, pagoda, caste, &c. But in truth there is no *specific degradation* in their system to which such an appellation can be applied. A man may certainly by sinful (or pretended sinful) acts be degraded from participation in ecclesiastical rites, and by acts of piety (or pretended piety) be restored to them; and how nearly this approaches to an act of barter, as described by Dr. B. the following references to the Hindu Pantheon* will evince. It appears that one of the modes by which persons under anathema are purified from their sins, and readmitted to participation in

ecclesiastical rites, is by a singular and disgusting species of regeneration, which the Brahmans have invented for their own emolument. An immense figure either of a woman or a cow is constructed of materials as precious as the rank and riches of the sinner will authorise the priests to exact, and the culprit is passed through this body in a manner which we shall not describe, but which is sufficiently typical of being born again. The image is of course the property of the priests after the operation is performed. Emblematical of this rite, and in order to levy a tax upon the inferior and poorer classes of society, the priests have seized upon such passages as are to be found in the rocks about the country, and have converted a transit through them,—which is meritorious in proportion to its difficulty,—into a rite of purification. At Malabar Point in the island of Bombay is a passage of this description, through which the great Sivaji the founder of the Mahratta state was known to risk his life for the sake of passing.

“Sivaji,” states Mr. Moor, “was a Mahratta, which proves that high and low sects have an equal faith in this sin-expelling process. Women also, as well as men, go through this operation; and I have witnessed some ridiculous, and even some embarrassing and distressing scenes, in the unsuccessful efforts of individuals.

“It is necessary to descend some steps on rugged rocks, and then by first protruding the hands, you ascend head-first up the hole. After the feet are lifted from their last support, the ascent is very difficult, and sometimes impracticable; in which case the essayist remains with his head and hands exposed to the laughing or commiserating spectators above, till some one goes below to aid the disappointed aspirant in his, or her descent.

“Raganath Rao, the father of the present Peishwa, sent two Brahmans on an embassy to England. They went by sea to Suez, and returned by Persia. On their return, they were treated as outcasts; for although men of unexceptionable character, it was deemed impossible for them to travel through countries inhabited by Mlech'has, or impure tribes, and live according to the rules laid down in their sacred books.

“After various consultations among learned Brahmans convened from all parts, it was decreed by the holy assembly, that in consideration of the good character of the travellers, and the motive of their journey, which was the good of their country, they might be regenerated, and have their sacerdotal ordination renewed. For the purpose of regeneration, it was directed to make an image of pure gold, of the female power of nature, in the shape either of a woman or a cow, &c. &c.

“As a statue of fine gold, or of proper dimensions, would have been too expensive, even for a prince, it was deemed sufficient to make an image of the sacred Yoni. Raganath Rao accordingly

had one made of pure gold ; and his ambassadors having been regenerated by passing through it, with proper ceremonies, including immense presents to the Brahmans, were re-admitted into the communion of the faithful." (P. 397—8.)—Moor's Hindu Pantheon.

Such are the modes by which the operation, which would be called by Europeans "recovering caste," is conducted.

After these details, we can readily believe the accounts which we have heard from many residents in India, that the natives listen with much complacency to the disputes between their priests and the Europeans, and rather enjoy the result, when they see the former *impounded* in argument ; and that they often desire the European to stay and talk with them, after the Brahman is fairly driven out of the field. With respect to this last, his principal arguments in support of his deceptions are, that "it is the custom of the country;" "that their ancestors have always done so;" and other reasons equally common and equally cogent.

We think ourselves now fully justified in assuming, that the hold of the Brahmans over the mind of the *natives, who are conversant with European manners*, is very slight ; that the system of dupery becomes every day less imposing ; consequently, that there are good hopes that by prudent management it will, in time, be altogether cast off, without any risk of effectual opposition or convulsions raised by the Brahmans. Granting, however, that a large proportion of the natives never have intercourse with an European, they must, of course, see some of their sect who have ; and the natural consequence of their communication must gradually be to dissipate the delusions, and teach them to discover and to despise the craft of their priests.

We have the authority of a writer well acquainted with India, and no great advocate for the conversion of the Hindus, for asserting, that the whole of our system generally tends to enlighten the minds of the natives, and to open their eyes to the bonds in which they have been held by the Brahmans for many centuries. He affirms, that greater lengths have been gone in loosening these chains within the last thirty years, than had ever before been done in 500 years ; and that there are very great numbers, both of Brahmans and other Hindus, in all the European settlements, who are perfectly emancipated from all belief in their own religion, and consider themselves as the illuminati among the natives.—*Strictures, &c.* 1808.

The moral effects that must necessarily follow, will entirely depend upon the conduct and example of the Europeans. Let the character of christianity be raised among these by every

possible mean; and the Hindu, disabused as to his own religion, will naturally fly to that which offers a purer model and more perfect examples: whereas, if he have no such resource open to him, he will only exchange the *enjoined vices* of his priest for the *natural vices* of human nature, and the *artificial vices* of Europeans.

But it is obvious, that with a view to our own security, and indeed as we think to the effectual conversion of the Hindus, the alteration can only be gradually wrought; as the silent operation of superior example, the diffusion of knowledge by the exertion of individuals, the dispersion of the Scriptures, the abolition of brutalising rites and ceremonies, and the other expedients which we have ventured to propose, shall have predisposed the minds of the natives to a purer tone of sentiments and morals. Till this is effectuated, the hasty opposition to their ancient habits and prejudices, which the enthusiasm of sectarian missionaries might be prone to counsel, would at once extinguish every chance of success. The praise due to their individual exertions can hardly be exaggerated, and we earnestly hope that they will be continued; but it appears to us that enthusiasm, though an excellent pioneer, and a good private soldier, is but a bad general. Zeal, under the guidance of discretion, should take the command, when once the field is cleared for a regular army; and should carry on the campaign, by combining a deliberate resolution ultimately to carry the point in dispute, with a quick insight into the movements and intentions of the enemy; taking care, above all things, not to endanger the safety of those interests, which they have it in charge to defend.

We shall now release our readers with a brief observation on the notable argument, that if India were christian, Great Britain would soon lose its dominion over it. To say nothing of the profane selfishness, of the worse than Mohammedan prejudice and cruelty of this sentiment, we must remark, that to make it out, it should be shewn how much of the physical inferiority of the Hindus is to be ascribed to climate, how much to mental imbecility, induced by their moral and religious debasement. And upon this point we must recollect that even children, born of European parents, physically speaking, degenerate into Hindus, in one remove from the parent stock. Granting, however, what would certainly be the case, that a good deal of vigour would be infused into their minds, we do not see why that should make them less obedient soldiers, or less attached subjects, to a christian government, under equal laws, and a mild and beneficent administration; and under no other do we wish to see them ultimately ruled by England. Indeed it is, in our

estimation, one great recommendation of the introduction of christianity, that it would induce the *absolute necessity* of governing India under equal laws.

But if, a century or two hence, in the ordinary operation of human affairs, India should be separated from what might then almost be called the parent country, let it be recollected, that if she cannot be retained by us, no other nation can conquer her; that her commerce will still remain to England; and that England will, long before that period, have reaped from the capital, annually brought home by the Company's servants, all the advantages of which her soil, and other objects of improvement, are capable. We would no more refuse the light of the gospel to India, because, a century or two hence, it may be independent, than we would decline the improvement of our private property, because our own existence here must have an end. On the contrary, can there be a more delightful sensation than to reflect, that we have repaid our temporal advantages tenfold in coin of never-fading lustre; that if the face of these islands shall be covered with crops and herds, with parks and gardens, with palaces, hospitals, and schools, through the instrumentality of capital acquired in India—India has, in her turn, received ample compensation, in a long-deferred and almost despaired of reign of liberty, justice, peace, and true philosophy?

“ Be these thy trophies, queen of many isles;
On these high Heaven shall shed indulgent smiles.
First by thy guardian voice to India led,
Shall truth divine her tearless victories spread;
Wide and more wide the Heaven-born light shall stream,
New realms from thee shall catch the blissful theme;
Unwonted warmth, the softened savage feel,
Strange chiefs admire, and turban'd warriors kneel;
The prostrate East submit her jewell'd pride,
And swarthy kings adore the CRUCIFIED.”

Grant's Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East.

LIST OF NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED

IN THE MONTHS OF JUNE, JULY, AND AUGUST, 1812.

AGRICULTURE.

The Farmer's Magazine: a periodical Work, exclusively devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs, No. XLVI. for June. 8vo. 3s. sewed.

Communications to the Board of Agriculture; on Subjects relative to the Husbandry and internal Improvement of the Country. Vol. VII. Part I. 4to. 14s. boards.

A General View of the Agriculture of Aberdeenshire, drawn up under the Direction of the Board of Agriculture. By George Skene Keith, D.D. Minister of Keith-hall and Kinkell. Embellished with a Map and 6 Engravings. 8vo. 15s. boards.

A General View of the Agriculture and Minerals of Derbyshire, with Observations on the Means of their Improvement; drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture: containing a full Account of the Surface, Strata, Soils, Minerals, Mines, &c. By John Farey, senior, Mineral Surveyor. Vol. I. 8vo. 11. 1s. boards.

A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall, drawn up and published by Order of the Board of Agriculture. By G. R. Worган. Illustrated by 15 Plates: 8vo. 12s. boards.

A Treatise on the Breeding of Swine and Curing of Bacon, with Hints on Agricultural Subjects. By Robert Henderson, Farmer, Broomhill, near Annan. With an Engraving. 8vo. 3s. boards.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. By J. Britton, Esq. F.S.A. Part XXV. Small paper, 10s. 6d. Large paper, 16s.

An Account of a Mode of Roofing with Paper, used at Tew Lodge Farm, Oxfordshire, and other Places; and found so decidedly preferable for Agricultural Buildings, Churches, Warehouses, &c. in Point of Economy, Durability, and Elegance. By J. C. Loudon, late of Tew Lodge. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

The Architectural Dictionary. By Peter Nicholson. Part II. 4to. 7s. Royal 4to. 14s.

ARTS (FINE).

The Fine Arts of the English School: comprising a Series of highly-finished Engravings, from Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, by the most eminent English Artists; each Subject accompanied by appropriate Historical, Descriptive, Critical, or Biographical Letter-press. Edited by John Britton, F.A.S. Small Paper, 11. 1s. Large Paper, 11. 16s. Proofs on India Paper, 21. 12s. 6d.

Tresham's British Gallery of Pictures. No. III. First Series, Prints, 10s. 6d. Proofs, 11. 1s. Coloured, 21. 12s. 6d. Second Series, Prints, 10s. 6d. Proofs, 11. 1s. Coloured, 61. 6s.

Twenty Prints illustrative of various interesting Scenes in the Plays of Shakspeare. Engraved by Bartolozzi, Tomkins, Cheesman, Meadows, &c. from the Designs of the late Henry Bunbury, Esq. Folio. 6l. 6s.

Versailles, Paris, and Saint Denis; or a Series of Views from Drawings made on the Spot, illustrative of the Capital of France. By J. C. Natte. Folio. 10l. 10s. boards.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

A Course of Mathematics. Composed for the Use of the Royal Military Academy, by Order of his Lordship the Master General of the Ordnance. By Charles Hutton, LL.D. F.R.S. late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy. Vol. III. 8vo. 12s. bound.

The Elements of Linear Perspective, designed for the Use of Students in the University. By D. Cresswell, A.M. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 6s. sewed.

Mathematical Tables; containing the Common, Hyperbolic, and Logistic Logarithms, also Sines, Tangents, Secants, and Versed Sines, both Natural and Logarithmic. Together with several other Tables useful in Mathematical Calculations. To which is prefixed, a large and original History of the Discoveries and Writings relating to those Subjects; with the complete Description and Use of the Tables. By Charles Hutton, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. and late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. The Fifth Edition. Royal 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

An Appeal to the Republic of Letters, in behalf of injured Science, from the Opinions and Proceedings of some modern Authors of Elements of Geometry. By George Douglas. 8vo. 3s. boards.

The Ends and Principles of Philosophy. By R. Saumarez, Esq. F.R.C.C. 8vo. 6s. boards.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of the Right Rev. Beilby Porteus, D.D. late Bishop of London. By the Rev. Robert Hodgson, A.M. F.R.S. Rector of St. George's, Hanover-square, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty. 8vo. 7s. boards.

The Life and Death of the ever-blessed Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World; with Considerations and Discourses upon the several Parts, and Prayers fitted to the several Mysteries. By Jeremy Taylor, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the Second. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

The Life of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, Lord High Chancellor to Henry VI. and Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. By the late Rev. Richard Chandler, D.D. formerly Fellow of that College, and Author of Travels in Asia Minor, &c. Royal 8vo. 18s. boards.

An Account of the Character and peaceful Death of Pretor Whitty; who died at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, April 14, 1811, aged 16 Years. By John Bullar. Crown 8vo. 2s. boards.

BOTANY.

Fuci; or coloured Figures and Descriptions of the Plants referred by Botanists to the Genus Fucus. Volume III. containing 63 finely coloured Figures, with Descriptions in English and Latin. By Dawson Turner, Esq. A.M. F.R.A. L.S. &c. Royal 4to. 4l. 13s. boards.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

The Classical Journal, No. VI. for June. 8vo. 6s.

The Works of Horace, translated into English Prose, as near the Original as the different Idioms of the Latin and English Language will allow. New Edition, revised and corrected. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Criseus Griesbachianæ in Novum Testamentum Synopsis. Edidit Josephus White, S.T.P. Lingg. Hebr. et Arab. Prof. in Academia Oxoniensi, et Ædis Christi Canonicus. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Nova Grammatica Ingleza a qual serve para instruidos Portugueses na Lingua Ingleza. Nova Edição. 8vo. 5s. boards.

COMMERCE.

New Mercantile Tables, for expeditiously ascertaining the Amount of Goods sold by the Hundred-weight, &c. By John Houghton, Accountant, Liverpool. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

Letters on the Evils of the Exportation of Cotton Yarns. By William Radcliffe. 8vo. 1s. 6d. sewed.

A plain Statement of the Bullion Question, in a Letter to a Friend. By Davies Giddy, Esq. M.P. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Substance of two Speeches of Henry Thornton, Esq. in the Debate in the House of Commons, on the Report of the Bullion Committee, on the 7th and 14th of May. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Substance of two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons, by the Right Hon. George Canning, on the 8th and 13th of May, in the Committee of the whole House; to which was referred the Report of the Committee, appointed in the last Session of Parliament "to inquire into the Cause of the high Price of Bullion, and to take into Consideration the State of the circulating Medium, and of the Exchanges between Great Britain and Foreign Parts." 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed.

DRAMA.

The Trial by Jury: a comic Piece, in two Acts. By Theodore Edward Hook, Esq. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

A Letter to William Gifford, Esq. on the late Edition of Ford's Plays; chiefly as relating to Ben Jonson. By Octavius Gilchrist, Esq. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson's Dramatic Works, with Notes by Peter Whalley and the late George Colman, Esq. 4 Vols. Royal 8vo. 5l. 4 vols. Imperial 8vo. 7l. boards.

EDUCATION.

The New Young Man's Companion, or the Youth's Guide to general Knowledge, designed chiefly for the Benefit of private Persons of both Sexes, and adapted to the capacities of Beginners. In three Parts. By John Hornsey. Embellished with 4 Copper-plates and 28 Wood-cuts, 12mo. 4s. bound.

The Orator; or Elegant Extracts in Prose and Poetry: for the Use of Schools and Academies. To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on Oratorical Delivery; with an Appendix, containing Outlines of Gesture, and Examples of the principal Passions and Emotions. Second Edition. By James Chapman, Teacher of Elocution. 2 Vols. 12mo. 7s. bound.

The Young Scholar's New Guide to Arithmetic: containing a Variety of new and useful Questions. By J. Barnes, Master of St. John's School, Coventry. 12mo. 2s. bound.

Eastern Tales, or Moral Allegories; illustrative of the Manners and Customs of Oriental Nations; and designed for the Instruction and Amusement of Youth. 12mo. 5s. boards.

A Treatise on Book-keeping, adapted to the Use of Schools; containing two Sets of Books by Single Entry, one by Double Entry, and an Outline Set to be filled up by either Method: to which is added, a familiar Dissertation on the various Bills and Notes used in Commerce as Substitutes for Cash. By Robert Goodacre, Author of a Treatise on Arithmetick, Essay on Elocution, &c. 12mo. 4s. bound.

The Universal Preceptor; being an easy Grammar of Arts and Sciences. By David Blair. 18mo. 4s. 6d. bound.—Also, by the same Author, Models of Juvenile Letters, on Familiar Subjects. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

Six Hundred Questions and Exercises, intended to perfect young Persons in Blair's Universal Preceptor. 18mo. 1s. sewed.

The Rudiments of English Grammar elucidated; or a Guide to Parsing. By B. H. Smart, Private Teacher. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

GEOGRAPHY.

A New Modern Atlas. By John Pinkerton, Esq. No. VII. 1l. 1s. containing Maps of Hindostan, England, Northern Parts, and the Austrian Dominions.

Dix's Juvenile Atlas, containing forty-four Maps, with plain Directions for copying them, designed for junior Classes. 4to. 10s. 6d. plain. 14s. full coloured.

HISTORY.

Secret History of the Court of James the First: containing, 1. Osborn's Traditional Memoirs.—2. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James.—3. Aulicus Coquinariz.—4. Sir Edward Peyton's Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts. With Notes and introductory Remarks. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. 2 Vols. Royal 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

An Account of Tunis: of its Government, Manners, Customs, and Antiquities; especially of its Productions, Manufactures, and Commerce. By Thomas Macgill, Author of "Travels in Turkey." 8vo. 6s. boards.

A View of the Jurisprudence of the Isle of Man; with the History of its ancient Constitution, legislative Government and extraordinary Privileges; together with the Practice of the Courts, &c. By J. Johnson, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Edinburgh Annual Register for 1809. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards. Asiatic Annual Register; or a View of the History of Hindustan, and of the Politics, &c. of Asia. Vol. XI. for 1809. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

The New Annual Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1810. 8vo. 1l. boards.

Sketches of the internal State of France. Translated from the Original of M. Faber. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

Description of the Spar Cave, lately discovered in the Isle of Skye; with some Geological Remarks relative to that Island. By K. Mackleay, M.D. To which is subjoined, the Mermaid, a Poem. 8vo. 4s. boards.

The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Mary, Islington, in the County of Middlesex. Including Biographical Sketches of several eminent and remarkable Persons who have been born or have resided there. By John Nelson. 4to. 2l. 2s. boards.

A historical and descriptive Account of St. Edmund's Bury, in the County of Suffolk; comprising an ample Detail of the Origin, Dissolution, and venerable Remains of the Abbey, and other Places of Antiquity in that ancient Town. By Edmund Gillingwater, Author of the History of Lowestoft, &c. The Second edition, embellished with four Engravings. Foolscep 8vo. 6s. boards.

A Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah, written previous to, and during the Period of his Residence in England. To which is prefixed a Preliminary Dissertation on the History, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos. By Elizabeth Hamilton, Author of Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education, Cottagers of Glenburnie, &c. The Fifth Edition. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 14s. boards.

History of Scotland, during the Reign of Robert I. surnamed The Bruce. By Robert Kerr, F.R.S. and F.A.S. Edinburgh. 2 Vols. 8vo. Embellished with a Portrait of Robert the Bruce. 1l. 6s. boards.

The Pastime of People; or the Chronicles of divers Realms, and most especially of the Realm of England. Briefly compiled, and imprinted in Cheapside. By John Rastell, A.D. 1529. Now first reprinted, and systematically arranged, with Fac-simile Wood-cuts of the Portraits of Popes, Emperors, &c. and the Kings of England. Royal 4to. 2l. 2s. boards.

The History of the Worthies of England, endeavoured. By Thomas Fuller, D.D. With a Portrait of the Author. First printed in 1662; a new Edition, with explanatory Notes, by John Nichols F.A.S. London, Edinburgh, and Perth. 2 Vols. Royal 4to. 5l. 5s. boards.

The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688. By David Hume, Esq. With a Continuation to the Death of George II. By T. Smollett, M.D. 15 Vols. 24mo. 3l. 15s. boards.

An Ecclesiastical History, ancient and modern, from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century: in which the Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church Power are considered in their Connection with the State of Learning and Philosophy, and the Political History of Europe during that Period. By the late learned John Laurence Mosheim, D. D. Chancellor of the University of Gottingen. Translated from the original Latin, and illustrated by Notes, chronological Tables; and an Appendix. By Archibald Maclaine, D. D. A new Edition, continued to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By Charles Coote, L. L. D. and furnished with an additional Appendix to the First Book. By the Right Rev. Dr. George Gleig, of Stirling. 6 Vols. 8vo 3l. 3s. boards.

LAW.

The Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, in Hilary Term, 1810. By E. H. East, Esq. Vol. 13, Part II. Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d. sewed.

A Treatise on the Law of Vendor and Purchaser of Personal Property; considered chiefly with a View to Mercantile Transactions. By George Ross, Esq. of the Inner Temple. Royal 8vo. 12s. boards.

Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance. By H. T. Colebrooke, 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

The Law of Nations; or Principles of the Law of Nature. By Monsieur de Vattel. Fourth edition. Royal 8vo. 18s. boards.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

A Letter to Dr. Jones on the Composition of the Eau Medicinal d'Husson. By James Moore. Crown 8vo. 2s. sewed.

A serious Address to the Public on the Practice of Vaccination; in which the late Failure of that Operation in the Family of Earl Grosvenor is particularly adverted to. Sold for the Benefit of the Portuguese Sufferers. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal. No. XXVII, for July. 8vo. 3s. sewed.

An Essay on some of the Stages of the Operations of cutting for the Stone. By C. B. Frye, F.R.S. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

A Treatise on Surgical Anatomy, Part the First. By Abraham Colles. 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

The New London Practice of Physic, pointing out the Characters, Causes, and Symptoms of the various Diseases to which the Human Body is liable; and the most approved Method of Treatment, with Prescriptions according to the Nomenclature of the New Pharmacopœia. The Seventh Edition, enlarged and carefully revised, by F. G. Clarke, M.D. Author of *Medicinæ Præceos Compendium*, *Modern Practice of Physic*, *Conspectus Medicus*, &c. 8vo. 12s. boards.

A Treatise on the Gout; containing the Opinions of the most celebrated ancient and modern Physicians on that Disease; with Observations on the Eau Medicinale. By John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and of the Medical Societies of London and Paris. 8vo. 6s. boards.

Nosology, or Diseases arranged in their Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species, with accurate Definitions. Translated from the Latin of Wm. Cullen, M.D. &c. 12mo. 2s. boards.

Elements of Chemistry. By John Webster. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Cheselden's Plates of the Human Bones, correctly reduced from the original Copy, accompanied with Explanations. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards.

The London Dispensatory, containing the Elements and Practice of *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy; with a Translation of the Pharmacopœias of the London, the Edinburgh, and the Dublin Colleges of Physicians; many useful Tables; and Copper-plates of the Pharmaceutical Apparatus. The whole forming a Synopsis of *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics. By Anthony Todd Thomson, Surgeon, Fellow of the Medical Society of London; and of the Royal Medical, the Physical and the Speculative Societies of Edinburgh. 8vo. 16s. boards.

Quincy's *Lexicon Medicum*. A new Medical Dictionary, containing an Explanation of the Terms in Anatomy, Physiology, Practice of Physic, *Materia Medica*, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Surgery, Midwifery, and the various Branches of Natural Philosophy connected with Medicine. Selected, arranged, and compiled from the best Authors, by Robert Hooper, M.D. of the University of Oxford, and the Royal College of Physicians of London; Physician to the St. Mary-le-bone Infirmary, &c. 8vo. 18s. boards.

MILITARY.

A Letter of a General Officer, on the Recruiting Service; to which is added, another on the Establishment of Rifle Corps in the British Army. By Colonel F. P. Robinson. 4to. sewed.

A Commentary on the Military Establishments, and Defence of the British Empire. Vol. I. By the Hon. Henry Augustus Dillon, M. P. and Colonel of the 101st Regiment of Foot. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Strategematicon, or Greek and Roman Anecdotes, concerning Military Policy, and the Science of War, translated by R. B. Scott. 8vo. 9s. boards.

MISCELLANIES.

Peregrinations of the Mind, through the most general and interesting Subjects, usually agitated in Life, by the late Mr. William Baker. New edition, with a Biographic Memoir, &c. of the Author. cr. 8vo. 6s. bds.

Devotional and Doctrinal Extracts, from Epistles of the Yearly Meetings in London of the People called Quakers, from the Year 1678 to 1810. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Remarks on the Yearly Meeting Epistle of the People called Quakers, for the Year 1810; from the Monthly Repository. 8vo. 6d. sewed.

The Savage, by Piomingo, a Head-man and Warrior of the Muscogulgee Nation, (an American Periodical Work). 12mo. Vol. 1. 6s. boards.

Sentimental Anecdotes, by Madame De Montolieu. Translated from the French, by Mrs. Plunkett, formerly Miss Gunning. 2 Vols. 12mo. 7s. bds.

Letters to John Aikin, M. D. on his Volume of Vocal Poetry: and on his Essays on Song Writing; with a Collection of such English Songs as are most eminent for poetical Merit. Published originally by himself in the Year 1772; and republished by R. H. Evans, in the Year 1810. By James Plumptre, B. D. Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. 12mo. 9s. bds.

Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland: to which are added, Translations from the Gaelic, and Letters connected with these, formerly published. By the Author of Letters from the Mountains. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

A Picture of Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs. 12mo. 3s. sewed.
The Castle of Otranto; with a Critical Introduction: embellished with a characteristic Engraving. 4to. 1l. 6s. boards.

Letters to a Sister. By a Lady. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards.

Reviewers Reviewed; including an Enquiry into the moral and Intellectual Effects of Habits of Criticism, and their Influence on the general Interests of Literature. To which is subjoined, a brief History of the Periodical Reviews published in England and Scotland. By John Charles O'Reid, Esq. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

The whole Art of Bookbinding, containing valuable Recipes for Sprinkling, Marbling, Colouring, &c. 18mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

A Letter to Dr. James Gregory of Edinburgh, in consequence of certain printed Papers, intitled *The Viper and File*; *There is Wisdom in Silence*; *An old Story*, &c. which have lately been distributed by him; and which are evidently intended to propagate and support groundless and malevolent Calumnies against innocent Men. By Andrew Duncan, senior, M. D. and P. and Senior Censor of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. 8vo. 5s. sewed.

Tables for the Purchasing of Estates, Freehold, Copyhold, or Leasehold, Annuities, &c. and for the renewing of Leases held under Cathedral Churches, Colleges, or other Corporate Bodies, for Terms or Years certain, and for Lives. Together with several useful and interesting Tables connected with the Subject. Also the Five Tables of Compound Interest. By W. Inwood, Architect and Surveyor. 12mo. 7s. boards.

Letters, Elegant, Interesting, and Evangelical; illustrative of the Author's amiable Character, and developing many Circumstances of his History not generally known. By James Hervey, M. A. late Rector of Weston Favell and Collingtree, Northamptonshire. 8vo. 7s. boards.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Sidmouth, upon the Subject of the Bill lately introduced by his Lordship into the House of Peers, entitled, *An Act to explain and render more effectual certain Acts, &c.* so far as the same relate to Protestant Dissenting Ministers. By Thomas Belsham, Minister of the Chapel in Essex-street. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

A Selection of Curious Articles from the Gentleman's Magazine; containing, 1. Researches, Historical and Antiquarian; 2. Ancient and Modern Literature, Criticism, and Philology; 3. Philosophy and Natural History; 4. Letters to and from eminent Persons; 5. Miscellaneous Articles, including Anecdotes of extraordinary Persons, useful Projects and Inventions; 6. Biographical Memoirs, Literary Anecdotes and Characters, Topographical Notices, &c. 4 Vols. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d. boards. The fourth volume separate, price 14s. boards.

Miscellaneous Anecdotes, illustrative of the Manners and History of

Europe, during the Reigns of Charles II. James II. William III. and Queen Anne. By James Peller Malcolm, F. S. A. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Simple Pleasures. Designed for Young Persons above twelve Years of Age. By Miss Venning. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

The Plays of William Shakspeare, accurately printed from the Text of the corrected Copy left by the late George Stevens, Esq. with Classical Notes, explaining obsolete Words, or obscure Sentiments, and a Sketch of the Life of Shakspeare. Elegantly printed with Vignette Title-pages and Frontispieces, designed by Uwins, and engraved by Noble. 8 Vols. 24mo. 2l. boards.

Columbus; or the Discovery of America;—Cortez, or the Conquest of Mexico;—Pizarro, or the Conquest of Peru; each translated from the German of J. H. Campe, by Elizabeth Helme. New Editions 12mo. Price 5s. each, boards.

Sketches of History, Politics and Manners, taken in Dublin, and the North of Ireland, in the Autumn of 1810. 8vo. 8s. boards.

A Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq. Editor of the Edinburgh Review. By an Anti-Reformist. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Lord Somers's Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, arranged. &c. by Walter Scott, Esq. Vol. V. Second edition. royal 4to. 3l. 3s. boards.

Letters and other important Documents, relative to the Edystone Light-house. By R. H. Weston, Esq. 4to. 1l. 1s. boards.

A Letter to the Rev. Robert Hodgson, M. A. and F. R. S. containing a Refutation of his Statement of the Conduct of Bishop Porteus, respecting the Rectory of Bradwell in Essex. By the Rev. H. B. Dudley. L. L. D. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

Familiar Letters, addressed to Children and young Persons of the middle Ranks. 3s. 12mo.

The Transactions of the Linnean Society of London. Vol. X, Part I. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6s. sewed.

The British Bibliographer. By Sir Egerton Bridges, K. J. No. LX, for July. 8vo. 6s.

The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal. No. XXXV, for May. 8vo. 6s.

The Quarterly Review. No. X, for June. 8vo. 6s.

Essays on Man, delineating his intellectual and moral Qualities. By Thomas Finch. 12mo. 6s. boards.

The Poll for the Election of Representatives in Parliament for the County of Gloucester, 1811. 4to. 10s. 6d. sewed.

The Works of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. with a Memoir of his Life. By Josiah Pratt, B. D. F. R. S. 4 Vols. 8vo. 2l. 8s. boards.

A Narrative of the Minutes of Evidence respecting the Claim to the Berkeley Peerage. 8vo. 9s. boards.

A Dissertation on Horses. By William Osmer. New edition. Fools-cap. 4s. boards.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

Glencanon: a Scottish Tale, by Miss Wigley. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. bds.

A Winter's Tale. By J. N. Brewer. Second edition. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. boards.

The Spirit of "the Book" or Memoirs of Caroline Princess of Hasburgh, a political and amatory Romance. Edited by Thomas Ashe, Esq. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 5s. boards.

Sir Ralph De Bigod: a Romance of the Nineteenth Century, interspersed with Anecdotes of real Life. By Edward Moore, Esq. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Frederick De Montford: a Novel. By the Author of the Pursuits of Fashion. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Rhydisel, the Devil in Oxford. 2 Vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Eugénie et Mathilde, ou Mémoires de la Famille Du comte De Revel. 3 tome. 12mo. 15s. sewed.

The Old Family Legend, or One Husband and Two Marriages. By James Norris Brown. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. boards.

The Adventures of a Seven Shilling Piece. By A. Hamilton. 2 Vols. 12mo. 9s. boards.

Like Master Like Man: a Novel. By the late John Palmer, Comedian, Son to the deceased and celebrated John Palmer, of the Theatres Royal, Drury-lane and the Haymarket. With a Preface, containing Crude Hints for Considerations on Living Critics, and a Narrative of the Distress of the deceased Author's Widow. By George Colman, the Younger. Published for the Relief of the Author's Widow. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

The Passions: a Novel, in Letters. By Rosa Matilda. Author of Hours of Solitude, the Nun, Zofloya, Libertine, &c. 1l. 1s. boards.

Santos de Montenos, or Annals of a Patriot Family, founded on recent Facts. By William Ticken, Esq. 3 Vols. crown 8vo. 18s. boards.

Elnathan, or the Ages of Man. By a Philosopher. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Inhabitants of Earth, or the Follies of Woman. By A. F. Holstein. 3 Vols. 12mo. 16. 6d. boards.

Evening Entertainments; or, Delineations of the Manners, Customs, &c. of various Nations; interspersed with Geographical Notices, Historical and Biographical Anecdotes, and Descriptions in Natural History. Designed for the Instruction and Amusement of Youth. By J. B. Depping. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

Fatherless Fanny; or, the Memoirs of a Little Mendicant. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. boards.

POETRY.

The Plants: a Poem, Cantos the third and fourth, with Notes and Observations. By William Tighe, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Figured Mantle, and the Bridal Day, Legendary Tales, with other Poems. By a Sussex Clergyman. 12mo. 3s. 6d. boards.

The Minstrels of Winandermere: a Poem. By Charles Farish, B. D. 12mo. 4s.; with Black Agnes, or the Defence of Dunbar. By Agnes Countess of March, in the Year, 1338. 12mo. 5s. 6d. boards.

Psyche, or the Legend of Love; with other Poems. By the late Mrs. Henry Tighe. Third Edition. 8vo. 12s. boards.

Scenes of Infancy, descriptive of Teviotdale. By John Leyden. Second edition. 12mo. 6s. boards.

The Fall of Cambria; in twenty-four Books. The Second Edition. By Joseph Cottle. 2 Vols. 8vo. 16s. boards.

* * * Nine lyrical pieces having been added to this edition, they are printed separately for the purchasers of the first edition, and will be delivered gratis, on application to the publishers, through the medium of the respective booksellers from whom the copies were obtained.

Trifles in Verse and Prose. By E. H. Rose, late a Seaman of his Majesty's Ship L'Impetueux. 12mo. 5s. boards.

Bannockburn: a Poem, in four Books. 8vo. 8s. boards.

The Banks of Wye: a Poem, in four Books. By Robert Bloomfield. Embellished with four Plates. Foolsap 8vo. 5s. boards.

Ballad Romances, and other Poems. By Miss Anna Maria Porter. With a fine engraving. Foolsap 8vo. 7s. boards.

Poems and Letters. By the late William Isaac Roberts, of Bristol. With some Account of his Life. With two engravings. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Poems on various Subjects : including a Poem on the Education of the Poor; an Indian Tale; the Offering of Isaac, a Sacred Drama. Foolscap. 8vo. 8s. boards.

The Modern Minerva ; or, the Bat's Seminary for young Ladies : a Satire on Female Education. By Queen Mab. 4to. 3s. sewed.

De Salkeld, Knight of the White Rose ; a Tale of the middle Ages. By George Warrington. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

Lines addressed to Mrs. Hay Drummond ; on the singular Circumstance attending the Interment of her first Child in the Parish Church of Rothbury, in Northumberland. By Rev. George Wilkins, A. M. 4to. 2s. 6d. sewed.

The Bullion Debate : a Serio-comic Satiric Poem. By William Pitt, of Birmingham. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

An University Prize Poem, on His Majesty King George III. having completed the 50th Year of his Reign. By N. J. Halpin, T. C. D. crown 8vo. sewed.

Retrospection, a Poem in familiar Verse. By Richard Cumberland. 4to. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Age ; or, the Consolations of Philosophy : a Poem. Part the first. By the Author of the "People," &c. 8vo. 3s. sewed.

Ode on the present State of Europe. By T. G. Lace. 4to. 2s. sewed.

A Sequel to the Poetical Monitor, consisting of Pieces select and original, adapted to improve the Minds and Manners of young Persons. By Elizabeth Hill. 18mo. 3s. bound.

Somerset, a Poem. By F. Webb. Royal 4to. 4s. sewed.

The Triumphs of Religion : a Sacred Poem, in Four Parts. Foolscap. 7s. boards.

Poetical Pastimes. By James Fitzgerald. Foolscap. 7s. boards.

Poems. By William Robert Spencer. 8vo. 10s. boards.

The Vision of Don Roderick ; a Poem. By Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. 15s. Royal 4to. (of which only 60 are printed) 1l. 10s. boards.

Poetical Essay on the existing State of Things. By a Gentleman of the University of Oxford, for assisting to maintain in Prison Mr. P. Finnerty, imprisoned for a Libel. 4to. 2s. sewed.

Carlton House Fete ; or, the Disappointed Bard ; in a Series of Elegies : to which is added, Curiosity in Rags, an Elegy. By Peter Pindar, Esq. 4to. 2s. 6d. sewed.

The Seasons. By James Thomson. With the Life of the Author, by P. Murdock, D. D. F. R. S ; and an Essay on the Poem, by J. Aikin, M. D. Foolscap 8vo. 6s. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. Demy 8vo. 15s. boards.

POLITICAL.

Plain Reasons for the Reappointment of His R. H. the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

The People : by the Author of the Age. 8vo. 6s. sewed.

Democracy Unveiled ; in a Letter to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M. P. By T. Adams, Esq. lately resident in the United States. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

An Introduction to the Study of Political Economy : or, Elementary View of the Manner in which the Wealth of Nations is produced, increased, distributed, and consumed. By D. Boileau, Author of an Essay on the Study of Statistics. 8vo. 9s. boards.

THEOLOGY.

The Mariner's Refuge; a Discourse to Seamen, delivered in Cliff Lane Chapel, Whitby, August 5, 1810: for the Benefit of the Crew of the *Aimwell* of Whitby, who were lost in the Greenland Seas, May 27, 1810. By George Young, Minister of the Associate Congregation of Whitby. 8vo. 6d. Fine paper, 18. sewed.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Paraphrased, with introductory Remarks. 12mo. 48. 6d. boards.

The Nature and Perpetuity of the Influences of the Holy Spirit. A Sermon, delivered at a Monthly Association of Congregational Ministry and Churches. By William Bengo Collyer, D. D. 8vo. 28. sewed.

Dialogue between a Minister of the Church of England and his Parishioner, on the Excuses alleged by those who absent themselves from the Holy Communion. By the Rev. George Hutton, D. D. 8vo. 6d. sewed.

The Beneficent Woman; a Sermon preached at Leith, March 10. By John Jamieson, D. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S. E. 8vo. 18. sewed.

The Holy Bible; with explanatory Notes, and One Hundred superior Copper-plates, engraved by the first Artists from the most admired Productions of the great Masters of the various Schools of Painting. The Notes by the Rev. John Hewlett, D. D. Morning Preacher at the Foundling Hospital, &c. &c. Parts XXI, XXII, XXIII. Demy 4to. 58. do. with plates 78. or Royal 4to. with plates 98.

A Compendium of the Holy Scriptures; designed for the Use of young Persons. 3 Vols. cr. 8vo. 11. 18. demy 8vo. 11. 18. 6d. boards.

Sermons. By Samuel Horsley, L. L. D. F. R. S. F. A. S. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Second Edition. 8vo. 148. boards.

Sermons, selected and abridged, chiefly from minor Authors, adapted to the Saints' Days, Festivals, Fasts, &c. and to general Occasions, &c. &c. For the Use of Families Volume III. By the Rev. Samuel Clapham, A. M. Vicar of Christ-church, Hants; Rector of Cussage St. Michael, Dorset; and Editor of the Abridgment of the Lord bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Christian Theology. 8vo. 138. boards.

The National Religion the Foundation of National Education: a Sermon preached on Thursday, June 13th, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, at the Yearly Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster. By Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Preached and printed at the request of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge 8vo. 18. sewed.

The Truth and Consistency of Divine Revelation; with some Remarks on the contrary Extremes of Infidelity and Enthusiasm: in Eight Discourses, delivered before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, in the Year 1811, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Hampton, Canon of Salisbury. By John Bidlake, D. D. of Christchurch, Oxford; Chaplain to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence. 8vo. 88. boards.

A Letter concerning the First Two Chapters of Luke, being the Exposition of a Critical Reviewer, with a Vindication of the improved Version. 8vo. 68. boards.

The Force of Truth: an authentic Narrative. By the Rev. Thomas Scott, Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. 48. boards.

Also, by the same Author, Chronological Table, and Scriptural Maps, to accompany his Family Bible. 108. 6d. sewed.

Sermons on the most prevalent Vices and other important Subjects. By David Lamont, D. D. 3 Vols. 8vo. 11. 4s. boards.

Sermons preached on Public Occasions; with Notes and an Appendix. By R. Valpy, D. D. F. A. S. 2 Vols. 8vo. 18s. boards.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales, being a Continuation of the Dictionary of Great Britain. 4to. 31. 3s. boards.

Lachesis Lapponica; or, a Tour in Lapland: now first published from the original Manuscript Journal of the celebrated Linnæus. By James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S. and President of the Linnean Society. 2 Vols. 8vo. 11. 18. boards. Illustrated by above sixty wooden Cuts, from extemporaneous Sketches of the illustrious Author.

A Description of all the principal Cross Roads in England and Wales, and part of Scotland. By Lieut. Col. Paterson. Fifteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s. boards.

The Journey from Chester to London. By Thomas Pennant, Esq. With Notes. 8vo. 15s. Royal 8vo. 11. 18. boards.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A Collection of Voyages and Travels in Asia, being the second Portion of a general Collection of Voyages and Travels; forming a complete History of the Origin and Progress of Discovery, by Sea and Land, from the earliest Ages to the present Time. Preceded by an Historical Introduction, and critical Catalogue of Books of Voyages and Travels, illustrated and adorned with numerous Engravings. By John Pinkerton. 4 Vols. 4to. Embellished with forty-seven beautiful Engravings. Price 8l. 8s. boards.

Ditto, Nos. XLI. XLII. XLIII. 4to. 10s. 6d. each.

Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, L. L. D. Part the First; Russia, Tartary, and Turkey. Second Edition. 4to. 5l. 5s. boards.

Additions to the First Edition. 4to. 3s. 6d. sewed.

Hackluyt's Collection of the early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation. A new Edition, with Additions. Vol. IV. Royal 4to. 3l. 3s. boards.

This Day is published, and delivered gratis,

THE GENERAL STATE
OF THE
NAVAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY
FOR 1810.

Instituted in 1791, under the Title of

THE AMICABLE NAVY SOCIETY,

To relieve the Indigent Orphans, Widows, and Children of Sea Officers; and also Sea Officers reduced by Misfortune to Indigence.

* * * To alleviate the sufferings of persons whom an honourable service has reduced to misery and want—to answer these sacred calls upon their country's gratitude, the Society is endeavouring to establish an adequate fund, in full confidence that as there is no object more worthy of public patronage on the principle of compassion, so there is none that better deserves it on grounds of policy; and it is its peculiar felicity, that while humanity pleads for it with tears of blood, the coldest maxims of self-love are equally on its side. Every man in England who feels an anxiety for his country's or his own preservation, is called upon to promote this establishment according to his ability; but the gentlemen of the navy are more immediately concerned in its success. Virtuous and brave seamen are all of one family—fellowship in danger, and sympathy in suffering, diffuses, or should diffuse among them a fraternal feeling, which forbids a British sailor to see a brother in affliction without an effort to relieve him.

Treasurers.—Admiral Sir JOHN COLPOYS, K. B. ; Admiral ROBERT MAN; and Sir FRANCIS JOHN HARTWELL, Bart. Deputy Comptroller of the Navy.

Secretary.—Mr. C. W. AUBREY, Navy Office.

Subscriptions are received by the following Bankers, &c. viz.

Messrs. CHILD and Co. Temple Bar; DRUMMOND and Co. Charing Cross; GODWIN, DREW, and Co. Portsmouth; BULTEEL and Co. Plymouth; MARSH, SIBBALD, and Co. Berners Street; JOHN KENT, Esq. Naval Hospital, Plymouth;—and by the Treasurers and Secretary to the Society, of whom particulars may be known, on application, by letter, or otherwise.

**T. DAVISON, Lombard-street,
Whitefriars, London.**

THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

DECEMBER, 1811.

ART. X. *De l'Influence des Femmes sur la Litterature Française, comme Protectrices des Lettres et comme Auteurs; ou Précis de l'Histoire des Femmes Françaises les plus célèbres.* Par Madame de Genlis. Paris, 1811, and Colburn, London.

TO stumble at the threshold has been considered an unlucky omen; we are, therefore, sorry to find any thing to blame in the title-page of a book. If a title to a literary work be wholly without utility or purpose, it would be better in all cases to omit it. But if there be a purpose intended by it, and that purpose be to make known the general design or subject of the work, unless the work is truly without scope or plan, we may reasonably expect to learn what it is from the title. Of the two parts of the title of the work before us, the first is descriptive of a specific topic of illustration, while the second confesses that if the purpose of the author be really not that which the first announces, it is at least her sincere intention to write a great deal on the subject of celebrated French females, learned, and unlearned.

The "réflexions préliminaires" contain some observations not unworthy of being studied and remembered; but the argument on the comparative strength of male and female capacities for literature and science, which was never edifying, useful, or liberal, is now by repetition become vapid and wearisome in the greatest degree.

Madame de Genlis has chosen to embark in this controversy, and she has adopted the childish mode in which the same is usually conducted, that is, by running a parallel between the celebrated individuals of the different sexes through an indefinite compass of history. By a sorted comparison made in this man-

ner, the male might easily be shewn to be the fairer and the female the robuster sex. Out of the millions which have come into the world, arrived at maturity, and departed, or that at present exist in it, the largest possible enumeration of particular instances can bear no proportion to the whole, so as to afford an average on which to ground a comparison of the sexes. No assignable number thus individually collected on either side, could afford a measure so large as not to be capable of being embraced within the scope of an exception to any general predication respecting the human condition, and therefore of course no possible extent of such an enumeration could be wide enough to establish a general rule. The thing is incapable of proof, and wants no illustration.

We shall not suffer ourselves to be drawn into this barren disputation; but we cannot refrain from remarking by the way, that whatever perversity or error in the arrangements of life, accident may be supposed to have produced, whatever usurpations upon the equal rights of the fair sex are imputable to the subtlety or force of ours, time, one would imagine, that usually develops dormant claims, and necessity that for the most part vindicates the appointments of the Creator, would long ago have brought things to their proper level; for nature and truth are not to be prescribed against. But still this unjust ascendancy continues; still the exigencies of life and the distribution of duties put the yoke of mediocrity upon feminine ambition, in all the severer exercises of mind and body, and give free scope only to those virtues and attainments which sweeten domestic intercourse, instruct the rising generation, promote the charities of the heart, and adorn the christian profession. Unluckily, too, the scripture does in more places than one afford a colour of authority to this artificial arrangement; and seems to suggest a path of duty to females, which, though important beyond all price to the happiness and improvement of the world, does not conduct to intellectual grandeur, or flatter with the hope of literary immortality.

Under these circumstances it seems to us much more rational and useful to inquire what cultivation of the female mind best fits it for the discharge of the duties which the state of society allots to it, than what are its possibilities of attainment under a culture which has abstractedly in view its intellectual advancement alone.

We presume therefore to think, that the education of females should be conducted so as to qualify them to fill with honour their proper places in society, rather than to excite the ardours of eccentric ambition. We would not have it thought, however,

that the British Reviewers are less favourable than their literary competitors to the advancement of the female mind. When we come to explain ourselves upon the subject, it will be seen that the cultivation considered by us as appropriate to our English ladies, though somewhat subtracting from the importance usually attached to some parts of their education, would put the capacities of females under a severer requisition than can be satisfied by the ordinary methods now taken to accomplish them.

If politics, metaphysics, mathematics, and the languages of Greece and Rome, are not among those objects of study which we consider as essential to female education, we are not therefore to be supposed to regard women as a secondary sort of beings, and worthy only of being taught those things which administer to the pleasure or service of man. But we presume to think, that there are many duties, the effectual performance of which requires strength of fibre to be added to intellectual ability, and which are therefore eminently suited to the powers of man. There are also duties of equal importance, the proper discharge of which demands an union of tenderness with forbearance, of perseverance with softness, and for these the structure of woman is best adapted. Society requires both parts to be performed; nature divides them between the sexes; life is too short for each to perform both; and the distance between them is increased as perfection is approached in either. That choice of study is doubtless the most wise which is most in the line of our duty: for accomplishments are not of absolute but relative estimation. All women, it is true, are not equally charged with the softer duties and cares of life: all are not born to become wives and mothers: still it will not be denied that such is the hopeful destination of the sex in general: and we are treating of generals—of the rule and not of the exceptions. Nor are we afraid to say, notwithstanding the ridicule with which the sentiment has of late been attacked*, that where women have no families of their own to attend to, the duty of taking upon themselves a portion of the cares with which others of their sex are overburthened, of solacing the sick, and instructing the forsaken, multiplies its claims in proportion to their leisure. Neither is this all. Propriety of character, consistency of deportment, the value of attainments, and the suitableness of occupations, are determined by reference not to the accidental situation of particular individuals, but to the moral destination of the sex in general.

All men are not designed for the profession of arms, but be-

* See Edinb. Review, No. 30. P. 306.

cause soldiers are always men, and cases may be easily imagined in which courage and personal exposure may become the duties of all men, the quality of bravery belongs generally to the male character. All women are not destined to act the part of mothers, but because only women *can* be such, tenderness for infancy, and a commiserating disposition of the heart, are associated with the character of women in general.

Though deeply impressed with these sentiments, we are still as anxious as Madame de Genlis herself for the culture of the female mind. Those who are charged with the earliest care of their species, whose high and delicate trust it is, to give the first bias to the heart, and first to stir the reasoning faculty, while both are to be insensibly engaged on the side of virtue, to act their parts well, should themselves be proficient in reason and virtue, and have learned, by engrafting reflection on reading, to anticipate in others the prejudices and difficulties which hinder the first steps of intellectual advancement.

To some persons this province of literature appears very contemptible, and particularly when under the management of those, who, in the old-fashioned stile of discipline, endeavour to lay the foundation of education in religion, and to give to God the first fruits of his gift of reason. To some men goodness is weakness, piety is parade, and devotion hypocrisy; and nothing is so ridiculous as a spectacled old lady teaching to the young the maxims of household morality according to the catechism of our church. Generous guardians of the rights of infants! with what happy auspices does your revolutionary career in the national education commence! Perish primers and horn-books, and all the lumber of the nursery! Behold a rising generation of unbreeched philosophers, and lisping free-thinkers; a golden period approaches in which every man is to be qualified to be his own instructor, and in which the religion of the poor is to become the fruit of their own meditations, the result of their own discriminating choice, unincumbered by creeds and vulgar catechisms. Liberal and manly times! when the nation's children are confided to those who dissent from its church, under the patronage of princes, nobles, statesmen, ecclesiastics, writers, and reviewers.

Do we dare, amidst these new lights, to avow our veneration for the memory of the "feeble old lady*" of Brentford, whom the champions of the liberal plan of modern education for the poor, have classed with the writers of horn-books and nursery legends? Yet such is our infatuation, that when we think upon the labours of that good woman, who was most emphatically de-

* See Edinb. Review, No. 17, Art. 12.

parting in peace, while her manly assailants were pursuing her to the grave, we are disposed to consider her utility to mankind as infinitely outweighing the whole aggregation of female worth collected in this French volume before us; and we found our admiration of her singly upon her wise and orthodox industry in disseminating religious knowledge among the poor, and her watchful jealousy of latitudinarian systems.

In a word, we are of opinion that such a cultivation of the female mind as has a tendency to dispose and qualify it for the care of the young, the friendless, and the forsaken, comprises objects and attainments of as much ornament as utility. In the due preparation for such a career of usefulness, the manners are polished in proportion as the heart is enlarged. Nor is this beneficent range of activity inconsistent with every reasonable attention to exterior accomplishments, in the ordinary sense of the term. Religious sobriety, concern for the interests of the soul, and feeling for human indigence, while they superadd a grace invincible to common accomplishments, correct the extravagant appreciation of them which gives to them so undue a hold upon the heart, and so exorbitant a claim upon the time of reasonable beings. But we are very far from denying that the diligent reading of our best authors, the talent of graceful, and in a good cause, of forcible writing, and the exercise of the understanding on subjects of practical theology and preceptive truths, are strictly within the compass of female pretensions. If objects, and employments like these should steal something from the laborious impertinence of fashionable life, we should be glad to be accomplices in the theft. In such a crime we will to the utmost, in our character of reviewers, act the part of aiders and abettors, whatever hue and cry may be raised against us by that numerous party in the country, who, as patrons or writers, with a liberalizing and levelling rage, are for demolishing the prescriptive barriers of national religion, and all thorough-bred English morality.

From contemplating the sickly cast of female literature, principles, and manners, which this volume of petticoated French worthies presents to us, it is impossible not to turn for refreshment to the estimable character of a genuine English lady, literate without pedantry, elegant without affectation, dignified without constraint, cheerful at home and circumspect abroad, gentle, humane, devout. We should greatly prefer the domestic circle of such a person, to what are called the "good societies" of Paris. A Mrs. Elizabeth Carter is more to our taste than a Madame du Deffand, a Miss Talbot than a Mademoiselle de L'Espinasse, and a Mrs. Hannah More than even a Madame de

Genlis. We are aware that we shall have all the esprits forts of our own country on the French side of the comparison. It matters not; we are partly at war with these gentlemen; and though some of them in their contemptuous idiom may rank the English authoress last-mentioned among "feeble old ladies," we must venture to declare ourselves her grateful admirers. Admire her we must, because with more than female courage, but with every feminine grace, she has devoted that zeal, which neither her own infirmities, nor the malice of her defamers, can subdue, to the best interests of humanity:—because her life has been a scene of such virtuous exertion as to unite the indolent, the envious, and the profligate in a confederacy against her fame and honour:—in a word, because she has contrived by her thorough acquaintance with the heart, and its accessible points, by her felicity of expression her originality of thought, and above all, by her versatility of talent, to render the subject of highest concern to man so entertaining and attractive, as to beat in the race of popularity all the prurient productions of this novel-writing age, all the sentimental rubbish of the German press, and all the varnished tales of suicide and adultery. We repeat that, after dwelling on the disgusting scenes of Parisian impertinence, the coteries of dissipated old countesses, French flattery, French pertidy, and French intrigue; the folly and vice, in short, which compose the principal features even of some of the characters selected by Madame de Genlis for our admiration; it is to us a grateful relief to contemplate the social retirement and literate ease of this accomplished woman, and that assemblage of moral worth which she collects about her, and to which she is the proper centre of attraction.

After thus expressing our admiration of the British females mentioned above, and particularly of her who has appeared to us to merit the largest share of our feeble praise, it will be mistaking us greatly to suppose us unwilling to allow any accomplishment of their minds beyond what is necessary to good housewifery. It has been observed, that a few pounds spent in needlework would give to the female part of a family leisure to acquire a fund of real knowledge*. But this appears to us to be a very erroneous and silly view of the question; which is not whether a gain is acquired answerable to the time consumed in these accomplishments, but whether the entire substitution of intellectual industry for those manual and subordinate occupations, would not give a new direction to the female character, and superinduce upon it by degrees a new order of senti-

* Edinburgh Review, No. 30. Art. 3.

ments and habits, ill suited to those relations which they are destined to fill in the great providential plan of social existence. The character of human beings, if not always determined, is always influenced by the nature of their employments. This truth has been well understood by those who have drawn the best portraiture of female perfection. The domestic companions of Hector and Ulysses were no ordinary specimens of the sex. In the interior of their apartments, surrounded by their maidens, they blazoned in embroidery the trophies of their husbands, and shortened the suspense of their return by amusements which endeared them to their recollections.

Our readers must by this time perceive, or we have taken very fruitless pains to mark our meaning distinctly, that it is not the literature of the sex, but a violence in the devotion to it, which we disapprove. Needlework, and housewifery in general, are to some a necessary part of the science of economy; but in another view, though a collateral one, they seem to be a highly important part of female education. They provide for those mischances of life from which few, if any, are exempt; they balance against the romantic tendency of the female mind, by recalling it to the real necessities of the human condition; they give the thoughts a turn towards usefulness, cleanliness, and convenience; and there is something of value too, in a cast of occupations, (if the remark may be forgiven,) which by rendering a lady independent of the tongue for amusement, disposes her to cherish those intervals of quiescent happiness which are not unprofitably employed in silence and attention.

These are a few of those reasons by which we are induced to think that the addiction of females to literature and science may be of too strenuous a cast. We not only think so because it renders them less useful, but because it renders them less pleasing. But then it is asked, why should any degree of addiction to letters produce more pedantry in women than in men? And why should pedantry, granting it to be the consequence of this addiction, be more offensive in the one sex than in the other? To questions like these experience and feeling afford the best answer. There are some palpable truths which dogmatism may discountenance, arrogance affright, and sophistry pervert; but which are nevertheless recognized in the heart, and established in the constitution of nature. It may be asked, why should softness be considered as the attribute of the sex? Why should gentleness, timidity, and modesty impart such grace and attractiveness to female manners? The best answer is the practical one. It is because we are formed to admire and love these qualities in woman; because, with the advancement of true

civilization and refinement, these female qualities advance in price; and because a state of competition and emulation is not a state of love and reciprocal tenderness. In the dependence of the one upon the protection of the other consists the real bond of union between the sexes. Inequality produces reciprocity, and on this is founded the moral relation between man and woman. The pursuits of the sex must, therefore, be different: not so different as to destroy by diversity of taste, but so different as to supply by variety of materials, the intellectual commerce of the sexes. Fortitude that ennobles the male, and softness that adorns the female, may be mixed in secondary degrees with their opposites in each. As a foundation for mutual esteem, each ought to feel enough of either quality to know its value in the other. Man's true elevation is placed in the severer studies, while the softer dignity of woman, inferior in the intellectual scale, advances by a different course to the same on a superior height in moral goodness. Some acquaintance with these severer studies is necessary to raise in the other sex the esteem of them in ours; and on the other hand, the man of learning, and courage, and virtue, who has no value for the mellow perfections and cultivated taste of a sensible, reading, and thinking woman, is finished only on one side of the manly character.

But if these perfections are inverted; if a woman places her chief merit in literary excellence, she deranges the plan of nature, and disturbs its harmony. But nature is revenged. When this is the case, adieu to feminine attraction! and to many of the charities of mother, sister, daughter, friend. For the deportment of woman, soft, attractive, frank, ingenuous, are substituted the stare of unconcern, the look of defiance, the vivacity of the disputant, and the parade of the scholar. These are among the numerous blots which efface in the female pedant the lovely traces of woman.

Upon the whole, we do not think a little learning is always a dangerous thing in a lady, so long as it has reference to her condition of life and the sphere of her duties. In man, from whom much is expected, his little learning is rarely confessed to be little. It enables him to feel and envy the superiority of others, between whom and himself there is a natural competition. He swells out his little, therefore, beyond its natural compass, the better to cover his ignorance. Having not enough for the illustration of truth, he finds it tell most in opposition to it, and is in danger of being seduced by his vanity into wilful error. But moderation even in things good in themselves is commendable in a woman. The learning that best becomes her is that which she can best manage, and which best consists with a

natural manner and useful understanding. If a lady can interpret the following passage from Juvenal, she will do well to attend to the valuable hint it conveys.

“ Imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.
Non habeat matrona tibi quæ juncta recumbit
Dicendi genus aut curtum sermone rotato
Torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes,
Sed quædam ex libris et non intelligat.”

A great laugh is endeavoured to be raised at what are called simple pleasures. We have in the present day some laughing philosophers: not of that ancient sort indeed whose ridicule was excited by the follies of their fellow creatures. Innocence, chastity, and religion are among the topics of modern pleasantry; especially with our men of strong thinking. For our parts, we are not disposed to join in this laugh; because notwithstanding this well-intended raillery, we cannot help thinking that there does exist a class of simple pleasures, in which it is not merely safe for a woman to indulge, but which not to love or to be capable of loving, argues some original defect in the heart and in the understanding. But let us not be understood to mean by simple pleasures, the entertainments of cup and ball, or bandalore. Neither do we confine the idea to the picking up of plants, the collecting of shells, the instruction of parrots, the fabrication of pin-cushions, and the pasting of charades upon firescreens. But to contemplate the Creator's works, to study them, to imitate them, to fill the eye and the imagination with them, to cling to the sentiments they inspire, and to pursue them to their ultimate grand conclusions; to ride, to walk, to meditate, to luxuriate in the cheerful influence of fine weather; to train vegetation, to plant and improve the garden, to mitigate the moral and physical evils that press around one, by reconciling, relieving, and instructing; are all, when modified by virtuous education, enjoyments of simple relish and home-bred felicity; all capable of flourishing in innocence and retirement, with little aid from artificial culture. These may properly be ranked among simple pleasures, because they want no machinery to set them up. They have at first hand, that is, at nature's, their subjects and incitements; they are the companions of virtuous leisure and unsophisticated habits.

But to qualify for these cheap and innocent pleasures there must be a proper preparatory education; a first impulse must be given to the sensibilities, which may set them forward in a right direction. Before the works of the Deity can be made to interest and delight, the fear and love of his power and goodness

must be established in our minds upon other grounds than the fluctuating foundations of taste. No education can be profitable without the sanction of religion. It should, however, be presented to the mind, not as a task, but as a recreation; which it is well fitted to become when judiciously inculcated. It affords a natural entertainment to the sprightly curiosities of children, an excellent exercise to their opening faculties, and a sufficient incitement to all the good propensities of the young mind. It is the Sun in the system of education; the dispenser of light and heat to the whole, and by its attractive power it maintains every part in its proper place and destination. From leaving it out of the system, or from giving it only a secondary place, results that complexity, disproportion, and disorder, which have found their way into almost every scheme and treatise of education, and to this cause is to be ascribed the multiplication of these treatises in such a fatiguing succession of vapid productions. Were religion properly attended to in female education, young women might be trusted with more learning and more accomplishments, without danger to the equilibrium of their minds, and the modesty of their manners. Without religion intellectual education is mutilated; but moral education is reduced to a solecism. The fitness of morals and the beauty of virtue are frigid arguments to young understandings. They require the support of unnatural expedients and forced measures. But the principle of pious obedience is taught to children by their wants, and confirmed by the unceasing consciousness of dependence. They must of necessity feel it towards their fathers and mothers; and it is easy for them to carry it upwards to the universal Parent and Protector.

For the sake, therefore, of these simple pleasures, of which we think not the less highly because coxcombs deride them, we recommend it to those to whose care the rising generation of females is entrusted, to make this emphatic use of religion in their institutions. Besides its own complete perfection and solitary pre-eminence, transcending all comparative value, it is of admirable use as an auxiliary in the formation of the character and manners. Its rules are short, simple, and practicable, and will enable teachers, if tolerably instructed themselves, to do very well without those problematical expedients and refined methods of culture with which officious speculation is for ever tormenting them. But we are anxious before we dismiss this part of our subject to remind our readers, that when we make mention of religion in the *British Review*, which we may find frequent occasions for doing, we would be understood to mean the religion of the scriptures, embracing the peculiar doctrines of

Christianity as they are professed by the church of England, and not a religion of man's manufacture, adapted to his convenience here, and secularized to his worldly feelings and tastes. Next to the diffusion of a stupid prejudice against this view of religion, by giving it the appellation of methodism, the envier of human happiness could contrive no better instrument for the destruction of religion altogether, than the fatal adoption of a national education without the national religion for its basis.

We have said thus much upon the importance of religion in education, because we perceive with concern that the philosophic pride of the age is making strenuous efforts to discredit its efficacy; and that some of our female writers, and one in particular, for whose genius and talents we entertain the highest respect, and whose influence on education, whether we regard her incomparable skill in the composition of instructive tales without the hackneyed theme of love, or her accurate knowledge of the ways by which the understanding is to be assisted in the acquisition of knowledge, cannot be viewed without great approbation, mixed with anxiety, have bestowed an exclusive attention on what they call moral and intellectual culture, leaving religion, like a wild flower, to its own spontaneous growth from seeds, scattered as chance may have directed, on good ground, or on stony places. With respect to accomplishments, commonly so called, we hold the same opinions with some of our more philosophical contemporaries. It is not to be denied, that they engross much too large a portion of education for acquirements which are in season only for so small a portion of existence, and that while they last they are greatly inferior in dignity and utility to studies which spread their lustre over the whole of life, and which, instead of affording occasions of ostentatious exhibition, short intervals of triumph, and momentary displays, enter into the constitution of the mind, and nourish the understanding; render solitude reflective, and society exhilarating. But inferior as they are, and short-lived in their importance, it would be better, in our opinion, to give to them entire all the docile part of life, without interruption from reason or reflection, than that reason and reflection should be cultivated independently of religion, and trained under the discipline of a vain philosophy.

When knowledge is thus constituted on a right foundation, we are very far from denying it to the female sex. But let it, besides this right foundation, have also a right bearing. The first and noblest use of knowledge in woman is to lay the ground of knowledge in others. Elementary education is chiefly in their hands. A great and awful trust! It was the Spartan mothers

that perpetuated the succession of the Spartan discipline. Just notions and elevated principles do not come unbidden: they do not sow themselves, like forest trees, or the vegetation of the plains. To be properly assimilated with the stamina of the child; to grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength, they should pre-exist in the parent, and pass out of her by a careful process of transfusion. In this way the child may acquire what the poet calls

“Compositum jus, fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.”

A taste for literature and valuable knowledge cannot be taught without being felt. To bribe the early curiosities to the exercise and development of the mind, the early instructor must have been well instructed, and have acquired the art of blending information with delight. The powers, the beauties, the copious use of the mother tongue can only be known, felt, and transmitted by talents improved by various and studious reading in English literature, aided by some acquaintance with other idioms. And it is, perhaps, to the want of this preparation of the mother's mind for the task of early instruction, that the melancholy blank in respect to all the primary, professional, and practical acquirements of reading, articulation, elocution, reasoning, and composition, left by the education of our principal schools, so often remains to the end of life, disgracing the pulpit, the senate, and the bar.

The pleasure that occupies the highest place, and fills the widest space in rational existence, is free intellectual conversation. If women are to be our companions, we must share this pleasure with them, or we give them only a vain compliment—a nominal rank—the title without the estate. The most solid parts of intellectual culture are theirs by imprescriptible right as rational beings: it is the fairest of all their privileges, and our own sex has an equal interest in maintaining it for them against a perverse arrangement, which gives up their first years to fugitive attainments, that sparkle in the sunshine of youth, but perish, and their memorial with them, as age increases the want of resource.

We are obliged to Madame de Genlis for giving us this opportunity of detailing our sentiments on this subject, as they are not quite in the fashion of the day, and may want a little explaining and defending. We are also, in common with others, obliged to the same lady for many sensible observations contained in her introductory pages to the volume before us. We must, indeed, do her the justice to say, that whatever may have been her departures in practice from her own rules, (and on this

subject we can say nothing from personal knowledge,) all the productions of her pen which have come under our inspection have in the main been true to the cause of piety and virtue. It is something for a being on the confines of another world to be able to say to her soul; *WHATEVER THOU HAST THOUGHT OR DONE AMISS, THOU HAST NOT INCREASED THE SUM OF THY TRANSGRESSIONS BY THE CRIMES OF OTHERS, NOR ADDED AUGHT TO THY RECKONING WITH GOD, BY ENDEAVOURS TO INTERCEPT THE HOPES OF INNOCENCE, AND TO SHORTEN THE ARM OF HIS MERCY.* We are glad to do Madame de Genlis this piece of justice. It is the more creditable to her, in consideration of the dangerous examples by which she has been surrounded. The literature of her day has been much in the hands of those by whom the devil's work is done gratuitously, without the apology of passion or temptation; of those who love vice, not for itself, but for the ruin which it spreads: frigid speculators in debauchery! who for the mere luxury of doing harm, plot in their chambers against the peace of mankind; scattering pollution from their pens, and amusing themselves with calculations of eventual mischief. We have often admired the sterling sense of Madame de Genlis on the subject of education, and are astonished when we are told that, with a theory so opposite to that of the philosophers of her own country, she should yet affect to hold the literature, taste, and general character of this nation in great disesteem.

The early years of Madame de Genlis were passed in those societies of Paris which every travelled Englishman, to shew his breeding and improvement, delights to call brilliant; and brilliant they were; but brilliant at the expence of the comforts, the decencies, and charities of life; of all that dignifies and decorates the human condition. The prurient play of a debauched imagination, the sportive malice of wit, and the treacherous commerce of flattery, were the only compensation for the low intrigues, selfish passions, and jealous rivalry, which lay half concealed under the gaudy covering. That this was pretty much the state of the "good societies" of Paris under what is called the old government, we are informed by their own annals. Philosophy, garrulity, wit, obscenity, compliment, detraction, gluttony, levity, stars, ribbons, dirt, paint, and tinsel, make to the eyes of some men and many women in this country, and of all men and all women in France, a very imposing appearance. But as long as the substratum of the English character remains, (and we do not feel very secure of its remaining long,) that alone will be considered as "good society" here, in which cleanliness, manliness, and modesty ground politeness upon esteem, and in

which the charities of the heart are infused into the behaviour. That Madame de Genlis has emerged from the "good societies" of old France, and from the worse contamination of the revolutionary period, without a total depravation of principle, reflects no small credit upon her taste and discernment; but that having so emerged, and having visited England and experienced its hospitality, she can undervalue it's character and literary glory, is truly surprising.

We will now present to our readers some observations of our authoress, which, if they are not new, are spirited and just, and well expressed.

"Ce ne sont pas des goûts sédentaires qui peuvent distraire les femmes de leurs devoirs; laissons-les écrire, si elles sacrifient à cet amusement les spectacles, le jeu, les bals et les visites inutiles. Voilà les dissipations dangereuses qui empêchent de bien élever ses enfans, qui désunissent et qui ruinent les familles. L'abus d'une chose jette toujours dans l'extrémité opposée. On a voulu faire de toutes les jeunes personnes des artistes célèbres; aujourd'hui l'on soutient qu'une ignorance absolue est tout ce qui leur convient. On doute que cette manière de simplifier l'éducation répande beaucoup de charmes dans l'intérieur des ménages; les dons de la nature sont si précieux, qu'on ne doit en rejeter aucun: ainsi toutes dispositions véritables, toute aptitude non douteuse à un art, méritent d'être cultivées, parce qu'alors on a la certitude de donner un grand talent, c'est-à-dire la plus noble de toutes les ressources dans l'adversité, et l'amusement le plus agréable et le plus innocent dans toutes les situations de la vie. Qu'on ne donne de maîtres de chant et d'instrument qu'aux jeunes personnes qui ont de la voix, de l'oreille et le sentiment de la musique; qu'on n'enseigne le dessin qu'à celles qui ont le goût de cet art, et le nombre des amateurs sera infiniment restreint, et l'on ne rencontrera plus cette foule de petits talens à grandes prétentions, qui jettent tant d'ennui dans la société. La même règle peut s'appliquer aux élèves qui annoncent un esprit très-distingué. On doit mettre un soin particulier à former, à orner leur mémoire, et même à leur enseigner les langues savantes. Celles-là, par la suite, deviendroient vraisemblablement auteurs, mais elles entreroient dans cette carrière avec l'avantage immense que peuvent donner de bonnes études. Les femmes ignorantes et sans talent n'oseroient lutter contre elles avec cette inégalité de fait: on ne les compare point aux hommes, elles bravent leur supériorité; mais elles craindroient celle des personnes de leur sexe: de sorte que le nombre effrayant des femmes auteurs seroit excessivement réduit, et il n'y en auroit plus de ridicules. Mais il faut que les femmes sachent à quelles conditions il leur est permis de devenir auteurs. 1°. Elles ne doivent jamais se presser de faire paroître leurs productions; durant tout le temps de leur jeunesse, elles doivent craindre toute espèce d'éclat, et même le plus honorable; 2°. toutes les bienséances leur prescrivent de montrer in-

variablement dans leurs écrits le plus profond respect pour la religion, et les principes d'une morale austère; 3°. elles ne doivent répondre aux critiques que lorsqu'on fait une *fausse citation*, ou lorsque la censure est fondée sur un fait imaginaire. Une femme qui, dans ces réponses, prendroit le ton violent de la colère, ou qui se permettroit la moindre personnalité, auroit beaucoup plus de tort qu'un homme, parce que son sexe lui impose plus de délicatesse, de modestie et de douceur. Je n'exhorte point les femmes à jouer un rôle de *victimes*; au contraire, je les invite à prendre un avantage immense sur la plus grande partie des critiques modernes, par un ton noble et sérieux quand l'ironie est déplacée, et par des égards et une bienséance qui seroient aujourd'hui très-remarquables dans les discussions littéraires."

After having thus prescribed the conditions and qualifications of the right of females to become authors, she next proceeds to chastise the presumption of our sex in interfering with this right. As we are at a distance of many miles from her, with part of the ocean between us, we may venture to say that her indignation on this head is expressed in terms a little too boisterous to be either persuasive or convincing. We will not dispute the pretensions of women to become authors, but we think the best mode on their parts of asserting the right is by proving that the character sits gracefully upon them, rendering them neither vain nor presumptuous. Though we will not say in the language which has given Madame de Genlis so much offence, that women, on becoming authors, have abjured their sex and forfeited their female rights; yet we think it but reasonable and rather salutary than otherwise. that the critic, whose duty it is to abstain from all ungenerous attacks, and to give no unnecessary pain, should be allowed to execute his task without regard to sex or station. We will qualify the reader to judge for himself how far Madame de Genlis is justifiable in the warmth of feeling displayed by her in the passage alluded to.

"N'oserois-je parler des égards particuliers que des gens de lettres, des Français, doivent aux femmes qui sont entrées dans la même carrière? pourquoi le craindrois-je? On peut faire librement ces réflexions quand on écrit depuis trente-cinq ans. Je dois être accoutumée au ton de critique dont je suis l'objet. Je reconnois même avec plaisir que souvent j'ai eu lieu d'en être contente: ainsi je m'oublierai, sans aucun effort, dans l'examen que je vais faire.

"J'ai lu dans un journal cette étrange sentence contre les femmes auteurs: qu'elles ne méritent aucun égard, parce qu'en devenant auteurs, elles abjurent leur sexe et renoncent à tous leurs droits, etc.

"Cet arrêt est d'autant plus foudroyant, qu'il est formel, absolu, sans adoucissement, sans aucune exception.—Quoi! Madame de la Fayette, Madame de Lambert, Madame de Graffigny, ces femmes

charmantes, d'une conduite si irréprochable, d'un talent si distingué, abjurèrent leur sexe en devenant auteurs, et ne méritoient plus d'égards ! On ne pensoit pas ainsi dans le temps où elles ont vécu. A quoi doivent donc s'attendre les femmes auteurs qui n'ont ni ce rare mérite, ni cette considération personnelle ? Elles seront donc poursuivies, injuriées, bafouées impitoyablement et sans relâche ! Et celles qui auroient eu le malheur de faire de mauvais ouvrages, et d'y insérer des erreurs répréhensibles, quel seroit leur sort ? On les lapideroit apparemment.

“ Si l'on disoit que celui qui a prononcé une telle sentence contre les femmes, abjureroit dans ce moment son sexe et sa patrie, ce jugement rigoureux seroit approuvé de tous les Français.

“ Une femme qui n'a écrit que des ouvrages moraux ou utiles, et avec succès, mérite tous les égards dus à son sexe et tous ceux que l'on ne peut refuser aux auteurs estimables : celle que son imagination égareroit et qui publieroit un ouvrage condamnable, en mériteroit moins sans doute ; mais il faudroit encore, en la critiquant, se rappeler toujours que l'auteur est une femme, elle n'auroit point abjuré son sexe ; un écart n'est point une abjuration.

“ Enfin, on veut au vrai nous persuader que, dès qu'une femme s'écarte de la route commune qui lui est naturellement tracée, alors même qu'elle ne fait que des choses glorieuses, et qu'elle conserve toutes les vertus de son sexe, elle ne doit plus être regardée que comme un homme, et qu'elle n'a aucun droit à un respect particulier : par conséquent, Madame Dacier, qui traduisit Homère avec une si profonde érudition ; la Maréchale de Guébriant, qui remplit les fonctions d'ambassadeur, et qui en eut le titre, n'étoient au vrai que des espèces de *monstres* ! De toutes les carrières, celle qui convient le moins aux femmes est assurément celle des armes. Néanmoins les héros ont cru devoir se montrer puls magnanimes envers des femmes guerrières qu'avec des ennemis de leur sexe. Hercule, qui vainquit les Amazones, leur rendit les plus grands honneurs ; dans les combats littéraires de nos jours, on ne voit rien de semblable ; les journalistes n'ont ni la massue d'Hercule, ni sa générosité.

“ Dans le siècle de Louis XIV, où l'on vit tant d'hommes d'un talent éminent, où l'on vit briller tous ces génies sublimes qui ont à jamais illustré la littérature française, dans ce siècle où les mœurs furent infiniment plus graves que les nôtres, il y eut une multitude de femmes auteurs dans tous les genres et dans toutes les classes ; et non-seulement les gens de lettres ne se déchainèrent point contre elles, ne déclamèrent point contre les femmes auteurs ; mais ils se plurent à les faire valoir et à leur rendre tous les hommages de l'estime et de la galanterie. Cette conduite, ces procédés n'ont rien qui doivent surprendre. Alors nulle rivalité d'auteurs ne pouvoit raisonnablement exister entre les hommes et les femmes, et l'on sait que la supériorité incontestable est toujours indulgente, et que la force est toujours généreuse.”

We have such an opinion in general of the want of all solidity

of principle, and of all virtuous grounds of disgust or preference in the individuals composing the literary and philosophical societies of Paris, that we cannot rely with any satisfaction on their portraits of each other. There appears, however, in all the works of Madame de Genlis which we have met with, such respect to virtue, religion, and decency, that we confess ourselves inclined to pay some regard to her representation of characters and facts. We shall lay before our readers some interesting sketches of characters which appear to us to have been executed with fidelity and skill; but in our way to these specimens we feel it difficult to pass by her severe reflections on D'Alembert, whom she accuses of false taste, pedantry, dogmatism, and insolence in a part of his works, and of moroseness, discontent, and base ingratitude towards his country and his benefactors, without contrasting them with the eulogy which some of our brother critics have lavished upon this same D'Alembert, whom of all the men of genius that ever existed they pronounce to be the most amiable and respectable*. That his letters have in them a sprightly egotism and plausible air of good humour, that his mathematical genius was truly surprising, that his taste in literature was in many respects correct and elegant, we do not dispute; but we cannot so easily ascribe a decided superiority in the qualities of the heart to one who, there is too much reason to believe, revenged his quarrels with the clergy, by treating religion as an imposture, and by mixing with his philosophy the very dregs of ancient atheism.

Madame de Genlis has given us a very sprightly account of the celebrated Madame de la Fayette, the friend of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, from whom she stated herself to have derived her wit, and to have paid him by reforming his heart. Our authoress says, that she reformed also many of his maxims. We are of opinion that it would have been a better service to the cause of virtue and humanity if she had persuaded that nobleman to abstain altogether from a work which is calculated only to make men distrustful of all appearances of good, to relax the springs of virtuous action, to extinguish mutual benevolence, and to reconcile the heart to its own turpitude, by teaching it to suppose an equal degree of it at the bottom of every character. The remarks of Madame de Genlis on the novel of the Comtesse de la Fayette, called *la Princesse de Cleves*, are very lively and sensible.

“ *Zaïde*, roman moins diffus et plus intéressant que ceux de mademoiselle de Scudéri, est cependant à peu près dans le même genre ;

* See *Edinb. Review*, No. 30. P. 465.

mais la Princesse de Clèves étoit à cette époque un ouvrage sans modèle et tout à fait original. C'est le premier roman français où l'on ait trouvé des sentimens toujours naturels, et des peintures vraies. Ce mérite éminent élèvera toujours madame de la Fayette au-dessus de tous les romanciers de sa nation, hommes et femmes. Madame de la Fayette a ouvert une nouvelle route aux auteurs qui écrivent dans ce genre, et elle a su tracer cette route avec tant d'intérêt et de vérité, que l'on n'a jamais pu la surpasser que par la manière d'écrire et par les intentions morales. La fiction de la Princesse de Clèves est attachante; mais loin d'être morale, elle rend très-dangereuse pour les jeunes personnes, la lecture de cet ouvrage. On y représente comme un modèle de raison, de prudence et de vertu, une femme qui, s'unissant avec un cœur parfaitement libre à un homme aimable et vertueux dont elle est adorée, ne peut néanmoins s'attacher à lui, et prend une passion invincible pour un autre. Elle veut cacher à jamais cette passion criminelle, mais elle ne se fait nul scrupule de s'en occuper et de la nourrir en secret: aussi la conserve-t-elle toujours. Voilà le plus dangereux tableau que l'on puisse offrir à la jeunesse: il est même faux; car une femme, trop foible pour chercher par tous les moyens possibles à se distraire d'un penchant coupable, n'aura pas la force de le cacher long-temps à celui qui en est l'objet. La véritable vertu ne se livre point à des sentimens qu'elle réprouve; elle en est trop effrayée pour y trouver un charme secret; elle les combat dès leur naissance, et elle en triomphe. Ses plus douces victoires, celles dont elle jouit le mieux, sont surtout au fond de son cœur; comment y conserveroit-elle, avec la paix, des pensées condamnables et des vœux criminels? Malgré un défaut si capital dans la conception de ce roman, on y sent, d'un bout à l'autre, un goût sincère de la vertu; la belle âme de l'auteur s'y peint sans emphase et toujours avec charme."

It is in the account of this amiable woman that our authoress takes occasion to favour us with the largest sample of her critical powers. The beauties and imperfections of style appear to have engaged much of her attention; and it seems to us that both her example and precepts afford useful instruction on this head. For one whose works are so very numerous, we believe, enough to fill upwards of fifty octavo volumes, Madame de Genlis writes with great correctness, and her industry and vigour of invention are really admirable. Her observations on the style of *Telemaque* and its general merits, which occur in many parts of the volume we are examining, are not always just; but they are for the most part ingenious and entertaining. She concludes a long censure of the careless redundancies and repetitions which she imputes to that work in general, (and some of which she points out with a trifling degree of minuteness,) with the following passage, which may be useful to the student of French literature.

“Télémaque contient des descriptions ravissantes, beaucoup de morceaux écrits d'une manière enchanteresse, des beautés sans nombre; on y trouve un fonds admirable de sagesse, de vertu, d'humanité; enfin ce livre, aussi beau qu'utile, a justement immortalisé son auteur: mais le style en est excessivement négligé; on le trouvera tel, même en le comparant à celui des grands écrivains de ce temps. Bossuet, plus hardi, écrit en général avec beaucoup plus de soin; il y a de l'inspiration dans sa hardiesse, dans tous ses grands mouvemens, et le travail nécessaire dans les morceaux moins élevés: néanmoins on risquerait de s'égarer, en voulant imiter cette manière d'écrire si nerveuse, si rapide, si hardie. On doit lire et relire Bossuet, pour bien sentir jusqu'où l'on peut porter la sublimité de l'expression et l'élévation des idées; mais pour connoître la perfection continue du langage, c'est Massillon, et surtout Buffon, qu'il faut étudier.”

At the bottom of the same page our authoress gives us a remark or two of Fontenelle, on a polite criticism on the *Princesse de Cleves*, by M. de Valincourt, which are so amiable and pleasing, that we cannot avoid extracting them, less for the general reader, than for those who, like ourselves, sit by their own authority in the chair of criticism. We wish that our warm approbation of the spirit of these remarks of Fontenelle may secure us, (but, alas, how great is the difference between speculation and practice!) from adopting the abuse, the insolence, and the party violence, which in the present day, under the mask of criticism, carries terror into the ranks of loyalty, piety, and virtue.

“La fameuse *Princesse de Clèves* ayant paru, M. de Valincourt en donna une critique, non pour s'opposer à la juste admiration du public, mais pour lui apprendre à ne pas admirer jusqu'aux défauts, et pour se donner le plaisir d'entrer dans des discussions fines et délicates. Ce dessein intéressoit le censeur à faire valoir lui-même, comme il a fait, les beautés à travers lesquelles il avoit su démêler les imperfections. Il répand dans son discours une gaieté agréable, et peut-être seulement pourroit-on croire qu'il va quelquefois jusqu'au ton de l'ironie, qui, quoique léger, est moins respectueux pour un livre d'un si rare mérite, que le ton d'une critique sérieuse et bien placée. On répondit avec autant d'aigreur et d'amertume que si on avoit eu à défendre une mauvaise cause. M. de Valincourt ne répliqua point; les honnêtes gens n'aimant point à s'engager dans ces sortes de combats, trop désavantageux pour ceux qui ont les mains liées par les bonnes mœurs et par les bienséances, etc.”

Upon another work of Madame de la Fayette, “*Histoire de Henriette d'Angleterre*,” the sister-in-law of Louis the Fourteenth, our authoress feelingly observes as follows:

“On dévoile, dans cet ouvrage, beaucoup d'imprudences et même de foiblesses de cette princesse. L'auteur qui avoit été admis dans

son intérieur le plus intime, auroit dû mieux respecter sa mémoire. On est fâché aussi que l'auteur parle avec si peu de ménagement de plusieurs femmes, nommant leurs amans, détaillant leurs intrigues les plus criminelles. La plume d'une femme ne doit jamais retracer de telles choses. A moins de preuves positives, irrécusables, et de raisons morales, fondées sur l'intérêt public, c'est sans doute une lâcheté d'attaquer les morts qui ne peuvent se défendre ; mais les écrits imprimés qu'on laisse après soi appartiennent au public, qui a toujours le droit de les juger ; ce ne sont que les personnalités, dénuées de preuves et de motifs utiles, qui dans ce cas sont doublement odieuses. Est-il moins condamnable d'écrire des anecdotes scandaleuses que l'on n'oseroit publier de son vivant, et de les laisser dans son porte-feuille à ses héritiers ? C'est profaner le repos inviolable de la tombe, ou pour mieux dire, c'est en abuser.

“ Une simple réflexion eût suffi à une personne aussi estimable que madame de la Fayette, pour lui faire sentir qu'un tel ouvrage étoit indigne d'elle. Il est vrai qu'elle dit dans une préface, qu'elle a écrit cette histoire par les ordres même de Madame. Mais si cette princesse étoit assez imprudente pour désirer que la postérité fût instruite de ses intrigues avec Vardes et le comte de Guiche, madame de la Fayette ne devoit pas céder à un désir si déraisonnable. D'ailleurs, rien n'obligeoit l'auteur à diffamer plusieurs femmes qu'elle déshonore dans cet ouvrage. Enfin, madame de la Fayette a continué cette histoire après la mort de la princesse, puisqu'elle y rend compte de cette mort. Madame de la Fayette devoit alors brûler ce manuscrit.”

The particulars given us by the authoress of the life of *Madame de Maintenon* are interesting, and elaborately written. One of the anecdotes of that distinguished female impresses us with a high idea of her extraordinary discretion.

“ Elle conduisit aux eaux le jeune duc du Maine, fils du roi et de madame de Montespan, et boiteux depuis sa naissance. Le roi ordonna à madame Scarron de lui écrire régulièrement pendant toute la durée du voyage ; il demandoit des lettres ; madame Scarron n'écrivit que des bulletins : elle eut le bon goût de sentir qu'elle devoit paroître croire que le roi, en donnant cet ordre, n'avoit désiré que recevoir régulièrement et avec détail des nouvelles de son fils. Une femme ordinaire n'eût pas manqué de saisir cette occasion de chercher à montrer de l'esprit. Il falloit une bien grande supériorité pour être audessus d'une prétention si naturelle, ou pour la sacrifier. Le roi fit aisément ces réflexions, et d'autant plus qu'il n'ignoroit pas que personne n'écrivoit mieux que madame Scarron ; il loua même cette modestie délicate et respectueuse.”

A mode of attack never omitted to be made by the profligate, (who, by the by, are the most bigotted and intolerant, in their own way, of all men upon earth ; bigotted in their unbelief, and intolerant in their laxity,) upon the serious, the sober, and the de-

tout; is to accuse them of hypocrisy. The charge is easily made, and the disposition to listen to calumny, especially against the virtuous, makes it easy to be sustained. Invention is always ready to second malice; and the whisper of scandal is as audible as thunder when the religious man is to be handed over to ridicule as a pretended saint. If his present conduct is too conspicuously good to be successfully misrepresented, his early days are overhauled, and the sins of his youth are summoned to testify against his grey hairs. Madame de Maintenon's religious life drew upon her the calumnies of this sort of defamers, and her biographer comments upon them with a respectable warmth.

“Cependant madame de Maintenon, toujours invariable dans sa conduite ainsi que dans ses principes, ne voyoit le roi qu'entourée de ses enfans ou chez la reine. Elle devint l'objet des hommages et de la terreur des courtisans. Un tel empire préparoit à de grandes réformes dans les mœurs. Tandis que madame de Maintenon élevoit de pauvres enfans abandonnés, tandis qu'elle alloit porter la joie sous le toit de l'indigent, on l'accusoit d'hypocrisie, on calomnioit sa jeunesse avec atrocité dans une multitude de libelles, on faisoit contre elle des chansons infâmes : sous prétexte de dénoncer au roi ces vils écrits, on les mit sous ses yeux ; il répondit froidement : *Cela ne mérite que du mépris*. Madame de Maintenon n'ignora pas ces noirceurs ; on lui conseilla des vengeance, elle rejeta ce conseil avec horreur. *On ne triomphe de la calomnie qu'en la dédaignant*, disoit-elle : maxime vraie sous le règne d'un prince éclairé, et qui fut également justifiée par sa conduite et par sa fortune.”

We cannot avoid extracting another anecdote of Madame de Maintenon, which interested us much in the perusal, although we think that we recollect the passage, as well as that which we have before quoted, in a former work of Madame de Genlis, on the Life of Madame de Maintenon.

“Souvent madame de Maintenon alloit recevoir ces pauvres dans la pièce où ils se rassembloient : un matin qu'elle leur donnoit audience de cette manière, un vieil ecclésiastique perçant la foule, s'approcha d'elle, et lui dit tout haut : Il y a trente-six ans, madame, que je ne vous ai vue.—Vous souvient-il qu'à votre retour des Iles, vous vous rendiez tous les jeudis à la porte des jésuites de la Rochelle, où les pères distribuoient des alimens aux pauvres ? Employé à cette distribution, je vous distinguai parmi tous les autres mendians ; je fus frappé de la noblesse de votre physionomie, j'observai votre embarras, j'en eus pitié et j'envoyai les alimens chez vous. Pendant cet étrange discours, qui pour toute autre eût été si mal-adroit et si déplacé, tous les yeux étoient fixés sur madame de Maintenon, et l'on ne put remarquer en elle ni la plus légère émotion, ni la moindre nuance d'embarras ; elle ne rougit point, elle écouta d'un air attentif et calme : ensuite, quand le vieillard eut cessé de parler, elle répondit qu'elle se rappeloit parfaitement tout ce qu'il venoit de dire, elle l'appela son bienfaiteur, et après l'avoir remercié

avec attendrissement, elle l'emmena dans son cabinet, comme pour lui épargner à son tour l'humiliation d'exposer tout haut ses besoins; là, elle le pria d'accepter une bourse qui contenoit cent pistoles, en lui annonçant que tous les ans elle la rempliroit de la même somme. Le roi entrant chez elle dans ce moment, elle lui présenta cet ecclésiastique, en lui disant : *Voilà mon père nourricier ; et vous ne serez plus surpris, Sire, que je vous importune quelquefois pour les orphelins.*"

Her disapprobation of the quietism of Fenelon seems to us to be just, and her general admiration of him to be equally well founded : but we cannot acquiesce in her justification of that most disgraceful of arbitrary measures the disgrace of that prelate, on account of the bold lesson which his *Telemachus* read in the ear of princes. There is nothing in the conduct of this most exemplary man, and courageous Christian, which we so admire as his maintenance of truth and virtue without regard to any consequences to himself; and nothing amidst all his mock splendour shewed the littleness of that inflated prince of whose great soul Madame de Genlis is so fond of talking*, as his falling out with the author of a satire, if satire it was, which his own pride and folly made applicable to himself, and which it was in his power, by his virtues, to have converted into eulogy. The pencil of Madame de Genlis has given us very lively sketches of Madame Dacier; Madame de Graffigny, the writer of the *Peruvian letters*, the first production of a woman, says our authoress, written with elegance; Madame Leprince de Beaumont, "qui la première s'occupa avec détail, et une grande suite, de l'éducation de l'enfance, et de la première jeunesse, et qui donna l'idée de travailler dans ce genre;" and Madame Riccoboni, the writer of the romance of *Juliette de Catesby*.

Of Madame du Deffant, (whose name we have hitherto found spelt with a d final,) the notice taken by this volume is very short. We have on a former occasion spoken out pretty plainly as to the merits of this lady, as well as of her companion Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse, whose constant calenture has interested so strongly the sensibilities of some of our reviewing contemporaries; and of their coteries; we cannot, therefore, disagree with our authoress in the following remark. "Il étoit impossible de connoître Madame du Deffant, et d'étudier son caractère, sans se confirmer dans l'opinion que la fausse philosophie,

* The present devotion of Madame de Genlis to arbitrary power is easy to be explained. She has held the office, we believe a nominal office, of governess to the children of Joseph Buonaparte, with a pension of 1200 dollars a year from the emperor; and it is said that she is expected to compose something for the emperor every week, but on what subject, or whether on any particular subject, we have not heard. She occupies apartments over the library of the arsenal of the Kings of France, for which she pays nothing.

détend tous les ressorts de l'âme, flétrit l'imagination et dessèche le cœur." The account of this celebrated lady is closed in the following words, to the truth of which we heartily subscribe. "Madame du Deffant mourut en 1780, âgée de quatre-vingt-quatre ans ; il y en avoit trente qu'elle étoit aveugle. On a publié des lettres d'elle, qui font peu d'honneur à sa mémoire. Il est remarquable que toutes les correspondances des philosophes modernes, mises au jour depuis leur mort, soient également scandaleuses, odieuses, et déshonorantes pour eux. Fausseté, méchanceté, duplicité, inconséquences, mauvaises mœurs, ambition et vanité demesurées, cabales, haine, basse envie, animosité, injustice, extravagance, toutes ces choses s'y trouvent prouvées et dévoilées de leur propre main."

The portrait of Madame Necker is ably drawn, and indeed all her remarks comprised in the chapter which she has bestowed on that distinguished person are worthy of peculiar attention. We will give one specimen.

"Elle épousa M. Necker, qui n'étoit alors que simple commis d'un banquier suisse. Quand M. Necker fut parvenu à la direction des finances de France, Madame Necker ne se servit de son pouvoir que pour faire plus de bien. Elle contribua à l'amélioration du régime intérieur des hôpitaux, et elle dirigea elle-même un hospice de charité qu'elle établit à ses frais près de Paris. Elle eut tout ce qui caractérise la véritable vertu : des principes religieux inébranlables, une grande élévation d'âme, une régularité de conduite et des mœurs au-dessus de tout soupçon, et une extrême indulgence. Elle fut bonne mère, amie fidèle, et la plus tendre, la meilleure des épouses. Cette femme, si digne d'estime et d'admiration, n'eut qu'un défaut ; mais ce défaut troubla sa vie, y jeta à la fois du ridicule et de l'amertume, lui fit faire plusieurs inconséquences, et finit par égarer son jugement et son esprit. Elle eut un goût trop passionné pour la littérature : tant il est vrai que le goût le plus innocent et même le plus noble, quand il n'est pas renfermé dans de justes bornes, peut avoir les plus graves inconvénients, surtout pour une femme. Cette passion, devenue dominante dans une personne qui avoit le sentiment de sa force, et qui se trouvoit avec raison si supérieure, par l'esprit et l'instruction, à toutes les autres femmes, lui inspira un ardent désir d'obtenir une grande célébrité, et pour elle et pour l'objet de sa plus vive affection, et dont la gloire devoit rejaillir sur elle ; ensuite sa liaison intime avec M. Thomas donna à ses idées et à son style cette exagération, cette emphase, qui ont fait dire si plaisamment à un excellent critique :

Quoi ! je ne puis trouver Condorcet ennuyeux,
Dorat impertinent, d'Alembert précieux,
Et Thomas assommant, quand sa lourde éloquence,
Souvent pour ne rien dire, ouvre une bouche immense ?

“Madame Necker admiroit trop profondément cet académie pour ne pas chercher à l'imiter : alors se forma cette école malheureuse, si féconde en brillans galimatias ; école un peu décréditée aujourd'hui, dont M. Thomas a été le meilleur auteur et le chef, e dont Madame Necker fut la mère.”

The criticisms of Madame Genlis on the works of Madame Cotin are replete with excellent sense and fine taste, eloquently and convincingly enforced.

“Claire d'Albe eut beaucoup de succès, et servit de modèle à tous ceux dont on enrichit depuis la littérature républicaine. Ce roman est à tous égards un mauvais ouvrage, sans intérêt, sans imagination, sans vraisemblance et d'une immoralité révoltante ; mais comme il a eu le triste honneur de former une nouvelle école de romanciers, qu'il est le premier où l'on ait représenté l'amour délirant, furieux et féroce, et une héroïne *vertueuse, religieuse, angélique*, et se livrant sans mesure et sans pudeur à tous les emportemens d'un amour effréné et criminel, il est impossible de le passer sous silence et de ne pas entrer dans quelques détails à cet égard.”

The disgusting and preposterous absurdity of the concluding event of that novel, is reprobated in merited terms.

We take our leave of this lively and intelligent lady, with our sincere thanks to her for the general good tendency, vigorous composition, and instructive contents of this latest of her labours, and with great cordiality we wish it may not be the last.

ART. XI. *Statistical Survey of the County of Cork, with Observations on the Means of Improvement, drawn up for the Consideration, and by Direction of the Dublin Society.* By the Rev. Horatio Townshend, M.A. Rector and Vicar of the Union of Kilgariffe, in the Diocese of Ross, and of Carigaline, in the Diocese of Cork. Dublin : Graisberry and Campbell. 1810. 8vo. pp. 853.

Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, Knight of St. Patrick, &c. &c. &c. By Francis Hardy, Esq. Member of the House of Commons in the three last Parliaments of Ireland. London : Cadell and Davies. 1810. 4to. pp. 443.

WE have been induced to select these two works, and to offer them together to the consideration of our readers, because one of them appears to us to give the best, (though certainly an imperfect) account of what the government of Ireland has been induced or compelled to do for the benefit of the people in the

course of the last half century:—while the other details the satisfactory result of the benefits conferred, wherever that portion of the people, upon whose conduct must always depend the prosperity of the whole, have had the coolness and the good sense to perceive that the most enlightened mode of pursuing their private interests is by promoting the public good. It is this conviction, we believe, that in the majority of minds lays the foundation of patriotism. It is certainly the corner-stone upon which rests the prosperity of England;—and if the observation of Bishop Berkeley be true, that it is not the English constitution which has formed English minds and manners, but English minds and manners which have formed the English constitution, it is upon the same foundation that must also be erected the superstructure of Ireland's prosperity. To fit the people of Ireland, therefore, for the constitution under which they live, it must be the great duty and leading object of its government, to engraft upon the national character as much as possible of English mind and English manners. We are far from intending to make invidious comparisons, or to assert that, abstractedly speaking, the English character is by nature superior to the Irish; but as the geographical position and political relations of Ireland have formed its constitution upon the English model—as it has lately been actually identified with it, by a connection which nothing but the subjection of Ireland to France and the consequent ruin of England can ever dissolve, it appears to us self-evident, that the only chance of permanent repose and prosperity to Ireland must rest upon the honest endeavours of its statesmen and higher orders of society to assimilate the national character to the constitution of their government. Providence has excluded them from the power of forming a system of government upon a reference to their national character. The ardour of the untamed Arabian courser must be modified to fit it for the useful purposes of regular labour, and when so tempered, it will perhaps constitute a breed combining vigour with utility, and superior to that which may in the first instance be proposed as the model by which it is to be trained.

If, instead of the selfish and miserable policy by which Ireland was misgoverned for two centuries previous to the present reign, this object had been kept in view with a steady eye, and promoted by an even hand, there is not a shadow of doubt that Ireland would have been as internally happy, united, and prosperous, as Yorkshire or North Britain. But we are resolved to profit by the “political legacy” of Mr. Hardy, and “to indulge in no political retrospect” that can give rise to

“political ill-humour.” We shall therefore merely state, in palliation of the conduct of England, that Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Montjoy, Lord Strafford, and the men of abilities, who have from time to time governed Ireland, have constantly complained that all their endeavours for the benefit of the country, and to preserve the true spirit of its connection with England, have been frustrated, in consequence of false representations made to the English government principally by Irishmen resident in England, or by Englishmen who had previously been employed in Ireland, or by men who went from Ireland to England to forward their own views of interest or ambition, by giving false colours to the state of the country, and frequently by calumniating the good intentions of the Irish government. It is to the last degree heart-breaking to read the strong and earnest representations made by such men as Lord Ormond, Lord Clanrickard, and those we have just named, and to perceive the little attention paid to them in England: nor can we possibly avoid being of opinion with Sir John Davis, that it has been through the fault of the English settled in Ireland, and the attention mistakenly paid to them by the English government, coupled with its want of confidence in those employed in the Irish government, that much of the evil has arisen; “For,” as he truly observes, “if there be two-third parts of the country where the king cannot punish treasons, murders, and thefts, unless he send an army to do it;—if the jurisdiction of his ordinary courts of justice doth not extend to protect the people of those parts from *wrong and oppression*;—he may be called sovereign lord of the country, but it cannot justly be said to be brought under his obedience.” Such, unfortunately, we fear may still be said to be in some degree the state of many parts of Ireland, and of some almost within sight of the capital; and until very lately, such was the state of a very large proportion of all Ireland. In short, reasoning with English prejudices and predilections, and with preconceived opinions arising out of them, upon the *ex parte* statement of interested individuals, and then shutting the eyes to all contrary information from the scene of action, has been the bane of English counsels, as much with respect to Ireland in former times, as with respect to the continental states in the last war. The error was more in the judgment than in the will.

Having stated thus much in palliation of conduct which we are aware cannot be justified, we now proceed to the period at which Mr. Hardy’s History commences, and at which a brighter æra seemed to open upon Ireland.

To give a correct delineation of the state of the people at this

period is consistent neither with our limits nor our means of information. The press teems with crude and hasty descriptions of the Irish character, the falsehood and omissions of which it is more easy to point out than to supply. An enlightened and venerable prelate, lately deceased, (the Bishop of Dromore,) after a residence of forty years, and after having studied the character of the Irish people with attention for more than twenty years, used to say, that he could even then scarcely flatter himself with the hope of being of more than slight assistance to an Englishman in gaining *some* knowledge of the habits, manners, and character of a people "so very different from those of his native country." The varieties in the people to be studied are so great, that the knowledge of a few specimens is totally insufficient. The old Irish, the old English settlers, the modern English settlers, the French refugees, have all distinct national characters. The church of England men, the presbyterians, other protestant dissenters, quakers, and Roman catholics, have all their separate influence upon a community, whose distinct parts are not yet connected by any very strong bands of general interest. And the different orders of the Roman catholic society, by far the most numerous, are, in the present state of their civil condition, actuated by very different interests. What person then, superficially acquainted with Ireland, shall presume to trace the intricate mazes of this social labyrinth? There were however certain visible barriers to improvement which we shall venture, with Mr. Hardy's assistance, hastily to enumerate. A House of Commons, of which the members held their seats without recurrence to the electors for their own lives or that of their sovereign—managed by a junto of jobbing great men, who attended principally to their own personal interests, and might therefore be soothed or bribed to desert Irish objects, where they might be supposed by the selfish spirit of the English to interfere with their interests;—a House of Lords, which day after day and year after year, as Mr. Hardy humorously describes it, "met, heard prayers, ordered that the judges should be covered, and—*then adjourned*;"—a commerce enslaved to the supposed rival interests of that of England;—a church whose bishops were conspicuous for any merits but learning and attention to religion, and often notorious for their vices and follies;—a parochial clergy, known to their flock chiefly through the medium of their tythe proctors;—a peccant excess of population suffered to grow up in ignorance and vice, or rather condemned to a perpetual bondage in them, by the tyranny and infatuation of an

oppressive political cabal, who abused their protestant ascendancy by converting it into an instrument of private ambition, instead of employing it to lead their poorer countrymen from the clutches of bigotry and the depression of idleness, into the light of truth and the paths of industry ;—such was the lamentable condition of Ireland at the commencement of the reign of George III. The progress of the piece of biography before us, though, as we have observed, it is far from containing a regular history of Irish affairs, will suffice to give a very competent idea of the change that has taken place.

The Earl of Charlemont sprang from a family of equestrian dignity in Oxfordshire, of the name of Caulfield. "Sir Toby Caulfield having done good service to Queen Elizabeth in Spain and the Low Countries," was rewarded by large grants of confiscated lands in Ireland, and created Baron of Charlemont in the year 1620. In 1665 the dignity of viscount was conferred on William, the fifth baron, whose great grandson (the subject of the work before us) was born in 1728. He received a private education, and at the age of eighteen went abroad, where he passed his time in a manner much more profitable to himself and creditable to his country than did the majority of British travellers of that period. He remained abroad from the autumn of 1746, to the year 1755, which Mr. Hardy calls eleven years, although according to our reckoning, it constitutes an absence of only nine years. In this interval he visited almost every part of Europe, and became acquainted with almost every distinguished character. Young, lively, amiable, and accomplished, he seems to have attracted universal good will, if not admiration ; for the British character was at that time duly appreciated on the continent. That he was not corrupted by the profligacy of the continental courts the following extracts from his papers about this period will sufficiently prove. Of David Hume, whom he met at Turin in the character of Secretary of Legation, he thus writes : "He had then lately published those philosophical essays which have done so much mischief to mankind by contributing to loosen the sacred bonds by which alone man can be restrained," &c. &c. "The world, however, unconscious of its danger, greedily swallowed the bait. The Essays were received with applause, read with delight, and their admired author was already by public opinion placed at the head of the dangerous school of sceptic philosophy." (P. 7, 8.)

"Nature, I believe, never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance ; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his

mind in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and flat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes, vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman, than of a refined philosopher. His speech, in English, was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent; and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old, he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing an uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the trained bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin, as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was, therefore, thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.

“ Having thus given an account of his exterior, it is but fair that I should state, that of all the philosophers of his sect, none I believe ever joined more benevolence to its mischievous principles than my friend Hume. His love to mankind was universal and vehement; and there was no service he would not cheerfully have done to his fellow-creatures, excepting that of suffering them to save their souls in their own way. He was tender-hearted, friendly, and charitable in the extreme; but the difficulty will now occur, how a man endowed with such qualities could possibly consent to become the agent of so much mischief, as undoubtedly has been done to mankind by his writings; and this difficulty can only be solved by having recourse to that universal passion, which has, I fear, a much more general influence over all our actions than we are willing to confess. Pride, or vanity, joined to a sceptical turn of mind, and to an education which, though learned, rather sipped knowledge than drank it, was, probably, the ultimate cause of this singular phenomenon; and the desire of being placed at the head of a sect, whose tenets controverted and contradicted all received opinions, was too strong to be resisted by a man, whose genius enabled him to find plausible arguments sufficient to persuade both himself and many others that his own opinions were true. A philosophical knight-errant was the dragon he had vowed to vanquish, and he was careless, or thoughtless of the consequences which might ensue from the achievement of the adventure to which he had pledged himself.—He once professed himself the admirer of a young, beautiful, and accomplished lady of Turin, who only laughed at his passion. One day he addressed her in the usual common phrase strain, that he was *abimé, anéanti*.—‘ Oh ! pour *anéanti*,’ replied the lady, ‘ *ce n’est en effet qu’une operation tres naturelle de votre systeme.*’ ” (Page 8.)

We believe these observations to be upon the whole no less cor-

rect than entertaining : and we shall also insert a passage in which Mr. Hume and another character equally celebrated appear in a contrast no less singular than deservedly contemptible.

“ About this time, 1766, or somewhat before this, Lord Charlemont once more met his friend Hume. His lordship mentions him in some detached papers, which I shall here collect, and give to the reader. ‘ Nothing,’ says Lord C. ‘ ever shewed a mind more beneficent than Hume’s whole conduct with regard to Rousseau. That story is too well known to be repeated, and exhibits a striking picture of Hume’s heart, whilst it displays the strange and unaccountable vanity and madness of the Swiss moralist. When first they arrived together from France, happening to meet with Hume in the park, I wished him joy of his pleasing connection, and particularly hinted that I was convinced he must be perfectly happy in his new friend, as their sentiments were, I believed, nearly similar. Why no, man, said he, in that you are mistaken ; Rousseau is not what you think him ; he has a hankering after the Bible, and indeed, is little better than a Christian, in a way of his own.—Excess of vanity was the madness of Rousseau. When he first arrived in London, he and his Armenian dress were followed by crowds, and as long as this species of admiration lasted, he was contented and happy. But in London such sights are only the wonder of the day, and in a very short time he was suffered to walk where he pleased, unattended, unobserved. From that instant his discontent may be dated. But to dwell no longer on matters of public notoriety, I shall only mention one fact, which I can vouch for truth, and which would of itself be amply sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the amazing eccentricity of this singular man. When after having quarrelled with Hume and all his English friends, Rousseau was bent on making his escape, as he termed it, into France, he stopped at a village between London and Dover, and from thence wrote to General Conway, then secretary of state, informing him that, although he had got so far with safety, he was well apprised that the remainder of his route was so beset by his inexorable enemies, that, unprotected, he could not escape. He therefore solemnly claimed the protection of the king, and desired that a party of cavalry might be immediately ordered to escort him to Dover. This letter General Conway shewed to me, together with his answer, in which he assured him, that the postillions were altogether a very sufficient guard throughout every part of the king’s dominions.’ ” (Page 120.)

We shall conclude these extracts concerning Hume with two more passages, by the pen of Lord Charlemont.

“ But an unfortunate disposition to doubt of every thing seemed interwoven with the nature of Hume, and never was there, I am convinced, a more thorough and sincere sceptic. He seemed not to be certain even of his own present existence, and could not therefore be expected to entertain any settled opinion respecting his fu-

ture state. Once I asked him what he thought of the immortality of the soul? 'Why, troth man,' said he, 'it is so pretty and so comfortable a theory, that I wish I could be convinced of its truth, but I canna help doubting.' In England, either his philosophic pride, or his conviction that infidelity was ill suited to women, made him perfectly averse from the initiation of ladies into the mysteries of his doctrine. I never saw him so much displeased, or so much disconcerted, as by the petulance of Mrs. Mallett, the conceited wife of Bolingbroke's editor. This lady, who was not acquainted with Hume, meeting him one night at an assembly, boldly accosted him in these words: 'Mr. Hume, give me leave to introduce myself to you, we deists ought to know one another.'—'Madam,' replied he, 'I am no deist; I do not style myself so, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation.' Nothing ever gave Hume more real vexation than the strictures made upon his history in the House of Lords, by the great Lord Chatham. Soon after that speech I met Hume, and ironically wished him joy of the high honour that had been done him. 'Zounds man,' said he, with more peevishness than I had ever seen him express, 'he's a Goth! he's a Vandal!'—Indeed, his history is as dangerous in politics, as his essays are in religion; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the same man who labours to free the mind from what he supposes religious prejudices, should as zealously endeavour to shackle it with the servile ideas of despotism." (Page 121.)

Our wish to hasten to the more important periods of Lord Charlemont's life will only permit us to add one other extract from this part of the memoirs, which occupies about forty pages, and which we strongly recommend, as very instructive and entertaining. He was on very intimate terms at Paris with the President Montesquieu, and witnessed the expiring fires of that celebrated beau and philosopher, then seventy years old.

"In the course of our conversations (says Lord Charlemont) Ireland and its interests have often been the topic; and upon these occasions I have always found him an advocate for an union between that country and England. Were I an Irishman, said Montesquieu, I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it, and for this plain reason, that an inferior country, connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has by her representatives a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom." (P. 36.)

At the period of Lord Charlemont's return from the continent, Ireland was just beginning to feel her power and importance, and to spurn at the system of oppression by which she had been so long kept below her natural level in the scale of the three kingdoms.

It was the interest of one of the great men of that day to seek the

aid of the people; and the people finding that they could aid others, naturally enough discovered that they could help themselves. Popular leaders started forth, endowed with all the liveliness and energy of the national character; and they, of course, sought to fortify their party (for Ireland now for the first time beheld a popular party) by every accession of rank or talent which they could procure. A person who had made so considerable a figure on the continent as Lord Charlemont, whose extensive correspondence (widely circulated in his native country) evinced great talent, and whose character was amiable and unimpeached, could scarcely fail to attract the eyes of a party then much in want of a leader. His character and disposition equally conspired to cement the connection which shortly took place between him and the whigs of Ireland. With a truly Irish partiality for his country, with a sincere desire to convert the talents and character acquired with so much industry to laudable and patriotic purposes, actuated by a due portion of that venial vanity that delights in popular applause, and which, perhaps, is never more strongly impressed than upon characters compounded of great talents and a certain shyness of nature, he was precisely that composition of a man of which his country stood in need; and we are not surprised, that after an ineffectual struggle or two on the part of the self-indulgent propensities of his nature, to retain him in the more congenial society of England, he made a strenuous exertion and a noble sacrifice, by fixing his permanent residence in his native country, and resolved to look upon its moral and political improvement as the object and reward of all the future exertions of his life. That these were his leading motives we have no doubt, and if they were occasionally mixed with others of a somewhat lower cast, he must have a different view of human nature from that which we have been taught to cherish, who would harshly notice them, or consider them as degrading Lord Charlemont from the eminence on which he stood, as the ornament of his country, and a bright example to the "great men" of Ireland. We will presume to assert, that if two-thirds of her nobility would now act upon the same principles in the several æras of her progressive prosperity, more would be done for her people and for the interests of the united empire, than three centuries of public discussion and parliamentary enactment could possibly bring to pass.

It is one of the most distressing circumstances of the office we have undertaken, that our limits will scarcely ever allow of a detailed account of the important works to which we profess to confine our criticisms, and also admit of those reflections upon their result which may tend to correct and enlarge the

moral and political views of our countrymen. This must be our excuse for not following Mr. Hardy minutely into all the details of Lord Charlemont's life, and of the political warfare in which he was engaged. We strongly recommend the perusal of them to our readers, as containing the best account extant of Irish affairs, and Irish political characters of the last half century, enlivened by much interesting and amusing anecdote. The style of the work is far from heavy, and though not exactly that in which a correct Englishman would write, is extremely characteristic of an Irish gentleman. Eager, vivid, and peculiar, its principal defect is an affectation of ornament and a want of that perspicuity of expression which, among the graces of composition, is like prudence among the virtues,—the qualifier and test of their perfection.

After this general recommendation of the work, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief summary of the victories over the evil genius of Ireland, gained by Lord Charlemont; by the aid and advice principally of Mr. Grattan, whom his lordship first brought into the Irish parliament, by his influence in the borough from which he took his title. For the first twenty years after his return to Ireland, Lord Charlemont seems to have uniformly sustained the character of an active, enlightened, and patriotic gentleman; exercising his extensive influence with the people to discountenance turbulence and rebellion, and to support the just rights of government; and using his credit with the ruling powers for the protection and advantage of his countrymen. In 1772, his majesty in the most gracious manner conferred upon him, through the new lord lieutenant, the unsolicited honour of an earldom of the kingdom of Ireland.

This seems to be the period of Lord Charlemont's life, in which his situation and employments were most congenial with his disposition and acquirements. But he was destined, in spite of nature, to engage in more bustling scenes, and to be the instrument in the hands of others of conferring more important benefits on his country. In the year 1778, the fear of French invasion and the paucity of troops in Ireland gave rise to the volunteer force, which, by the strange blunders of the Irish government, acquired strength and consistence independently of, and almost in defiance of, the crown and its viceroy. Lord Charlemont was generalissimo of this force; and under him 40,000 men, armed and trained, in fact governed Ireland; and gave the people such a foretaste of their importance and independence, as nothing but the prudence and patriotism of their leaders could have prevented from exploding into an absolute subversion of

all the laws and institutions of the kingdom. Providentially, however, the fire gradually decayed, and, at length, died entirely away without any conflagration; but not till after it had been instrumental in extorting, first a free trade, next a relaxation of the penal code, then a habeas corpus act, and lastly, the perfect and acknowledged independence of the Irish parliament.

The years which immediately succeeded were the most flourishing that Ireland had ever known; no interference on the part of government could be said to check the native energies of the people; and agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, of course, proceeded with that limited degree of velocity which the moral degradation of the mass of the people admitted. The catholics too had not been taught by the private interests of party combatants—that toleration was synonymous with political power. They were as well satisfied, as from the nature of the case they ever can or will be, with the exclusive enjoyment of the former, and seemed to acquiesce in the justice of the privation of those civil privileges which they chose to forego for conscience sake. But this was a deceitful calm. The question of the regency in 1789 brought the English and Irish parliaments into direct opposition, and shewed plainly, that to ensure future tranquillity and prosperity to the empire, it was necessary that the legislatures should be united. The irritable elements of the Irish character were thrown into violent fermentation by the French revolution and its consequences, and the unfortunate contests of ambition among our candidates for political power produced a state of things among the catholics, offering scarcely any result which is not exposed to an alternative of evil. The union of England and Ireland (opposition to the first stages of which was the last political act of Lord Charlemont,) has completely remedied the first evil; the domestic evils arising out of the French revolution have, at length, worked their own cure; but the last evil still rages with increased violence, and requires the combined talent and patriotism of the people and their rulers, to put the finishing hand to the prosperity of Ireland, and the strength and glory of the united empire.

Still, however, enough was done by the honest statesmen and sincere friends of Ireland, to secure the improvement of the people wherever their moral condition and freedom from party violence permitted them to avail themselves of the impulse imparted. Of this Mr. Townshend's work, to which we now proceed, affords ample and gratifying proofs, and directs the judgment very clearly to what is yet wanting in the system. The survey of Cork is drawn up for the consideration of the Dublin

society, upon the same plan with those useful reports upon the Scotch and English counties, which are procured by the Board of Agriculture in this country. It is executed in a manner by no means inferior to the best of those productions, which, as our readers know, are from the experienced hand of Mr. Arthur Young, the secretary to the English Board: and our readers, particularly those of Ireland, will admit, that we have not called their attention to an insignificant production, when we inform them, that it contains an enlightened summary of the items, whose accumulated values have carried the present rental of the single county of Cork beyond that of all Ireland in the year 1727, as computed by Mr. Brown. In proof and illustration of this fact, Mr. Townshend, after a general description of the boundaries, surface, and inhabitants of the county, enters into a minute description of the modes of culture, labour, towns, manufactories, population, roads, seats, and general improvements in each particular barony.

“ That the people, observes Mr. Townshend, have not yet wholly emerged from rudeness, will be considered as no reproach, if we consider them as in their progress to a degree of civilization hitherto unattained. They only who invest them with glory never enjoyed, and arts never possessed, convey a severe though unintended censure upon their degeneracy. The progress of their advancement since the means have been afforded has, in reality, been very rapid; and perhaps no country can be named in which improvement in the elegant as well as useful arts is more happily accelerating. That those means were long withheld by jealous and mistaken policy must be a matter of regret; that there is such a general disposition to take advantage of them, now that they are offered, is a rational cause of exultation. Instead, therefore, of affording food to discontent by a mortifying display of former greatness (which never existed), it should be the laudable object of the true patriot to represent them (truly) as having lost nothing that was worth retaining, and as possessing opportunities which turbulence alone can disappoint of acquiring an ample share of fame and prosperity, by a sedulous attention to the pursuits of industry.” (P. 67—8.)

The county of Cork, where, from a variety of favourable circumstances, this system has been closely pursued of late years, exhibits the strongest proofs of its merits, and an animating example to the rest of Ireland. The population and number of houses have increased in a ratio almost incredible, Mr. Townshend thinks nearly fourfold in forty years. But of this we cannot help expressing strong doubts; and even if true, we should be far from considering it as a favourable circumstance; for great

as the increase of the demand for labour has been, we can hardly suppose it such as to occupy so enormous an increase of hands; and that population which is raised by seizing a turf cabin and a potatoe ground from the waste, in defiance or through the neglect of the proprietor, is evidently the result of bad government, and must of necessity be checked as cultivation and society advance, in the manner so admirably pointed out by Lord Selkirk, in his work on emigration from the Highlands of Scotland. That this superabundant population exists in many of the least improved parts of Ireland we have no doubt, but that the account of its existence in the county of Cork is a little overcharged we cannot help suspecting from the circumstance, that even in the distant and least improved baronies the price of labour is high, p.(414.) A shilling a day with food, and eighteenpence without it, is about the average; and this may certainly be considered as high wages where the principal sustenance not only of the labourer, but even of farmers, of from fifty to one hundred pounds per annum, consists of potatoes and milk; in favour of which they have actually deserted their former food, which consisted, as in the northern counties of England and in Scotland, of oaten bread. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot help thinking, that the increase of population in the county of Cork is a little exaggerated, but that it consists, with few exceptions, of a sound, healthy, and well-employed people, subsisting certainly upon a cheap and easily-acquired food, but who are, nevertheless, on the very point of acquiring those more improved and artificial tastes which invariably spread among the lower ranks as society advances. In the neighbourhood of the towns they have indeed already acquired them. We find that in Cork, Kinsale, and their extensive neighbourhoods, and indeed throughout the county, the substitution of porter for ardent spirits has become very general; and we are much disposed to accede to the justice of the following observations of Mr. Townshend's in praise of this national beverage.

“ The increasing use of porter was very apparent before the suppression of the distilleries, and it has experienced so rapid an augmentation since, that the apprehended injury to agriculture by the reduced price of barley seems to have been done away. There are, however, other considerations to be taken into the account. An exchange of sobriety for drunkenness, and an improvement in the health and morals of the people, are worth purchasing, even at a greater price than a little fall on barley and oats. The injury sustained by some respectable individuals, who had embarked a large capital in distilleries, is certainly to be regretted, but the unbiassed judgment of every friend to the general welfare will be disposed to

wish that spiritous liquors may never be cheaper than at present." (564, 5.)

The general introduction of the plough where the spade only was formerly in use, the increased attention to manure, particularly to lime, the adoption of a regular and systematic course of crops in districts where a short time ago the land was exhausted by repeated crops of white corn, and then suffered to lie a prey to weeds, till it was supposed to have recovered strength enough to bear a repetition of the same process of exhaustion; the increase in the size of farms and in the respectability of farm buildings; the great attention to the breed and selection of live stock; and above all the frequency of elegant and highly ornamented gentlemen's seats in the beautiful spots with which this county abounds, and which are inhabited by a resident gentry intent upon the improvement of their property, and interested of course in the tranquillity of the country, and in the moral improvement of the peasantry; all these afford an encouraging, and we have no doubt, in the main, a very correct account of the actual condition of the county of Cork.

We are happy also to record Mr. Townshend's opinion, that the present attention to the interests of the church on the part both of the government and the hierarchy is very commendable. Liberal encouragement has been given both to the erection of churches and glebe houses, by which the established clergy have been enabled to reside on their cures, and to be useful in their vocation. Not less than twenty-seven churches and seventeen glebe houses have been erected in the county within the last thirty years. Thinking, as we do, that the protestantizing of Ireland is the only mode by which the union of the two countries can ultimately be secured, we contemplate these exertions, in a county so full of Romanists as that of Cork, with peculiar pleasure, and we trust that it will be followed up by the erection of protestant schools upon the Madras system; for the parochial schools at present are "little more than nominal," except "several little schools with Roman catholic teachers, in which children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic." (P. 418.) We wish to say nothing harsh of the Romish religion, or of those who adhere to it; and certainly after their own open profession of their views* it is very far from unfair to ascribe to them the desire of rendering their religion the established religion of the country. This being once obtained, it would be a weakness past all belief in men of common sense to flatter themselves

* See besides the *Edinburgh Review* and various other publications, a pamphlet published by a Mr. M'Kenna in Dublin as early as the year 1803.

that the protestant religion, or the protestant titles to estates forfeited *principally upon account of religion*, would be suffered to endure. With whatever sincerity the moderate Romanists may disclaim such views in their actual situation, arguing upon the mass of them as men actuated by human passions and by sincere religious prejudices, it is perfectly ridiculous to suppose that any concessions short of those we have stated can make them cease to act with the zeal and consistency of a sect. This zeal must be opposed by those who feel that such concessions would be ruinous, not by concession but by counteraction.

But the relative means of the two churches in Ireland are by far too little known in England, and though our limits will not admit of entering into the detail, some faint idea may be conceived of it, when we know that every parish as well as every diocese has its appointed catholic minister constantly resident; active in his duties, devotedly obedient to his bishop, who in his turn is governed by an archbishop, who is equally devoted to the pope; while the protestant incumbent is in the majority of instances utterly unable or unwilling to reside upon his living; and is therefore chiefly known by the requisition of tythes, which, under such circumstances, can only be considered by the landholder as a grievous exaction. Is it in the nature of things then that the former should not look upon himself as the rightful incumbent, entitled to the profits as he performs almost all the duties of the office; or that the hierarchy presiding over such a clergy should not consider the episcopal honours and emoluments as justly their due? Nay, we will go further—speaking abstractedly from the political welfare of the country, and from the truth of the respective religions, are their arguments or expectations so ill founded in justice? The manner in which they are amalgamated with the population, and have insinuated themselves into every corner of the island places at the porch of every church a claimant indignant at his exclusion, and prepared to rush in with every tide of fortune. To us then who think that the fulfilment of their expectations would be fatal to the moral, religious, and political welfare of the empire, any thing like an improved system of counteraction on the part of the established church, by the adoption of such methods as can alone expect or deserve success, is interesting and exhilarating.

Such is the picture to which the county of Cork seems fast approaching to a resemblance—and we believe that it is the most advanced of those counties in Ireland where the catholics form the more numerous part of the population. But even here of course things are only in a *state of progress*;

rapid as the improvement has been, magic only could have operated a complete revolution in the short period during which Ireland has been governed upon enlightened principles. There is a reverse of the picture to be contemplated; a remnant of the old leaven, which predominates in many other catholic counties, and is still to be found in this promising region; Mr. Townshend has not disguised it from his readers. "At once to exhibit," he observes, "the most striking contrast between skill and ignorance, beauty and deformity, between lands in a high degree of elegant improvement, and lands in a state of slovenly and unskilful husbandry, is perhaps peculiar to Ireland." (P. 183.) Perhaps it might have been better said, "peculiar to a people in that precise point of the progress of society in which Ireland exists." The lower ranks are still in some places and on some occasions strongly addicted to whiskey-drinking and fighting, and the hero of the cudgel in Ireland stands as high in all blackguard estimation as the hero of the fist in England. We think it the less necessary, however, to enlarge upon this part of the subject, as we had the pleasure of laying before our readers a very faithful picture of the Irish peasantry, in our second number, when reviewing Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues.

It is Mr. Townshend's opinion that the peasantry of the Romish persuasion are not disposed to rebellion or disaffection to the government, unless excited by their superiors.

"Interest, he observes, is man's ruling principle, and collectively taken they seldom sacrifice a certain to a speculative good. Security and comfort are the utmost objects of the people's ambition, who, if they enjoy these, will not be very anxious to inquire from what description of governors and landlords they proceed. Under such circumstances, though rebellion may arise, it will never originate with the people. Artifice and inflammation may excite them to support it, but it will owe its birth to other causes than their discontent and disaffection. Even under Elizabeth, when their condition was so infinitely beneath what it is now, Spenser does them the justice to observe, that 'all the rebellions which we see from time to time happen in Ireland, are not begun by the common people, but by the lords and captains of counties, upon pride and wilful obstinacy against government.' " (P. 92.)

Of the superior ranks in the county of Cork we have already extracted from the work before us some commendation; but we cannot in fairness omit a few strictures which apply probably more to the neighbouring counties than to Cork at the present moment. Adverting to practices scarcely yet exploded, he states that "every person calling himself a gentleman not only ex-

pected immediate obedience to his mandate, but often for the most trifling offence, and sometimes for no offence at all, inflicted manual punishment without the smallest apprehension of resistance on the part of the sufferer. The same mode of chastisement was frequently adopted by the priest, in addition to the more formidable correction of his spiritual authority. But these practices are falling into disuse, &c." (P. 91.)

There are, however, still inveterate habits among a great proportion of the gentry constantly resident in Ireland, the speedy correction of which is much more necessary than probable. "In the third order of our gentry there is still much to be reformed. The possessor of a little independent income commonly considers himself qualified to set up for a country squire, in which capacity he apes the worst part of the example of his betters. Sporting becomes to him a business, for which all useful pursuits are neglected; he seems to think that he is rising in respect in proportion as he recedes from utility." The sons are usually bred up after the example of their father: the eldest succeeds to the small patrimony which the vices of each possessor are constantly diminishing; and the younger children become an useless and noxious excrescence on the body politic; the instruments of turbulence, and often of rebellion.

We have reason to believe also, that among the higher ranks of the gentry, selfishness and the spirit of party are in many cases so predominant, that the welfare of society and the good government of the country are entirely lost sight of. A party-man is necessarily supported by his partizans, even though his conduct is diametrically opposite to every principle of honour, or even of common honesty. The necessity of mutual association for mutual defence, where party violence endangers personal security, renders this in some sort necessary; and we wish to submit the fact to those among the highest ranks, who for the purposes of private ambition keep alive those animosities of party which so directly, though not perhaps at first sight so obviously, tend to check the amelioration of the country.

The presentations of grand juries, and the sums ordered in consequence for the public improvements of a county, are a fertile source of party jobbing. The improvement is scarcely ever executed, and by the combination of two or three magistrates in the district where it is ordered, the money raised upon the county rests in the pocket of one of them, who is prepared in his turn to join in a similar accommodation to his neighbour. These practices alone speak volumes respecting the state of the country, and, joined to what we have stated in the course of this article, point very clearly to the objects yet necessary to

complete the *real emancipation* of Ireland—they are a general increase of *public principle* among the higher orders, and of *industry* and *intelligence* among the lower. The three conditions are, we believe, inseparable in politics. The attainment of one will, therefore, gradually induce the others; but the absolute necessity of the rapid improvement of Ireland should stimulate it's statesmen and proprietors to the simultaneous encouragement of them all.

By the earnest appeals which we so frequently make to our countrymen in behalf of public principle, and a disinterested and patriotic use of their talents and influence in society, we are not vain enough to hope that we shall be able to stem the torrent of selfishness and corruption. But the more we see and reflect upon the nature of the present times, the more convinced are we, that in the very unequal contest in which we are engaged, nothing but the zealous and devoted application of every serviceable faculty and talent to the public good, and the sacrifice of our individual self to the interests of our social self, can save the Empire. This is emphatically true of that part of it to which this article particularly relates. However hopeless, therefore, of complete success, we shall never cease from calling upon all ranks, and upon the "great men" especially of both countries, to keep these truths always before them, and to be disinterested in politics, if not for their country's sake, at least for their own.—For no one can dispute that now, at least, is the time arrived, when the best understood selfishness may be said to consist in the total abandonment of self in the cause of the public.

With respect to the party measure miscalled emancipation, is it to be supposed, as Mr. Townshend well observes, that "the admissibility of a few now disqualified persons to seats in parliament, and some offices of public trust and dignity (which is in reality all that remains of catholic emancipation), will make a single tradesman drink less or behave better? Will it make an idle gentry better farmers and worse sportsmen? Will it remove a dirt-hole from a farmer's door, exchange a bad plough for a good one, or put a single pane of glass into his window? Will it enlighten his mind, enlarge his scanty stock of ideas, diminish his bigotry, or remove his prejudices? The answer is obvious to the meanest capacity, and shows that the remedy of these evils must be sought elsewhere." (P. 723.) The remedy must be sought in the encouragement of industry and education among all ranks, in a strict and regular administration of justice, in raising, if possible, the *civil* character of the Romanist, in perfect impartiality to the several

parties in the state so long as they all obey the laws, and above all in convincing them that those laws are unalterably fixed on the public policy of the empire, and that it is treason to the state to attempt to alter their foundations. This one conviction, by converting the ardor which now evaporates in party squabbles to the amelioration of each man's condition in life, would do more to settle men's minds and to attach them to the English connection, than any plan of concession; which, unless it be resolved entirely to reverse the present order of things, can only perpetuate discord;—and if such reversal do take place, must inevitably end in separation. The mass of the Romanists are only agitated by the arts of their leaders, and in the present instance we believe that those leaders have been set in motion from this side of the water for very obvious and unjustifiable purposes, and in the expectation (which we trust will prove a vain one) of producing a false impression in a high quarter, altogether inconsistent with a continuance of the present system of government.

Among the means of the improvement of Ireland, we must not omit noticing the patriotic society to which we owe the volume we are reviewing. The Dublin Society, with a perseverance equally spirited and laudable, unceasingly labour in the great objects of improving the manners of the middle gentry;—introducing sobriety, prudence, and decorum among dissipated, drunken, and turbulent tradesmen;—stimulating the activity, advancing the skill, enlightening the minds, and increasing the comforts of the slovenly rustics;—promoting employment for an increasing population by the advancement of agriculture—by new manufactories, or the improvement of those which exist. These are truly Irish objects, and will in time raise “that fertile island high in the scale of great and happy nations;” and grateful should the nation be to that body of men who adopt these methods of cure for the existing evils.

We shall close this article with the few following observations. Let the Irish government always keep in mind the trite maxim, that honesty is the best policy: if they dare be honest, they will at length have the country at their feet. The union has put an end to the tyranny which the great families were in the habit of exercising over the government: and *union-promises* are now probably all fulfilled or forgotten. The government, therefore, is at length enabled to resist unreasonable demands without hazarding its existence. Let it use its liberty for the benefit of the country. The true friends of Ireland expect that *all appointments*, particularly those to bishopricks, and to high stations in the law, will not be upon the old footing; that merit

will be attended to; and that the disgraceful advancement to the government of the church of dissipated young men of rank, or of worthy but inefficient ministers; and to the high posts of the law, of political adventurers, or their relatives and dependents, will no longer take place. The fountains of truth and of justice must cease to be polluted, or the stream of society can never run pure. Liberal encouragement to the commerce and manufactures of Ireland is also indispensable. If England, by depriving itself of five shillings, can enable Ireland to gain half a crown by industry, it would be good economy to conclude the bargain. For the ultimate effect on the people of Ireland would save to the empire more expence than the first loss; to say nothing of the danger it would avert, and of the national strength which it would consolidate. We are happy to have Mr. Townshend's authority for asserting, that "industry is every where advancing; civilization in most places, and knowledge in a few. But much, very much yet remains to be attained:" and probably a very short period of tranquillity yet remains in which to obtain it. Let it not then be thrown away! There is no country where the character of the people is more fitted by nature for the highest attainment in moral, political, and intellectual excellence. The bountiful hand of the Almighty has afforded ample materials, however they may have hitherto been perverted and abused. It must be the care of the legislature now to form and fashion them; and until it has fully succeeded, we can only address it in the warning voice of the poet:

*"Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso."*

After what has been written in the preceding pages, it is almost superfluous to add, that both the publications, of which we have been giving a very brief and imperfect sketch, are full of interesting and entertaining matter; and that we strenuously recommend them to the attention of the public, and particularly of the statesmen and politicians of the United Empire.

ART. XII. *Bibliomania; or Book-madness. A Bibliographical Romance in six Parts; illustrated with Cuts.* By the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin. London: Longman, Hurst, and Co. 1811. 8vo. pp. 792.

THE particular acquaintance with books, which Mr. Dibdin calls bibliography, is a taste now so widely spread in good society, that a gentleman with any pretensions to literature can hardly afford to be entirely ignorant of it. But as even a superficial acquaintance with the science was heretofore only to be acquired by the expensive process of purchasing scarce volumes, or the tiresome one of attending the auction rooms where they are sold, we cannot but feel disposed to look upon Mr. Dibdin's efforts with some degree of complacency; inasmuch as he has compressed into his 790 pages a sufficient quantity of information concerning the several branches of the science, to enable a gentleman, by moderate diligence, to qualify himself for making a very respectable figure in the society even of professed book-collectors.

We must observe, nevertheless, that in times like these we are very far from insisting on the importance or the laudable nature of the present pursuits of book-collectors; on the contrary, we cannot but think them very remotely, if at all, advantageous to those sciences which have a tendency to improve the moral force, or to add to the physical strength of our country. They rather appear to us to be a luxuriant excrescence on the literary body; never to be positively encouraged, and only to be tolerated in the piping times of peace and overflowing wealth, to operate as a diversion of its peccant humours. The increasing prevalence of these pursuits, however, seems to demand some notice from those who undertake to let nothing pass without investigation which is connected with the state of morals and literature. We shall therefore first say something of the study or science itself, and shall then enter into a brief description of the work before us.

First, then, whatever pains the ingenious author of this "*Bibliographical Romance*" may have taken to convince us of the contrary, we really do think, that a mere knowledge of what books are useful, curious, and rare—and this we take to be modern "*Bibliography*"—is a knowledge of a very limited and unenviable nature. It goes a very little way to enlarge the dominion, or increase the fruits, of the human intellect. It is giving the husk instead of the grain, as intellectual food—nor can an inquisitive mind be satisfied with such a substitute.

"Bibliography," as it is now generally pursued, is little more than a mere knowledge of the fringe and drapery of a book. But if it go not beyond this, it goes no useful length. If it excite no other sentiment but that of cold and distant admiration, or a sort of platonic love, never aspiring to fruition, it is a curiosity at once stupid and irregular; and its effect can never extend to impregnate the understanding, or people the imagination with ideas. To be useful, bibliography must teach us to read what is *valuable*, not what is *rare*; to make a love of books instrumental to a love of knowledge; to examine, as well as to open, volumes; and to apply our knowledge of what other ages have written and done towards the improvement of that in which we live. If it lead to this; if too, in such a pursuit it enliven the slothful, and stimulate the ingenious — if it conduct to generous and patriotic ends, then we have no objection to join our assent to the eulogies of Mr. Dibdin. Yet we must confess that our own personal observation gives us too much reason to suspect, that only a very superficial education, provided its deficiency be supplied by a heavy purse, is requisite to qualify our modern book-collectors; who for the most part trouble themselves only about the date and condition, and entirely disregard the intrinsic character, of the works which they make such unreasonable sacrifices to possess.

If we could now see that passionate and unwearied attachment towards the discovery of useful knowledge which characterised the efforts of the Woods, Nicolson, Maittaires, Tanners, and Oldyses of former times, we might then augur well of a study that is now so generally and so enthusiastically pursued. If we could discover a tendency towards those scholastic attainments which distinguished some of the foregoing characters, and particularly the greater part of those foreign philosophers whom Mr. Dibdin has so carefully enrolled in his notes to the chapter which he calls "*The Cabinet*," we should then "hope great things" respecting the result of this new and attracting study. But, judging from the symptoms which have yet occurred, we must be allowed to doubt, if not despair, respecting the re-appearance of such men as Lambecius, Baillet, and Le Long. We have mentioned Oldys, not because he stands exactly in the list of the above-mentioned authors, but because his researches were in general *well directed*, and his inaccuracies of style greatly overbalanced by the utility derived from his labours.

This train of reasoning brings us very naturally to state our opinions respecting the *modern English school of bibliography*; for having delivered our sentiments upon the subject in general,

it behoves us to declare (though, as we beg leave to protest, not with the precision and learning of professed bibliographers) our sentiments upon those works which have given a bias to our conclusions.

These works are all carefully chronicled by the author before us; but rather, we think, with the formality of a tradesman in making out his bills of parcels, than with the freedom and spirit of a literary judge.

First, then, after a long and dreary slumber of more than half a century from the publication of the *British Librarian* of Oldys, appeared the *Censura Literaria*, with the names of two ostensible editors, of whom it is difficult to say which has been the most fortunate in his labours: the former dealing in light, airy, and speculative lucubrations; the latter persevering with steady resolution through every fragment which happens to be a fifteener*, although to chance and the grocer's forbearance it may have owed its very existence: unless perhaps the safety in which it has lived until the prurient sapience of modern bibliographers has brought it into the light, may be better ascribed to the same cause to which La Bruyere attributes the chastity of a certain order of females: *qui ne sont en sureté que parsqu'on ne les cherchent pas*.

Of the *Censura Literaria* itself, our opinions may be pretty nearly gathered. We do not think it will ever be resorted to by the general reader for amusement or useful instruction, however dear it may be to the bibliographer, from the number of rare, obscure, and extraordinary works which are noticed in it.

Out of the ashes of this work, in ten volumes, the *British Bibliographer* arose. Although the offspring bears a strong resemblance to its parent, it has, upon the whole, a more promising aspect. Our author has lent a helping hand to it, but we think that his labours have been here misplaced. The analysis of Hearne's pieces would have had a more graceful effect in a *Life* of Hearne, or prefixed to the forthcoming re-impression of his works. The name of a very respectable knight of St. Joachim appears as the editor of this work; but we think a little out of order: and that a plea in abatement, upon the ground of *misnomer*, might be entered against him. The principal features discoverable in the *British Bibliographer* are, a minute and painful dissection of the pieces of George Withers—(in which the patience of the anatomist is more praiseworthy than the specimens exhibited)—an analysis of some old romances—and

* A cant phrase for a book printed in the sixteenth century, having 15 as the first two figures of the date.

abundance of miscellaneous information by I. H.: who, as usual, bears the brunt of the battle. We will not quarrel with the performance of these artists; but only hope, for the comfort of the publisher, that there may be found two hundred and fifty readers (this being the limited number of copies printed) capable of relishing the beauties of their communications.

While these works were going on appeared *The Anecdotes of Literature and scarce Books*, by the Rev. William Beloe. The preface to the first volume seems to disarm criticism. Under cover of large letters, widely distant sentences, great names, and a sounding style, the author marches forward in the panoply of self-assurance, and sometimes treats his fellow-labourers with reluctant civility. His first two volumes are acknowledged even indirectly by himself, (see vol. iii. p. 6.) to be sufficiently erroneous: and it comes with little grace from one who, if we mistake not, is a reviewer by trade, to talk of the asperity with which he has been treated, and the cruelty with which his "errors of omission and commission" have been exposed. We understand a fifth volume is *in progress*, if not already published; accompanied, we sincerely hope—for his own reputation; and the comfort and convenience of his readers—by a copious and well-digested index. Mr. Beloe must forgive us, if, in his four preceding volumes, we lament the absence of lucid order, and interesting materials. We are carried into so many, and such discordant apartments, and see the furniture around so cumbrous and misplaced, that we begin to be wearied, and wish for a more humble and commodious residence. It would appear too, that a right reverend, learned, and truly respectable bishop had had the carving or turning of almost every piece of furniture which is "put out." Now this, to say the least of it, is making very free with the episcopal bench; an error, of which we should suspect Mr. Beloe the last man upon earth to be guilty.

We are the more surprised at the glaring deficiencies of these volumes, as Mr. Beloe has shewn us, in his *Translations of Herodotus and Aulus Gellius*, that he possesses both taste and scholarship; we only wish him to be consistent with himself; and we fear that it is not from these "*Tentamina Bibliographica*," that Mr. Beloe's literary reputation is likely to gather strength.

We are now getting towards the close of our *Catalogue Raisonné*. The *British Librarian* by James Savage, is, we think, about the most useful performance of its kind. It is properly noticed by Mr. Dibdin (pp. 69—626); and if the future conductor of it would dispense with that greatest of modern evils, note-making, (we request Mr. Dibdin's forgiveness) he might

prove himself not an unworthy continuator of Oldys. All that such a work requires is perspicuity, with a moderate share of judgement and taste in the selection and description of materials. And it may then enable us to judge whether we have given thirty guineas for a perfect or imperfect copy of *Chauncy's Hertfordshire*, or sixteen for *Bentham's Ely*. To spend large sums upon imperfect volumes must be the 'malum maximum' of collectors.

We have not yet quite done; for we happen to remember a periodical work entitled *The Director*, to which Mr. Dibdin contributed one half of the materials, and of which half two-thirds are devoted to what he calls '*Bibliographiana*.' This paper, if we remember rightly, was to form the breakfast amusement of ladies and gentlemen of fashion; but how they could relish dry analyses of book-catalogues, and biographical sketches of old-fashioned book collectors, was a point which neither Mr. Dibdin nor his coadjutors appear to us to have considered. The result might easily have been anticipated. The paper struggled through six feverish months, and then breathed out its hectic existence. Neither the wit of a baronet, nor the taste of a distinguished virtuoso, nor the classical aid of a fellow bibliographer, nor even the amulets of Dr. Drake and a friendly reviewer, could preserve its precious life.

It may be expected that we should here notice our author's chief labours, entitled *An Introduction to the Knowledge of rare and valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics*, and his new edition of *The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain*; works, we believe, of considerable merit in their way.

It is therefore by no means as a virgin candidate that Mr. Dibdin now appears before us. We are promised in the preface "as much amusement and instruction as ever were offered in a single volume of a nature like to the present;" a broad, and we may add, rather a bold declaration. We shall soon see whether it be well or ill supported.

The *Bibliographical Romance* is divided into six parts, designated after the following manner. 1st. *The Evening Walk*. 2d. *The Cabinet*. 3d. *The Auction Room*. 4th. *The Library*. 5th. *The Drawing Room*. 6th. *The Alcove*. Each part consists of a conversation carried on in the place whose name it bears, but without any local peculiarities in the train of the thoughts to suggest or account for this frequent shifting of the scene. We were forcibly put in mind of a morsel of nursery poetry which remains strongly impressed upon our memory, and which begins with these notable words, "Goosey Goosey Gander, where shall I wander, up stairs, down stairs, in my lady's cham-

ber." The several conversations, as they take no colour from the place, were capable of being divided into as many chapters or heads, in this mode of arrangement, as there are apartments and closets in a well ordered mansion from the garret to the cellar.

The conversations are carried on between some ladies and gentlemen who meet together at the house of Lorenzo, and who there, through the mouth of Lysander (whom we take to be the representative of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin), are made acquainted with the history of the most eminent lovers and collectors of books from the time of Alfred to the present day. Such is the foundation upon which Mr. Dibdin has placed a great body of information, illustrated by a still more copious appendage of notes replete with anecdotes of scarce books and their authors. The chronological index exhibits these characters at almost the first glance.

The Romance opens with the author's walking into the fields on "a fine autumnal evening," and being interrupted in his meditations by the arrival of a messenger, who informs him that his college friends Lysander and Philemon are come to pay him a visit for a few days. They are, of course, made welcome; and stroll till supper-time in the author's garden; where they converse by the light of the moon. The characters of Warton and Ritson are, we think, pretty well delineated in this garden dialogue. Supper-time arrives, when these college friends "with sharpened appetites" sit down to their repast. After filling their stomachs with the fare which is placed before them, they proceed, like saucy well-fed fellows, to fall foul upon us poor reviewers; nor can we withhold a specimen of Lysander's invectives against us:

"I will notice only one other, and a very great failing observable in literary men: and this is, severity and self-consequence. You will find that these severe characters generally set up the trade of critics: without attending to the just maxim of Pope, that

Ten censure wrong, for one that writes amiss.

With them, the least deviation from precise correctness; the most venial trippings; the smallest inattention paid to doubtful rules and equivocal positions of criticism, inflames their anger, and calls forth their invectives. Regardless of the sage maxims of Cicero, Quintilian, and Horace, they not only disdain the sober rules which their ancient brethren have wisely laid down, and hold in contempt the voice of the public, but, forgetting the subject which they have undertaken to criticise, they push the author out of his seat, quietly

sit in it themselves, and fancy they entertain you by the gravity of their department, and their rash usurpation of the royal monosyllable 'Nos.' This solemn pronoun, or rather 'plural style,' my dear Philemon, is oftentimes usurped by a half-starved little I, who sits immured in the dusty recess of a garret, and who has never known the society or the language of a gentleman: or it is assumed by a young graduate, just settled in his chambers, and flushed with the triumph of his degree of 'B. A.': whose 'fond conceyte' [to borrow Master Francis Thynne's terse style,] 'is, to wrangle for an asses shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rushe!'

" 'For my part,' continued Lysander, speaking with the most unaffected seriousness—'for my part, nothing delights me more than modesty and diffidence, united with strong good sense, lively imagination, and exquisite sensibility, whether in an author or a critic. When I call to mind that our greatest sages have concluded their labours with doubt, and an avowal of their ignorance; when I see how carefully and reverently they have pushed forward their most successful inquiries; when I see the great Newton pausing and perplexed in the vast world of planets, comets, and constellations, which were, in a measure, of his own creation—I learn to soften the asperity of my critical anathemas, and to allow to an author that portion of fallibility, of which I am conscious myself.' 'I see then,' rejoined Philemon, 'that you are an enemy to *Reviews*.' 'Far from it,' replied Lysander, 'I think them of essential service to literature. They hold a lash over ignorance and vanity; and, at any rate, they take care to bestow a hearty castigation upon vicious and sensual publications.' "

It was said, we believe, by the late Richard Cumberland, that he was *thick-skinned*; and cared not for the shafts which were drawn from the critical quiver. Mr. Dibdin appears to us to be very susceptible of that thrilling smart, which reviews, in spite of Lysander's philippic, will, we fear, still continue to inflict. We refer the reader to pp. 291, 736, where our author shoots a porcupine quill or two at some of our brother reviewers. Leaving our brethren to defend themselves, we must say that the foregoing passage has no sort of effect whatever upon our nerves or consciences. We shall leave our defence in our reader's hands, and trusting that we have always kept the company and spoken the language of gentlemen, we will frankly declare that we have no objections to the sentiments of Lysander as to what constitutes good criticism.

The second part opens thus:

" Tout autouroiseaux voletoient
Et si tres-doucement chantoient,
Qu'il n'est cœur qui n'en fust joyeux.

Et en chantant en l'air montoient
 Et puis l'un l'autre surmontoient
 A l'estrieue à qui mieulx mieulx.
 Le temps n'estoit mie mieulx.
 De bleu estoient vestuz les cieux,
 Et le beau Soleil cler luisoit,
 Violettes croissoient par lieux
 Et tout faiseit ses deuoirs tieux
 Comme nature le duisoit.

Oeuvres de Chartier, Paris, 1617, 4to, p. 394.

"Such is the lively description of a spring morning, in the opening of Alain Chartier's '*Livre des quatre dames*;' and, with the exception of the violets, such description conveyed a pretty accurate idea of the scenery which presented itself, from the cabinet window, to the eyes of Lysander and Philemon.

"PHIL. How delightful, my dear friend, are the objects which we have before our eyes, within and without doors. The freshness of the morning air, of which we have just been partaking in yonder field, was hardly more reviving to my senses, than is the sight of this exquisite cabinet of bibliographical works, adorned with small busts and whole-length figures from the antique! You see these precious books are bound chiefly in Morocco, or Russia leather; and the greater part of them appear to be printed upon large paper.

"LYSAND. Our friend makes these books a sort of hobby-horse, and perhaps indulges his vanity in them to excess. They are undoubtedly useful in their way.

"PHIL. You are averse then to the study of bibliography?

"LYSAND. By no means. I have already told you of my passion for books, and cannot, therefore, dislike bibliography. I think, with Lambinet, that 'the greater part of bibliographical works are sufficiently dry and seporific*'; but I am not insensible to the utility, and even entertainment, which may result from a proper cultivation of it—although both De Bure and Peignot appear to me to have gone greatly beyond the mark, in lauding this study as 'one of the most attractive and vast pursuits in which the human mind can be engaged†.'

"PHIL. But to know what books are valuable and what are worthless; their intrinsic and extrinsic merits; their rarity, beauty, and particularities of various kinds: and the estimation in which they are consequently held by knowing men—these things add a zest to the

* *Recherches, &c. sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*: Introd. p. x. Lambinet adds very justly: 'L'art consiste à les rendre supportables par des objets variés de littérature, de critique, d'anecdotes, etc.'

† See the '*Discours sur la Science Bibliographique*,' &c. in the eighth volume of De Bure's *Bibl. Instruct.* and Peignot's *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliologie*, vol. i. p. 50. The passage, in the former authority, beginning '*Sans cesse*—p. xvj.—would almost warm the benumbed heart of a thorough-bred mathematician, and induce him to exchange his Euclid for De Bure!'

gratification we feel in even looking upon and handling certain volumes.

"LYSAND. It is true, my good Philemon; because knowledge upon any subject, however trivial, is more gratifying than total ignorance; and even if we could cut and string cherry-stones, like Cowper's rustic boy, it would be better than brushing them aside, without knowing that they could be converted to such a purpose. Hence I am always pleased with Le Long's reply to the caustic question of Father Malebranche, when the latter asked him, 'how he could be so foolish as to take such pains about settling the date of a book, or making himself master of trivial points of philosophy.'—'Truth is so delightful,' replied Le Long, 'even in the most trivial matters, that we must neglect nothing to discover her.' This reply, to a man who was writing, or had written, an essay upon truth, was admirable. Mons. A. G. Camus, a good scholar, and an elegant bibliographer, [of whom you will see some account in '*Les siècles littéraires de la France*,'] has, I think, placed the study of bibliography in a just point of view; and to his observations, in the first volume of the '*Memoires de l'Institut National*,' I must refer you."

The visit of Lisardo, an eccentric and good humoured character, interrupts the gravity of these gentlemen's conversation. He immediately commences a furious attack upon bibliography; but our author, who is resolved to consider as heretical any person who presumes to question the importance of his beloved science, contrives in the end to make Lisardo a staunch convert; and the second part, which commences with his denunciations against bibliography, concludes thus:

"LIS. Never fear. *Bibliomania* is, of all species of insanity, the most rational and praise-worthy. I here solemnly renounce my former opinions, and wish my errors to be forgotten. I here crave pardon of the disturbed manes of the Martins, De Bures, and Pater-sons, for that flagitious act of *Catalogue-Burning*; and fondly hope that the unsuspecting age of boyhood will atone for so rash a deed. Do you frankly forgive me—and will you henceforth consider me as a worthy '*Aspirant*' in the noble cause of bibliography?

"LYSAND. Most cordially do I forgive you; and freely admit you into the fraternity of bibliomaniacs. Philemon, I trust, will be equally merciful.

"PHIL. Assuredly, Lisardo, you have my entire forgiveness: and I exult a little in the hope that you will prove yourself to be a sincere convert to the cause, by losing no opportunity of enriching your bibliographical stores. Already I see you mounted, as a book-chevalier, and hurrying from the country to London—from London again to the country—seeking adventures in which your prowess may be displayed—and yielding to no competitor who brandishes a lance of equal weight with your own!

"LIS. 'Tis well. At to-morrow's dawn my esquire shall begin

to burnish up my armor—and caparison my courser. Till then adieu!

“Here the conversation, in a connected form, ceased; and it was resolved that Philemon and myself should accompany Lisardo on the morrow.”

Having given in these extracts a tolerably fair specimen of the *dialogues* which constitute what Mr. Dibdin calls the body of his work, our readers will probably not be sorry to know that we shall now take our leave of them, except in as far as some passages may tend to illustrate the learning contained in the notes. Our author himself states in his preface (p. 7.) that “the gentlemen by whom the drama is conducted are merely wooden machines or PEGS to hang notes upon, and that he shall not be disposed to quarrel with any criticism that may be passed upon their acting, so long as the greater part of the information to which their dialogue gives rise may be thought serviceable to the real interests of literature and bibliography.” We shall put the sincerity of this declaration to the test, by declaring our regret that Mr. Dibdin has constructed his pegs of so enormous a size, and placed them so much out of the reach of ordinary patience. The general style and sentiment of the dialogues never rise above mediocrity, and often sink much below it; there is a great deal of very sad and inexcusable puerility, about “fantastic and fugitive pieces of furniture purchased at Mr. Oakley’s,” about being “electrified with a delicious breeze, wafted over a bed of mignonette in the most agreeable manner imaginable;” about “nightcaps tassel and all,” and “formal attacks upon muffins, cake, coffee, tea, eggs, and cold tongue;” and “spicy fragrance from surrounding parterres and jessamine bowers.” We need not observe that all this, and much more, is infinitely below the dignity of any printed book that pretends to any rank in a library, and in truth, gives one but a very unfavourable idea of the effects produced by bibliographical pursuits upon the clerical mind. We should not have tolerated it in Miss Anna Seward, much less can it be endured as allowable materials even for the manufacture of *pegs* by any reverend author. We shall therefore trespass no longer on the patience of our readers, than merely to point out the several compartments in which the different heads of information are suspended on the said pegs, and shall extract an entertaining passage or two from the real body of the work, that is to say the NOTES.

“The Cabinet” contains much curious and interesting matter relating to foreign bibliography; nearly forty pages are devoted

needful garniture to render a country residence most congenial. His cellars below vie with his library above. Besides 'the brown October'—'drawn from his dark retreat of thirty years'—and the potent comforts of every species of 'barley broth,—there are the ruddier and more sparkling juices of the grape—'fresh of color, and of look lovely, smiling to the eyes of many'—as Master Laneham hath it in his celebrated letter *. I shall leave you to finish the picture, which such a sketch may suggest, by referring you to your favorite, Thomson†."" Yet Atticus doth sometimes sadly err. He has now and then an ungovernable passion to possess more copies of a book than there were ever parties to a deed, or stamina to a plant: and therefore I cannot call him a duplicate or triplicate collector. His best friends scold—his most respectable rivals censure—and a whole 'mob of gentlemen,' who think to collect 'with ease,' threaten vengeance against—him, for this despotic spirit which he evinces; and which, I fear, nothing can stay or modify, but an act of parliament that no gentleman shall purchase more than two copies of a work; one for his town, the other for his country, residence.

"PHIL. But does he atone for this sad error by being liberal in the loan of his volumes?

"Most completely so, Philemon. This is the 'pars melior' of every book-collector, and it is indeed the better part with Atticus. The learned and curious, whether rich or poor, have always free access to his library—

His volumes, open as his heart,
Delight, amusement, science, art,
To every ear and eye impart.

His books, therefore, are not a stagnant reservoir of unprofitable water, as are those of Pontevallo's; but like a thousand rills, which run down from the lake on Snowdon's summit, after a plentiful fall of rain, they serve to fertilize and adorn every thing to which they extend. In consequence, he sees himself reflected in a thou-

Merrily, merrily, mingle they,
"Waken lords and ladies gay."

Waken lords and ladies gay,
The mist has left the mountain grey.
Springlets in the dawn are steaming,
Diamonds on the lake are gleaming;
And foresters have busy been,
To track the buck in thicket green;
Now we come to chaunt our lay,
"Waken lords and ladies gay."

HUNTING SONG, by Mr. Walter Scott: the remaining stanzas will be found in the *Edinb. Annual Register*, vol. i. pt. ii. xxviii.

* 'Wherein part of the Entertainment unto the Queens Majesty at Killingworth Castl in Warwick Sheer, &c. 1575, is signified,' edit. 1784, p. 14.

† *Autumn*, v. 619, 701, &c.

sand mirrors; and has a right to be vain of the numerous dedications to him, and of the richly ornamented robes in which he is attired by his grateful friends."

The fourth part, called "The Library," is full of curious bibliographical learning. The history of Bibliomania is formally taken up by Lysander, beginning with the druids and descending to the death of Henry VII. There is much curious information to be found among the Saxon and Danish annals; from this "part" we shall extract two notes, one relating to Johannes Scotus Erigena, who was patronized by Charles the Bald, the other to a famous feast given by Nevell, archbishop of York, in the reign of Edward IV. at his "intronization" in the archiepiscopal see, &c.

"Scot's celebrated reply to his patron and admirer, Charles the Bald, was first made a popular story, I believe, among the 'wise speeches' in *Camden's Remaines*, where it is thus told: 'Johannes Erigena, surnamed Scotus, a man renowned for learning, sitting at the table, in respect of his learning, with Charles the Bauld, emperor and king of France, behaved himselfe as a slovenly scholler, nothing courtly; whereupon the emperor asked him merrily "Quid interest inter Scotum et Sotum?" (what is there between a Scot and a sot?) He merrily, but yet malapertly answered, 'Mensa'—(the table): as though the emperor were the sot and he the Scot.' p. 236. *Roger Hoveden* is quoted as the authority; but one would like to know where Hoveden got his information, if Scotus has not mentioned the anecdote in his own works? Since Camden's time, this facetious story has been told by almost every historian and annalist.

("Hist. Philosoph. tom. 3, 616: as referred to and quoted by Dr. Henry; whose account of our book-champion, although less valuable than Mackenzie's, is exceedingly interesting.)

"'He endeavors to prove, in his logical way, that the torments of the damned are meer privations of the happiness, or the trouble of being deprived of it; so that, according to him, material fire is no part of the torments of the damned; that there is no other fire prepared for them but the fourth element, through which the bodies of all men must pass; but that the bodies of the elect are changed into an ætherial nature, and are not subject to the power of fire: whereas, on the contrary, the bodies of the wicked are changed into air, and suffer torments by the fire, because of their contrary qualities. And for this reason 'tis, that the demons, who had a body of an ætherial nature, were massed with a body of air, that they might feel the fire.' *Mackenzie's Scottish Writers*: vol. i. 49. All this may be ingenious enough: of its truth, a future state only will be the evidence.

"Very different from that of Scotus, is the language of Gregory Nazienzen: 'Exit in inferno frigus insuperabile: ignis inextingui-

bilis: vermis immortalis: fetor intollerabilis: tenebræ palpabiles: flagella cedencium: horrenda visio demonum: desperatio omnium bonorum.' This I gather from the *Speculum Christiani*, fol. 37, printed by Machlinia, in the 15th century. The idea is enlarged, and the picture aggravated, in a great number of nearly contemporaneous publications, which will be noticed, in part, hereafter.

"It is reported that some sermons are about to be published, in which the personality of Satan is questioned and denied. Thus, having, by the ingenuity of Scotus, got rid of the fire 'which is never quenched'—and by means of modern scepticism, of the devil, who is constantly 'seeking whom he may devour,' we may go on comfortably enough, without such aukward checks, in the commission of every species of folly and crime!"

"Lysander is perfectly correct about the feast which was given at the archbishop's inthronization; as the particulars of it—'out of an old paper roll in the archives of the Bodleian library,' are given by Hearne in the sixth volume of *Leland's Collectanea*, p. 1—14: and a most extraordinary and amusing bill of fare it is. The last twenty dinners given by the lord mayors at Guildhall, upon the first day of their mayoralties, were only *sandwiches*—compared with such a repast! What does the reader think of 2000 chickens, 4000 pigeons, 4000 coneyes, 500 'and mo,' stags, bucks, and roes, with 4000 'pasties of venison colde?'—and these barely an 18th part of the kind of meats served up! At the high table our amiable Earl of Worcester was seated, with the archbishop, three bishops, the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Oxford. The fictitious archiepiscopal feast, was the one intended to be given by Nevell to Edward IV; when the latter 'appointed a day to come to hunt in More in Hertfordshire, and make merry with him.' Nevell made magnificent preparations for the royal visit; but instead of receiving the monarch as a guest, he was saluted by some of his officers, who 'arrested him for treason,' and imprisoned him at Calais and Guisnes. The cause of this sudden and apparently monstrous conduct, on the part of Edward, has not been told by Stow (*Chronicles*, p. 426; edit. 1615) nor by Godwyn (*Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, p. 481, edit. 1601); both of whom relate the fact with singular naiveté.

"I have a strong suspicion that Nevell was so far a bibliomaniac, as to have had a curious collection of *astrological books*; for 'there was greate correspondency betweene this archbishop and the hermetique philosophers of his time; and this is partly confirmed to me from Ripley's dedication of his '*Medulla*' to him, ann. 1476; as also the presentation of Norton's *Ordinall*,' &c. Thus writes Ashmole, in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 455.

"Speaking of the public library of Oxford, at this period, Hearne tells us, from a letter sent to him by Thomas Baker, that there was 'a chaplein of the universitie chosen, after the maner of a bedell, and to hym was the custodie of the librarye committed, his stipend

—cvi s. and viiid. his apparell found hym *de secta generosorum*. No man might come in to studdie but graduats and thoes of 8 years contynuaunce in the universitie, except noblemen. All that come in must firste sweare to use the bookes well, and not to deface theim; and everye one after at his proceedings must take the licks othe. Howers apoynted when they shuld come in to studdie, viz. betwene ix and xi aforenoone, and one and four afternoone, the keper geving attendaunce: yet a prerogative was graunted the chancellour Mr. Richard Courtney to come in when he pleased, during his own lieffe, so it was in the day-tyme: and the cause seemeth, that he WAS CHIEFFE CAWSE AND SETTER ON OF THE LIBRARY.' *Curious Discourses by eminent Antiquaries*; vol. ii. p. 410. edit. 1775."

Mr. Dibdin has inserted a very interesting notice of the renowned Roger Bacon, and a wood-cut of that philosopher's study; but the notice is too long for insertion.

A great deal of curious and interesting matter is brought forward respecting Richard de Bury, the memorable Bishop of Durham, an "enthusiastic lover of any thing in the shape of a book."

In the "fifth part," or "Drawing Room," Lysander completes his history of book collectors, bringing it down from the accession of Henry VIII. to the present time. In this history, the most striking characters are those of Archbishop Parker, Dr. Dee, Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Robert Cotton, the Ferrar family, Elias Ashmole, Lord Keeper and Dr. North, Anthony Wood, John Bagford, John Murray, Thomas Britton, and Thomas Hearne: not but that due honours are paid to the more popular names of Harley, Mead, Folkes, and West. Descending to a more recent period, Mr. Dibdin has a long and very curious note about the late George Steevens. We have no reason to doubt the correctness of Mr. Dibdin's information concerning this latter bibliomaniac (if he *must* be so called); but the note is too long for insertion, and would be spoiled by a partial extract.

In the notes to this part are also subjoined analyses of catalogues of the collections mentioned by Lysander. This part of the work must, we presume, be invaluable to curious book-dealers and collectors; but we shall scarcely be expected to enter into the details. They are diversified by episodes or digressions; thus, at p. 268—271, we have a singular note concerning the frightful books, descriptive of hell-torments, which were made the reading manuals of children towards the opening of the sixteenth century; and Mr. Dibdin seems resolved to frighten the 'children of larger growth,' of the nineteenth century, by introducing a terrible wood-cut, illustrative of this subject. At p. 371—5, we have a digression about the ancient severe disci-

pline practised in our schools; and at p. 394—7, we have another ‘excursus,’ replete with ‘pithy and pleasant’ extracts from Braithwait’s *Arcadian Princess*. Again, in his description of one of the prevailing symptoms of the bibliomania, the author travels at large into all that wild and dangerous doctrine connected with scarce and curious prints; and if the pupil of Granger have not here a feast even to satiety of Marlborough gems, Rembrandtiana, &c. &c. we know not where he can procure it.

The sixth and last part, entitled “The Alcove,” having fewer notes and more dialogue than the preceding parts, appears to us the most trifling, and of course the least interesting, in the work. It treats principally of the extravagant luxuries of bibliography, Strawberry-hill editions, the lucubrations of duchesses and countesses printed in small numbers for private distribution, which from their *rarity* are sometimes sold at prices that would infer a very mistaken notion of their intrinsic value, were it not notorious that the *Miller* halfpenny, remarkable only for giving a true likeness of the bob wig of a diletant grocery of Bungay in Suffolk, is also considered as a great rarity, and is sometimes sold for five guineas, *because* the die broke when only twenty-three impressions were struck off. It also recounts the prices of scarce books and prints, and anecdotes of the competitors for the purchase of them. Upon this last subject we shall extract a short note.

“A singular story is ‘extant’ about the purchase of the late Duke of Roxburgh’s copy of the first edition of Shakspeare. A friend was bidding for him in the sale-room: his grace had retired to one end of the room, coolly to view the issue of the contest. The bid-dings rose quickly to twenty guineas; a great sum in former times: but the duke was not to be daunted or defeated. A slip of paper was handed to him, upon which the impropriety of continuing the contest was suggested. His grace took out his pencil; and, with a coolness which would have done credit to Prince Eugene, he wrote on the same slip of paper, by way of reply—

— Lay on, Macduff!

And d——d be he who first cries ‘Hold, enough!’

“Such a spirit was irresistible, and bore down all opposition. The duke was of course declared victor, and he marched off triumphantly, with the volume under his arm. Lord Spencer has a fine copy of this first edition of Shakspeare, collated by Steevens himself.”

But of all these whims and caprices of overflowing wealth, none appears to us more flagrant than the rage for *illustrated*

copies, a species of production described to the life in the following extract.

"Recipe for Illustration.—Take any passage from any author—to wit; the following (which I have done, quite at random) from Speed: '*Henry le Spenser*, the warlike *Bishop of Norwich*, being drawne on by *Pope Urban* to preach the *Crusade*, and to be general against *Clement* (whom sundry *cardinals* and great *prelates* had also elected pope), having a fifteenth granted to him, for that purpose, by *parliament*,' &c. &c. (*Historie of Great Britaine*, p. 721, edit. 1632.) Now let the reader observe, here are *only four lines*; but which, to be PROPERLY ILLUSTRATED, should be treated thus: 1st; procure all the portraits, at all periods of his life, of *Henry le Spenser*: 2dly; obtain every view, ancient and modern, like or unlike, of the city of *Norwich*; and, if fortune favour you, of *every bishop of the same see*: 3dly; every portrait of *Pope Urban* must be procured; and as many prints and drawings as can give some notion of the *Crusade*—together with a few etchings (if there be any) of *Peter the Hermit* and *Richard 1st*, who took such active parts in the *Crusade*: 4thly; you must search high and low, early and late, for every print of *Clement*: 5thly; procure, or you will be wretched, as many fine prints of *cardinals* and *prelates*, singly or in groups, as will impress you with a proper idea of the *Conclave*; and, 6thly; see whether you may not obtain, at some of our most distinguished old-print sellers, views of the *house of Parliament* at the period (A.D. 1383.) here described!!! The result, gentle reader, will be this: you will have work enough cut out to occupy you, for one whole month at least, from rise to set of sun—in parading the streets of our metropolis: nor will the expence in *coach hire*, or *shoe leather*, be the least which you will have to encounter! The prints themselves may cost something!

"Lest any fastidious and cynical critic should accuse me, and with apparent justice, of gross exaggeration or ignorance in this *recipe*, I will inform him, on good authority, that a late distinguished and highly respectable female collector, who had commenced an ILLUSTRATED BIBLE, procured not fewer than *seven hundred prints* for the illustration of the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses of the first chapter of *Genesis*!

"The illustrated copy of Mr. Fox's Historical work, mentioned in the first edition of this work, p. 63, is now in the possession of Lord Mountjoy. The similar copy of Mr. Walter Scott's edition of Dryden's works, which has upwards of 650 portraits, is yet in the possession of Mr. Miller, the bookseller."

What a glorious variety of modes is offered in this great town of gaining a livelihood!

We have now done with our extracts, and shall proceed to notice the following omissions and errors which struck us in our progress through the work.

1. The names of Savile, Selden, and Twysden should have been introduced among our illustrious patrons of literature.

2. A few foreign catalogues, Burman's in the number of them, might have found places in Mr. Dibdin's list; copious and useful as it undoubtedly is.

3. Le Neve's should have been incorporated, according to its chronological order, in the English list.

4. Why is William Cole, of Milton, struck out?

5. It is not Agamemnon (p. 176.), who so much interests Priam, but Ajax Telamon.

6. The Blenheim library was not founded by the Duke of Marlborough, but by the Earl of Sunderland. The print of Sir T. Chaloner was never sold for £74: this sum was given for a portrait of one of the Englefields. The print of Prince Henry is not by Pass, but by Hole; that, said to be Prince Henry, is Prince Charles.

7. The *Bibl. Selecta Literaria* of Struvius has no sort of connexion with the *Bibl. Historica*, by the same author, enlarged by Meusel; the former is purely bibliographical, the latter, general. Leibnitz's *Res Brunsvicienses* has nothing to do with bibliography. Muratori's works might be equally called bibliographical. The frightful assertion, making Dr. Farmer the author of the Essay upon the Demoniacs mentioned in Scripture, has been atoned for by Mr. Dibdin himself in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

8. At p. 422: note, Mr. Dibdin says, speaking of the library of Samuel Pepys, esq. "no bibliographical work, which he has yet consulted, vouchsafes even to mention his name." We can inform our author, that, according to Dr. Percy, (*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. 1. xv.) 'a life of this curious collector (Mr. Pepys) may be seen in the continuation of Collier's Supplement to his great Dictionary, 1715, at the end of vol. III. folio, art. PEPYS.' Undoubtedly we should be more pleased with a peep into Pepys's own *Diary*, which Mr. Dibdin tells us is preserved in his collection at Cambridge.

Although these errors are not of serious magnitude, we trust that they will be corrected in a future impression.

After reading in the preface, that the portraits were inserted to impress upon the reader's mind "a vivid recollection of those truly illustrious characters by whom the history of British literature has been preserved," we were a little surprised to find, at the close of "the Alcove," a silhouette of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin. It may certainly be true, that this gentleman is one of those illustrious characters, and we very much admire the delicate modesty with which he has insinuated the fact. But we cannot but expostulate a little with him upon

the unfairness of bringing into so close a comparison his own neat hat, smooth visage, and spruce cape, with the hard-favoured countenances, sheepskin robes, and bushy beards, in which he has represented Magliabechi, Bale, and Erasmus; especially as we do not recollect that any attempt has been made to make the balance even by a frank confession of the claim of those *truly illustrious characters** to a similar superiority in the intrinsic furniture which lay hid under their unpromising exterior.

We shall now take our leave of Mr. Dibdin and his work, with an earnest wish, that this new study, which has risen up among us, may be so confined and directed as not to push real literature from her seat, and substitute the shadow for the substance of mental improvement. By a discreet use of the volume before us, particularly of the notes, no such danger can be incurred. It is furnished with copious indexes "chronological, bibliographical, and general," by the help of which the reader may easily turn to the various objects of curious and interesting research, with which the volume really abounds, without danger of suffocation from the surrounding trash; and notwithstanding the strictures which we have thought it our duty to pass upon it, we are conscientiously of opinion, that, weighing its merits against its demerits, it is upon the whole deserving of the public patronage, and will afford as much solid information of the subjects which it treats, as most volumes of the same size and price. It is also printed with great taste and beauty, and embellished with many ornaments, which do credit to the skill of the several artists employed.

* We are ourselves very far from thinking that Erasmus was a *truly illustrious character*. He was certainly a man of uncommon talents; but no *northern critic* ever carried such talents to market with more unblushing venality; and this on the most important subjects of religion and politics. His flattery of King Henry VIII. and Pope Adrian is truly disgusting. Vide Dr. Milner's (*Deau of Carlisle*) volumes of the History of the Church, vol. iv. pp. 485, & seq. and vol. v. pp. 254, & seq. edit. 1818.

ART. XIII. *The Life of the Right Rev. Beilby Porteus, D.D. late Bishop of London.* By the Rev. Robert Hodgson, A.M. F.R.S. Rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to her Majesty. London: Cadell and Davies.

The Life of Dr. Beilby Porteus, late Lord Bishop of London; with Anecdotes of those with whom he lived, and Memoirs of many living and deceased Characters. By a Lay Member of Merton College, Oxford. *Being a Tribute of affectionate Esteem to the Memory of a great and good Man, whose Writings, enforced by the corresponding Sanctity of his Example, have awakened religious Feeling, and rendered all those whom they have reached at once better and happier.* London: J. Davis.

It is justly remarked by the author of the second of these works, that "the biography of eminent men can scarcely be so written as not to be productive of some utility." There is certainly no species of writing better calculated to gratify the prevailing taste of the age by combining entertainment with utility.

When the lessons of wisdom and virtue, instead of being delivered in a dry didactic form, are exemplified and, as it were, embodied by the exhibition of real character, they can scarcely fail to arrest the attention of every well disposed mind. They place distinguished excellence not only in an admirable but in an attainable point of view; they excite a generous emulation in the soul; and, by displaying the path which departed worthies have trodden, direct as well as animate our progress in the pursuit of real improvement.

Such are the feelings which ought to be excited by the perusal of either of the works before us. They describe the character and conduct of a man who was, for many years, an ornament of the church of England, and a pattern, as well as a teacher and defender, of genuine religion. It is on this account that we strenuously recommend them to the attention of our readers. In the observations which follow we shall not minutely examine their respective merits as literary compositions; but rather dwell on the practical reflections which they suggest, and which appear to us at this time peculiarly deserving of attention.

In accuracy of statement, as well as correctness of style, we consider Mr. Hodgson as having greatly the advantage. We are, indeed, aware that his account of one particular transaction

has been disputed by the person who was chiefly concerned in it (the Rev. Dr. Bate Dudley); but as the documents, which the latter gentleman announces his intention to publish, are not yet before us, we shall forbear entering on the discussion of the subject. In the second of these narratives we have noticed many inaccuracies of style, and some violations of the rules of grammar, which appear to have escaped the author in the haste of composition. There are also some slight errors of statement, on which we do not think it needful to dwell particularly. It is evident that the writer is influenced by a sincere respect for religion and religious characters. His work, notwithstanding many defects, contains much interesting information (especially concerning the contemporaries of Dr. Porteus), and seems well calculated to animate the younger members of our universities, for whose benefit we suppose it to have been chiefly designed, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the practice of virtue.

We shall now proceed to notice the leading particulars related concerning the excellent prelate, whose example and writings are, unhappily, all that remain to us, and make such observations as naturally result from them.

Mr. Hodgson informs us, that he was the youngest but one of nineteen children, and was born at York on the 8th of May, 1731. His father and mother were natives of Virginia in North America, where they possessed a good estate, which they were induced to quit for the sake of removing to England, in order to give their children a better education. The bishop's anonymous biographer gives a different account, representing him as being a *native of America*, but born in a place which no one has been able to ascertain. The whole paragraph, compared with Mr. Hodgson's narrative, of which, considering his opportunities of information, we cannot doubt the authenticity, affords a striking instance of the inaccuracy to which we have before alluded.

The bishop's father found his income considerably diminished, whilst his expences were greatly increased, by his removal to England. "But still (as Mr. H. informs us) even with such contracted means, he accomplished the object nearest to his heart, that of giving his children an excellent education: and certainly, in the instance at least of the subject of these memoirs, his kindness was repaid beyond his most sanguine expectations."

We would recommend this circumstance to the consideration of all parents in the middle ranks of life. It is not indeed to be wished, that they should raise the desires of their children too far above the station in which Providence has placed them, or

teach them to believe that the objects of a liberal education are confined merely to a prospect of advancement in life. But the example and conduct of Mr. Porteus clearly shew, that this prospect may be combined with motives and principles of a higher nature, and such as might defy disappointment, although the hopes of preferment should be baffled. There are few objects of contemplation more delightful or instructive, than to behold a man of great attainments, acting under a conviction of the nothingness of ambitious pursuits, yet so far open to worldly impressions as to be capable of an active part in all the duties and charities of life, and of strenuously fulfilling the social ends of his being. But it is evident that such results can only be expected when the great truths and precepts of Christianity direct the exertions of a mind imbued with classical and general knowledge. The evidence that such a combination of talents met in the mind of Mr. Porteus, may be drawn from the events of his early life. His Seatonian prize poem, besides its great poetical merit, at once affords an instance of his correct taste and literary acquirements, and of the strong hold which the truths of Christianity had taken on his heart. That their grasp was not weakened by the relaxation of prosperity, nor their energy subdued by the meanness of grandeur, appears from the works before us, where it will be seen that the peculiar charms of his intercourse, and the utility of his life increased, as the sphere of his activity extended: nor is it easy to name the individual, who has at once contrived so to benefit his species by rational reformation, and at the same time to conciliate those whose habit it is to think all reformation useless, because all reformation is troublesome.

His early desire was to enter into holy orders, and his studies were peculiarly directed to the attainment of that knowledge which might best qualify him for the sacred office.

—“The gospel, the fathers, the early historians of the church and of the civil age connected with it, the writings of those who defended our faith and of those who assailed it, were perpetually in his hands. The greater part of his time was given to reading; and even in taking the exercises necessary for health, meditation seems to have formed and digested what the previous reading had supplied.”

[*Life of Dr. B. Porteus*, p. 60.]

In the year 1760 he preached a sermon before the University of Cambridge, which shewed how well qualified he was to defend the bulwarks of our faith against the assaults of infidels. It was occasioned by a most profane and mischievous publication, entitled “The History of the Man after God’s own

Heart." This sermon (of which the bishop's anonymous biographer has given an able analysis), is the fifth in his second volume of Discourses, and will be found worthy of a serious and attentive perusal. The publication of it greatly exalted the reputation of Mr. Porteus in the university; and, by attracting the notice and patronage of Archbishop Secker, laid the foundation of his subsequent elevation.

He was first appointed chaplain to the archbishop, in the year 1762. In 1765 he was presented to the livings of Renking and Wittersham, in Kent, which he exchanged for the rectory of Hunton in the same county; holding also a prebend at Peterborough. He was afterwards appointed Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester. In the year 1767 he obtained the rectory of Lambeth, which he held until the year 1776, when he was promoted to the bishoprick of Chester, and from thence, in a manner the most creditable to himself and the government, he was translated to that of London; in which high station he rendered most important services to religion, and contributed in a variety of ways to the happiness of mankind.

It is peculiarly honourable both to the bishop, and to those by whose means he received these successive preferments, that they were conferred upon him without solicitation, and solely as the reward of merit. It is unquestionably true, that regard to merit ought chiefly to influence those who have the disposal of any office of responsibility; but in no case has it so strong a claim to attention as in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments. The spirit of gratitude and piety with which Dr. Porteus received his last great piece of preferment, are sufficient to shew the fairness of his claim, although his modesty left it to the unsolicited justice of Mr. Pitt to prefer it on his behalf. The following is a picture of his private thoughts upon the occasion. Subjoined to a copy of Mr. Pitt's letter, announcing the honour conferred upon him by his Majesty, were found written in his own hand these interesting words: "I acknowledge the goodness of a kind Providence, and am fully sensible that nothing but this could have placed me in a situation so infinitely transcending my situation and deserts." (*P. 96, Hodgson's Life.*)

We hear much of the growth of separation, and the increase of sectaries; the danger of the church is loudly, and but too justly proclaimed. But we seldom hear from the same mouths the true causes of the evil. On careful inquiry it will be found, that one of the most pernicious is, the general habit of considering the ministerial office, rather with a view to its emolument,

than to its influence on the welfare of mankind. If those who enter into orders have no other object than to obtain an easy subsistence; if those who nominate to benefices, forget their own deep responsibility for the motives of their choice, we shall neither see our pulpits filled with zealous and faithful ministers; nor can we hope to behold the cause of the establishment triumphant. It is not, however, our intention to dilate on the advantages which sectaries too often derive from the incapacity or self-sufficient security of the parochial clergy. We have indeed delivered our sentiments on this subject in a former number. On the present occasion, we would rather remind those, who have the power of nominating to the higher offices of the church, (should they condescend to notice our observations,) of that severe accountableness and solemn risque that attends upon this branch of their stewardship. Every appointment of a bishop affects the purity of religion at one of the sources from which its living waters are ordained to be distributed. The example, the influence, and the writings of a prelate, possess considerable weight, not only with those who are more immediately subject to his superintendence, but also with the whole body of the clergy, and with a great proportion of the higher ranks of the laity. Let those who possess this power, consider how important are the duties of a bishop with respect to confirmation, ordination, and the whole of ecclesiastical discipline; not to mention his weight in the legislative body, and measure by that standard the magnitude of their own trust, and the consequences of its abuse.

We are in danger, however, of wandering too far from the subject which gave rise to these reflections. It was the merit of Dr. Porteus which led us to praise the conduct of his successive patrons, and to wish that their example were universally followed. His merit was not less real, though it might be less conspicuous, in his behaviour as a parish priest, than in his performance of his episcopal functions. Mr. Hodgson tells us, that

“He discharged with zeal the duties of his parish; preached almost always in the morning; in the afternoon lectured on the catechism; and lost no opportunity, when he saw occasion, of private admonition. In his attention to the poor, he was uniform and indefatigable; he visited the sick, comforted the afflicted; relieved the indigent: he entered, in short, with assiduity and earnestness into whatever could promote, in any degree, their temporal and eternal welfare, and he did not labour in vain. ‘I had the happiness,’ he says, ‘to see my church well filled with a congregation, neat and decent in their attire, with cheerful and satis-

fied looks, serious in their devotions, and attentive and grateful to their instructor.”

But it is to the manner in which this excellent man fulfilled his duties as a bishop, that we would especially call the attention of our readers. There are some parts of his conduct in that office which, we doubt not, will be remembered by many of them with affection and gratitude. No person who has witnessed the solemn and impressive manner in which he administered the rite of confirmation, can fail to have been deeply affected by it. With Mr. Hodgson, we trust that the address which he made to the congregation at the conclusion of the service, “is fixed, in substance at least, on the recollection of thousands.”—But we still feel that no small degree of gratitude is due to his respected biographer for preserving a copy of it, and did our limits permit, we should gladly transcribe it.

It would open a brighter prospect to the church, if the confirmation service were always thus performed. But we lament to have heard of too many instances in which, after the parochial minister has laboured with great assiduity to prepare the catechumens for this sacred rite, its effect has been diminished, by the tumult and disorder prevailing throughout the church, and by the want of due reverence in the administration of the ordinance. When, instead of a solemn imposition of hands, and a devout invocation of the divine blessing for each person separately, according to the rubric, bishops hastily touch the heads of as many as they can reach at once, and utter the appointed prayer in a hurried manner, young persons will never be persuaded that the graces of the Holy Spirit are thus conferred, or expect benefit from a rite, which is performed with such seeming indifference. We must plead the importance of the subject as our apology for the freedom of these remarks; the trouble of rectifying the evil would bear no sort of comparison with the benefit of the reformation. Confirmation is an ordinance peculiarly calculated to affect the youthful mind with serious impressions of religion. It is a duty, therefore, of solemn obligation, not merely to avoid every thing likely to diminish its influence, but to adopt the most impressive methods of strengthening the effect which may have been produced by previous instruction, and of awakening the minds of those who may have come to it without due preparation, to a sense of the importance of the new rank to which they are raised by it in the Christian institution.

The conduct of Bishop Porteus towards candidates for ordi-

nation was no less exemplary, though it has not been dwelt upon by either of his biographers. We particularly regret that Mr. Hodgson, who was so well qualified, has omitted to describe it. We are able, however, to say a few words on the subject from our own knowledge.

The bishop was peculiarly careful to exclude all improper persons from the ministry. His examination, instead of being confined merely to their classical attainments, had especial regard to their acquaintance with scripture, their ability to defend its truth, and their knowledge of its fundamental doctrines. Every thing in the performance of the ordination service was suited to affect their minds,—and when that service was over, he retired with them to his library, and conversed with them, most seriously and affectionately, on the weighty charge they had undertaken, and the course which they ought to pursue, both in their pastoral and private conduct.

Mr. Hodgson has given us large and valuable extracts from some of the bishop's charges, of which several will be found in the last edition of his works, to which this life is prefixed. Those charges shew his unremitting anxiety to guard the interests of religion, and to promote the proper discharge of the pastoral office. It is with regret that we reflect upon the contrast between them, and some others which we have seen. We find in *them* no bigotry, no intolerance, no invidious insinuations, against those of the clergy who are distinguished by peculiar zeal and diligence. They breathe, throughout, a truly apostolic spirit,—they are calculated to rouse the careless, to stimulate the lukewarm, to encourage and assist such as are faithful to their duty.

A passage in one of them, that was delivered at his *primary visitation of the diocese of London*, calls forth the following just, and, as we think, *well-timed*, observations from his biographer :

“ There is one circumstance in it (he says) which I cannot suffer to pass without notice, the high testimony which it bears to the talents and virtues of his venerable predecessor, Bishop Lowth. The see of London had never been filled by a more distinguished prelate: and his successor felt that it would have been an act of injustice to so great a man, if he had not offered some part, at least, of that tribute which was justly due to his memory, and publicly expressed his deep regret for the loss sustained by the church, and by the world at large. The character he has given of him is forcibly and ably drawn; and although the necessity of enlarging upon other important matter prevented him from saying *much* upon the subject, he would yet but ill have satisfied his own feelings, or the expectations of his clergy, if, with such an opportunity before him, he had said *less*.”

But the bishop's exertions to support the doctrine and discipline of our church were by no means confined to his charges. He used his utmost endeavours to enforce the residence of the parochial clergy, to exclude improper persons from the pulpits of his diocese, and to encourage all who were diligent in the discharge of their duty. In the disposal of his preferments, he was chiefly influenced by regard to the merit of the persons on whom he bestowed them. In him, indeed, no less than in the venerable Bishop of Durham, merit always found a generous and steady patron. His care to maintain the rights and promote the comforts of the inferior clergy is evident, from the steady zeal with which he supported, and finally carried through parliament, the bill for the relief of the city incumbents; and still more, from what Mr. Hodgson justly calls,

"That splendid and almost unexampled donation, of no less a sum than 6,700*l.* in the 3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, which, *during his life*, he transferred into the hands of the five archdeacons, for the time being, of the diocese of London, and the interest of which he directed to be annually distributed at their discretion, in sums not exceeding twenty pounds, to a certain number of the poorer clergy in that see, who may be thought to stand most in need of relief. This was, indeed, a noble act of munificence, and it will, for ages yet to come, render his name illustrious, and endear his memory to the church of England."

The description, which Mr. Hodgson gives, of the bishop's style of preaching and manner of delivery, is too long to be transcribed. Its justice, however, will be admitted, by all who have had the advantage of hearing him. His delivery, indeed, afforded a model highly worthy of imitation, and the manifest sincerity and earnestness which pervaded his discourses could not fail to make the deepest impression. His Lent lectures especially will, we trust, be long remembered by the multitudes who attended them, and the good effects which they produced be of permanent duration. When we consider his advanced age at the time they were delivered, and the numerous cares and avocations which pressed upon him in his important office, we cannot but feel the warmest admiration for the zeal by which he was animated, and consider his example as calling loudly for the imitation of all who fill the same exalted station.

It is thus, that the church is to be defended. It is thus, that the seductive arts of separatists are to be counteracted. It is thus, that the laity are to be taught to reverence their ecclesiastical rulers, and the clergy excited to zeal and diligence. Let but the higher orders of the church shew themselves earnest

in the cause, and their brethren, in inferior stations, will not fail to imitate their example, and emulate their ardour. It is by the lukewarmness of its ministers, that our establishment is endangered, or, as one of them has expressed it, that "establishments die of dignity." It is by their animation and assiduity that the sectaries prevail. Let the example of Dr. Porteus be universally followed, and we shall have no cause for apprehension.

The bishop's exertions were by no means confined to public preaching, or to the exhortation of his clergy. One of his first objects, after his translation to the see of London, was "the advancement of a society which had been set on foot the year before, and which bore the title of 'The society for enforcing the king's proclamation against immorality and profaneness.'" Of this society he was elected president, and many were the services which, under his auspices, it rendered to the cause of religion and morality. Since his death, we have been sorry to observe, that this institution has languished, and we fear that unless it should speedily be reanimated by a spirit like his, we shall have to lament its utter extinction. Amongst the measures adopted by this society, there was one which promised very beneficial effects. It was a voluntary agreement, into which its members entered, to observe the Lord's day in a proper manner, declaring that they held it "highly improper to give or accept invitations to entertainments or assemblies, or (except in cases of urgency, or for purposes of charity) to travel or to exercise any worldly occupations, or to employ their domestics or dependents, in any thing interfering with their public or private religious duties." In this agreement several persons of distinction were induced to join, and the bishop took pains to promote its general adoption. But, though disappointed in this hope, he never relaxed his zeal upon the subject, and in two memorable instances his endeavours were more successful. The first occurred in the winter of 1805, when several ladies of distinction opened their houses for "Sunday concerts, by professional performers, at which large numbers were assembled and much disturbance created, on the evening of that sacred day." To check this glaring evil, the bishop addressed a letter to three ladies of high rank, which Mr. Hodgson has preserved, and which produced a promise, of which we hope with him, that "thus solemnly made, and hitherto observed, it will not be forgotten."

The other instance occurred but a very short time before his death. It was a visit which he made to the Prince of Wales, for the purpose of inducing his Royal Highness to withdraw his countenance from a meeting, chiefly of military gentlemen,

which was regularly announced, "as held every other Sunday during the winter season." The result of the interview was highly satisfactory to him;—a promise was given, that the day should be changed from Sunday to Saturday, and the most respectful attention was shewn, by this illustrious personage, to his venerable monitor. The conclusion of the bishop's narrative of this interview will, we are persuaded, command the assent of our readers.

"Surely (he says) it is in the power of such a man, in a station of such eminence, and formed, as he is, to be the delight, not only of this country but of all Europe, so to win the public affection, as to bow the hearts of all the people of England 'as it were the heart of one man.' "

Eager, as he was, to seize every opportunity of doing good, we need not wonder that the bishop actively patronized every well-conducted endeavour for the advancement of religion, and of human happiness. He was one of the first promoters of Sunday schools, and the zealous advocate for exertions for the conversion of the negroes in the West Indian islands. He was, also, one of the founders of the African Institution, and the steady friend of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His sentiments, respecting that society, are stated, at some length, by Mr. Hodgson (partly, indeed, in the bishop's own words), and the statement is such as cannot fail to convince every unprejudiced reader of the futility of the objections raised against that noble and benevolent association.

To enumerate all the instances, in which his well directed zeal and truly christian charity were conspicuous, would far exceed our limits. We cannot, however, avoid noticing his endowment of the chapel at Sundridge, in Kent, of which each of his biographers has given a truly gratifying narrative.

Deeply impressed with the evils which result to the cause of religion and morality, when a large proportion of the inhabitants of any parish reside at a considerable distance from the church, he was induced to erect, at his own expence, a chapel at Ide Hill, in the parish of Sundridge, where he usually resided during the autumn months. This chapel he endowed with a competent maintenance for a minister, and likewise erected a house for his residence. He had the satisfaction to complete this benevolent work, and to see the chapel consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, about two years before his death; and we hope that, whilst the posterity of those, for whose benefit this chapel was erected, will continue to bless their benefactor, the example will stimulate other affluent persons, both of the clergy and laity, to confer, or at least contribute

towards conferring a similar benefit on the community. Many are the parishes, in which half the inhabitants reside at a far greater distance from any place of worship than the inhabitants of Ide Hill did from the church at Sundridge. Of them, a large proportion necessarily consists of old and infirm persons, or women, whose duty to their children will not allow them to go far from home, for the purpose of attending divine service. These persons have no alternative, but that of continuing in a state of, almost, heathen ignorance, or attending on the ministry of some irregular teacher. On a former occasion, we offered some remarks on the subject, and we have again adverted to it, in the hope, that by awakening public attention to its importance, some legislative provision may be obtained to remedy the evil.

When we speak of a legislative provision, we cannot but remember how actively Bishop Porteus exerted himself in parliament, wherever the interests of religion, morality, or humanity, were concerned. On other occasions, he seldom took a part in the discussions; but when the cause of African freedom was agitated; when endeavours were used to check the baneful vice of adultery; when a bill was introduced to promote the residence of parochial ministers, or to provide for the support of the inferior clergy; the mild, but energetic and persevering, eloquence of the bishop was exerted, and never without producing a deep impression on those whom he addressed.

Having thus, through life, devoted himself to the glory of God and the good of his fellow creatures, he was able to meet the approach of death with resignation and with comfort. His end was singularly peaceful. After a gradual decline, "without a pang or sigh—by a transition so easy, as only to be known by a pressure of his hand upon the knee of his servant who was sitting near him, the spirit of this great and good man fled from its earthly mansion to the realms of peace."

If we had not already so long trespassed on the patience of our readers, we should have been desirous to introduce in this place a summary of the accounts given by the bishop's respective biographers, of his person and manners, his literary and theological attainments, and his excellencies in social and domestic life. We regret, indeed, that a more minute description of his domestic habits has not been afforded to us; but enough is related to shew that a truly mild and cheerful disposition, and the warmest benevolence of heart, animated and guided by the principles of genuine christianity, were his distinguishing characteristics. While he lived he was a blessing to his contemporaries, and, being dead, he yet speaks by his example and his

writings, in accents which can scarcely fail to have a happy influence on posterity.

There are two circumstances related by Mr. Hodgson, in which that example may be peculiarly useful at the present time, and for this reason we cannot avoid some notice of them in this place. We find (p. 275), that the zeal and piety of this truly orthodox prelate were sufficient to subject him to the vulgar and "sweeping imputation of methodism." "But," as Mr. Hodgson observes, with no less truth than spirit, "he was not to be deterred from pursuing the calm determination of his own mind by any *calumny whatever*, and much less by the *stigma of a name*, a name devised by the enemies of religion for the worst purposes, and which, as generally used, attaches indiscriminately to the ignorant raving fanatics, and the sound, learned, pious, and orthodox divine." (P. 275.)

Again we are informed, (p. 265), that the bishop considered the homilies, articles, and liturgy, of the church of England to be essentially *scriptural*, that he would never admit the Calvinistic interpretation of them to be the true one, for he thought the language of scripture, which the articles, liturgy, and homilies, speak, decidedly adverse to the sentiments of Calvin. "Upon this point," says Mr. Hodgson, "I wish to be distinctly understood as asserting on my own positive knowledge, that in no one article of faith, *as far as they differ from our church*, did he sanction the tenets of that school. On the contrary, I have heard him repeatedly, and in the most unqualified terms, express his astonishment, that any soberminded man, sitting down without prejudice to the study of the sacred writings, should so explain and understand them." (P. 265—6.) Although Mr. Hodgson has brought forward no document in proof of this opinion of the bishop, we have no doubt whatever that his sound learning and strong judgement must have inevitably led him to such a conclusion. And we consider it as one of the strongest proofs of that clear discrimination and fortitude of mind which so eminently fitted him for his station, that the vulgar imputation of Calvinism had no greater effect than that of methodism, in preventing his lordship from shewing the most open and decided countenance to those pious and orthodox clergy of his diocese, who have obtained from the thoughtless and the profligate the appellation of Calvinists, because they followed the example of their great diocesan, in exalting faith and grace as the surest foundation of moral practice.

We have great pleasure in recording these two circumstances, because we think that the first may serve for an example to the younger clergy not to be frightened out of their piety and zeal

by the shadow of a shadow, and that the second may be signally serviceable to those who are disposed to exercise their talents in the refutation of Calvinism.

The articles, liturgy, and *homilies*, of the church of England, in their plain and obvious acceptation, seem to be not only the surest ground on which a church of England writer can rest his opposition to the peculiar doctrines and errors of Calvin, but a close attention to them will inevitably temper the polemical ardour of those who in their zeal to find out food for refutation are induced to calvinize teachers and principles which are any thing but calvinistic, and stop not till they enlist the venerable reformer at once as the patron of Antinomianism, and of the most important and orthodox doctrines of the church of England; at once as the open assertor of the compatibility of profligacy with salvation, and the promulgator of doctrines so strict, that none of the sons of men can be saved. But we check our pen at present, in the belief that we shall find occasion to examine this matter more at length in our next number.

Much as we have already said on the subject, we cannot forbear once more (before we close this article) urging the importance of raising such men, and *such men only*, to the episcopal dignity. It is not the proficient in merely human learning; it is not the courtly preacher; it is not the sturdy polemic; or the intolerant stickler for external forms, that is qualified to preserve our church. The office of a bishop must not be regarded as a sinecure, a station of ease and dignity, suited to reward the exertions of those who have been employed in the tuition of our nobility, or have shewn themselves skilful advocates for our civil administration. The office of a bishop is that of an overseer, a superintendant; one who is to watch over the conduct of the inferior clergy, and to take care that they properly perform their duties, whilst he assiduously fulfils his own. Holding the rank of an apostle in the church, he should be actuated by an apostolic spirit. His time, his talents, his revenues, should be devoted to the support of that great cause in the service of which he is engaged. Such should be his conduct under any circumstances; but especially in days like these, when every thing that is sacred, every thing that is good, every thing that is dear to man either in time or eternity is exposed to hazard, when not the walls of the sanctuary only, but the ark of the covenant itself is assaulted.

Far be it from us, however, to insinuate that many able defenders of the sacred cause are not to be found at present in the episcopal order. Whilst we mourn over the ashes of a Porteus, we would not forget that such men as Barrington, Huntingford,

and Burgess, survive, together we trust with many others, whose qualifications are less appreciated, only perhaps because they have been less drawn into observation. We have read with delight the charges addressed at different times by the present bishop to the clergy of Durham, and contemplated with admiration his munificent institutions for the encouragement of sacred learning. The college of Llanduwi Brefi, and the various exertions made in the diocese of St. David's to excite the zeal of the clergy, and to render them better qualified for their important duties, will shed immortal honour on the name of him from whom they derive their origin, and promise to render that diocese a fountain of light to the whole principality.

Let similar measures be generally adopted; let similar characters be always raised to the episcopal bench both in England and in Ireland, and we shall feel no alarm for the security of our establishment. The *esto perpetua* of Father Paul will doubtless then be addressed to her, not by her present members only, but by multitudes who will return to her communion; and a confident hope may be entertained that the divine blessing will realize the wish, and render the united church of England and Ireland instrumental to preserve the knowledge and practice of true religion in this happy country, and to diffuse its blessings over every region of the earth.

ART. XIV. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country in the Year 1793.* By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings. Miller, 1811.

THAT a country, immediately touching the frontier of Bengal, should so long have remained unknown to us, may seem unaccountable, and a volume professedly descriptive of such a country from the pen of General Kirkpatrick* cannot but awaken a considerable portion of public curiosity. If, however, the interest thus excited be not corrected by a due consideration of the circumstances under which this gentleman visited and sojourned in that secluded region, it may operate to an extent injurious to his book. The circumstances to which we allude are briefly these,—the jealousy of the rulers of Ne-

* This officer has been promoted to the rank of major-general since the publication of the work before us.

paul rendered inexpedient the use of mathematical instruments; geographical science is therefore but little benefited by General Kirkpatrick's journey; and his short stay in Nepaul, confined as he was in the range of his inquiry, and politically restricted from those most likely to gratify in their result his own and the public curiosity, must be taken into our account in qualifying our animadversions on the imperfect state in which it is presented to us. To these we may also add other circumstances not quite so justifiable, viz. that it has not been revised for publication by himself, nor was it written with any such view; but appears nearly in the form in which his account was first drawn up for the information of the government of India, and of the Court of Directors. We are informed in the preface, that these notes, prepared for the information of the Indian government, were committed to a literary gentleman, who died before he could prepare the materials for the press, and that the author could not himself be prevailed on to revise the manuscript. We regret on his account, as well as on that of the public, that he should have permitted the work to be presented without rendering it more worthy of the literary reputation which he is understood to possess among his private friends.

It is much to be wished that General Kirkpatrick had prefixed some brief outline of the situation, history, &c. of Nepaul, for which sufficient materials were within his reach. For although, as we accompany him on his route, a reasonable proportion of information be incidentally gathered on these points, yet a little previous information, concerning a country so little known to geographers, would be very advantageous. We shall, therefore, before we enter on our account of the work, endeavour to supply this deficiency to such of our readers as may not be able or willing to consult the original authorities, and shall also lay before the public some original information concerning this remote country, which appears to us to be no less interesting in itself, than well calculated to illustrate the manners and state of society among the natives.

The territory of Nepaul, situated between the 27 and 28 degrees of latitude, is composed rather of a congeries of mountains, than a connected chain of hills. It is of an intermediate elevation between the plains of Bengal and Bahar, and the mountains of Himaleh or Himmalaya, which even in the latitude of 29 north are covered with perpetual snow, and constitute without question the most elevated region of the old world. Their stupendous height is perceived in clear weather from Pointy on the Ganges, in lat. 25°. 17'. N. and is mistaken

by travellers for a range of fleecy clouds, until successive observations shew the outline to be unchanged.

The extent of Nepaul may be roundly estimated at twelve geographical degrees between its eastern and western limits, while from north to south it extends to an uncertain breadth of from one to two degrees. Without placing much reliance on Hindu tradition, even when seconded by Puranic quotations, we may admit that many historical and geological facts are incorporated with the wildness of their mythological extravagances. That the valley of Nepaul, as well as its beautiful sister of Kashmir, may both have been heretofore extensive lakes, is strongly indicated by the present appearances of the depth and nature of the soil, &c. &c.; and the probability is certainly not weakened by corresponding traditions among the natives. Nor can we allow much weight to General Kirkpatrick's objections to the hypothesis. The romantic valley of Nepaul is of an oval shape, about 12 miles in its greatest diameter, surrounded by chains of lofty hills; and, although in reference to them properly called a valley, is yet high land.

Between these mountains, and the frontier of Bēngal, is situated the Turryam, a succession of lower hills, and unhealthy swamps, as the name imports. In the wide wastes, which are generally found on the frontiers of uncivilized states, it was the rule of ancient times to consider the boundary of each to be marked by the limit of actual cultivation; and a solitary fact happens to be known to us, which seems to afford an interesting illustration of the actual progress, or recession, on each side of the line to which we allude. On the acquisition of the Dewāny, in 1705, the small fort of Jellālgur, in the province of Purnea, was the frontier station, and actual boundary of the Mogul government. In 1796 the British frontier, marked by the limits of its cultivation, extended near forty miles to the northward of Jellālgur. The most laboured dissertation could not exhibit, in a more conclusive form, the actual superiority of the British government in India, with all its faults, over the native states, in the progress of civilization, agriculture, population, and wealth.

Our immediate neighbours, in this lower belt, were known by the general designation of the twenty-four rajahs or chieftains, whose territories had been occasionally assailed by the Mogul lieutenants; but the hills of Nepaul, as General Kirkpatrick informs us, had never been subdued, or even disturbed by the Mussulman power. Here then the theorist may seek for man in that state of peace and innocence so often described

as the legitimate offspring of the Hindu religion, unpolluted by the crimes of civilized society, undisturbed by the vices which ambition engenders; and the theorist would find his ideal picture transformed into an exhibition of murder, rapine, and treachery, as perfect as any which the world has witnessed on a larger scale, from the conquests of Alexander to those of Napoleon.

The Goorkali, a petty chief whose territories are situated to the westward of Nepaul, began the trade of conquest in the usual form of seizing successively, by fraud, treachery, or violence, the territories of his neighbours. About the year 1769, or 1770, a disputed succession in Nepaul induced one of the competitors to solicit the aid of the Goorkali, and he afforded it in the customary way, by seizing the patrimony for himself. In 1773 he meditated the conquest of Morung, a portion of the Turryâni, adjacent to the province of Purnea; the chieftain of that country, who had always preserved a friendly intercourse with Bengal, claimed the protection of the English government; and Mr. Hastings addressed a letter to the Goorkali "prohibiting his advance to the eastward of the river Coosi; inasmuch as the rajah of Morung being the friend of the English, must be protected by them." The sagacious Goorkali met the courier with the letter on the banks of the Coosi, detained him until he had completed the conquest of Morung, and then dismissed him properly bribed, and instructed with an answer to Mr. Hastings, "regretting that he had not received his letter until he had completed the conquest of Morung, a faithless and turbulent race, over whom it was necessary to establish a regular government; that being now accomplished, it would be easy to make such arrangements in consequence, as should be convenient and acceptable to both states." Other objects of superior importance prevented Mr. Hastings from prosecuting his original intention with respect to Morung. The rajah died during the campaign, and his widow, a beautiful and interesting female of seventeen, took refuge within the English possessions.

It is always a delightful relief to turn from the review of crime and conquest to the contemplation of the peaceful virtues; and we shall extract from the journal of a friend, who visited that neighbourhood not many years ago, some account of an English gentleman, connected with the subject of our narrative.

"Mr. Smith first settled in this neighbourhood in 1773, as the agent, and subsequently the partner, of some commercial men in Calcutta, and engaged largely in the trade of timber.

from Morung, in the manufacture of indigo and salt-petre, and in an artificer's yard which employs about 150 workmen, in which he builds boats, constructs carts, agricultural implements, &c. &c. which find a ready sale on the spot; on the whole, he has not less, as he informs me, than 500 men in constant monthly pay, in his various establishments; Mr. Smith is not in the company's service; but without authority, without any public office, and almost without public protection, he has established in his neighbourhood an influence of the most honourable kind, resulting from a confidence in his integrity, and his virtues. All disputes are referred to his decision, and the judges of Tirhout and Purnea are troubled with no suits from the neighbourhood of Naut-poor (the place of his residence). In seasons of famine, he often purchases the most wretched of the children, whom it is the practice of every part of India to offer for sale: these he maintains till of an age to be employed in useful labour, and then either establishes them in farms, or employs them in his works at the same pay as other labourers or artificers, and the severest mark of authority which he exercises over them, in quality of master, is dismissal from his service."

If Mr. Smith be still alive, and should chance to inspect these pages, we trust that he will receive with kindness the testimony borne by a traveller and a stranger to the universal veneration, and almost devotion which his character was observed to command.

To this person, the interesting female, whom we have described, made the singular proposal of conferring her hand and her kingdom on the single condition, that he should assert his new rights, and place himself at the head of her people; "and this (continues the MS. journal before us) Mr. Smith assures me he could easily have effected with no other aid than the mere formality of the sanction of the English government, as the people only wanted a leader, and the expectation of eventual support."

The only return which Mr. Smith could honourably make to these romantic advances, was the plain avowal that they would inevitably be discouraged by his government. He afforded her advice, protection, and consolation: she fixed her residence a few miles from his dwelling, and twenty-two years afterwards, when our journalist visited Mr. Smith, an intercourse of almost daily messages of inquiry, of thanks, or demands of advice, attested her obligations, her gratitude, her respect, and her attachment.

The conquests of the Goorkali, says our MS., stretched in process of time over a territory amounting to an empire, ex-

tending from Luinagur, and the hills of Alnora, on the west, to the Burhampooter on the east, and touching the English territory in their whole extent on the frontiers of Rohilcund, Oude, Rungpoor, and other territories; throughout this wide scope, at various distances from the frontier, grows a species of fir or pine of noble stature, furnishing spars of the first quality for naval purposes, as our journalist was informed by Mr. Smith, and was satisfied from actual inspection. A letter from Sir Robert Barker to Lord Clive in 1776 states, that "its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India;" and then adverts to the gold, cinnamon, musk, elephants' teeth, &c. &c. which are produced in these regions. General Kirkpatrick is of opinion that this is an exaggerated account of the natural riches of the Turrye districts, and we concur in this opinion, as far as regards the last enumerated articles; but with respect to the first, we shall presently enter into some details which will shew them to be of the utmost importance to our Indian empire.

The most accessible and direct road from Bengal to Tibet and Chinese Tartary passes through Bootan, to the eastward of Nepaul, which latter country had seldom been visited by any travellers, except Jesuit missionaries, to whom no portion of the globe was unknown. Two missions from the government of Bengal to the Teshoo Lama in Tibet had been successively dispatched, one under Mr. Bogle in 1774, a second in 1783, and again under Captain Turner, who has published an interesting account of his travels; but Nepaul had never been visited by any Englishman before the mission of General Kirkpatrick, which was occasioned by the following incident.

On the death at Pekin of the Teshoo Lama, who had proceeded on a religious visit to the Emperor of China, his brother Sumhur Lama, under some alarm, fled to Nepaul, taking with him a considerable quantity of treasure. This man excited the avarice of the Goorkali by a description of the treasures of the Chinese empire, and an expedition towards Lehassa returned loaded with plunder about the year 1785. In 1782 another expedition, marching with extreme secrecy and rapidity, suddenly appeared at Degerchek, the seat of the Teshoo Lama (inferior in religious rank to the Delai Lama of Lehassa), and plundered it of the accumulated treasure of ages. The Lama escaped with difficulty across the Burhampooter; and sent intelligence of the event to the court of China. The borders of Tartary, contiguous to Lehassa, furnished a force amply sufficient for the occasion, and they marched direct for Degerchek, from whence the Nepaul troops had retired, and

were pursued by the Chinese army, which penetrated to the capital of Nepaul, and compelling the Goorkali to acknowledge himself tributary to the Emperor Kien Long, thus brought the frontier of the Chinese empire into contact with the British dominions. A letter from the Delai Lama to Lord Cornwallis announced the object of the armament, and another from the Goorkali solicited support. Lord Cornwallis determined on neutrality, but offered his mediation through an envoy. The conquest was effected before the envoy could be dispatched; but it was still considered expedient that he should proceed for the purpose of endeavouring to open a friendly commercial intercourse, and to obtain more correct information respecting a state of which we had hitherto possessed little knowledge beyond the single fact of its geographical extent along the limits of our own frontier. The amount of the information obtained is comprised in the volume before us, and if it had been limited to the single fact, which we have emphatically recommended to public attention, we should deem the communication of the highest importance.

A circumstance occurred in the course of this campaign, which is a remarkable example of important events arising from apparently inadequate causes. When the Chinese army, flushed with success, had approached Katmanda, the capital of Nepaul, the Goorkali, (who had by a series of movements indicating excessive alarm rendered its general somewhat careless and secure,) made a sudden and unexpected attack on his camp, and treated him so roughly as to render him extremely doubtful of the success of another experiment. While in this frame of mind, the Goorkali proposed terms which were accepted, and produced the great object in his view, the evacuation of his country by the hostile army. The success of the attack, which we have described, was materially promoted by the firmness and energy of a corps of regular troops, which had been disciplined by deserters, or discharged sepoys from the British service, and clothed in British uniforms. The Chinese general believed, or affected to believe, that he had been attacked by a corps of regular British troops, and so reported the fact to his government. It will be recollected that at a subsequent period, the objects of Lord Macartney's embassy to China are represented by Sir George Staunton to have been most strenuously opposed by the Chinese general, who had commanded the expedition to Nepaul; that he openly insisted on having seen our regular troops opposed to him in that country, and that Lord Macartney was only enabled to avow that the thing appeared to him to be improbable, and that the fact

was certainly unknown to him. The author of our manuscript journal had an opportunity, after the publication of the narrative of that embassy, to explain the fact to Sir George Staunton; who declared his belief, that if these circumstances had been distinctly known to Lord Macartney, at the period of his embassy, he might reasonably have hoped for a different result of his mission.

We shall now proceed to extract from the work before us such information of an accurate nature, as it appears to us to afford concerning this singular and little frequented region.

In the valley are several large towns. The capital is estimated at 50,000 inhabitants, contained in 5000 houses, "built with brick and tile, some of three and four stories, but almost without exception of a mean appearance; even the rajah's palace being but a sorry building, and claiming no particular notice. The streets are excessively narrow, and nearly as filthy as those of Benares." (P. 160.) This estimate does not include many towns, villages, and hamlets, subordinate to the capital; and which if included according to the custom of the natives, would swell the population to 186,000, and the houses to 22,000.

The city of next importance in the valley of Nepaul is Patn, about two miles to the S.E. of Khatmunda, formerly an independent capital, and then said to have contained 24,000 houses; including its dependencies within the valley. It is a neater town than the present metropolis, and contains some very handsome edifices.

"Bhatgong lies about eight miles east from Khatmunda, and is in many respects, though not in population, a superior city; its palace and buildings in general are of more striking appearance; and its streets, if not much wider, are at all events much cleaner than those of the metropolis. It owes this last advantage to its admirable brick pavement, which has not received, or indeed required, the least repair for thirty years past. Nepaul in general is remarkable for the excellence of its bricks and tiles; but those of Bhatgong are commonly allowed to be far preferable to the rest. It appears to be the favourite residence of the Brahmans of Nepaul, containing many more families of that order than Khatmunda and Patn together; all those of the Chetree tribe (to which the reigning prince belongs) flocking to the capital, while Patn is principally inhabited by Newars." (P. 164.)

"Kirthipoor occupies the summit of a low hill, about three miles west of Patn; it was at one time the seat of an independent prince, though at the period of Purthi Nerain's (properly Prithwi Narayan's); invasion, it was included in the territory of Patn. The reduction of this place cost the Goorkhali so much trouble, that in

resentment of the resistance made by the inhabitants, he barbarously caused all the males to be deprived of their noses. We came to the knowledge of this fact, in consequence of observing among the porters who transported our baggage over the hills a remarkable number of noseless men; the singularity of the circumstance leading us to enquire the cause of it. Kirthipoor is said to have reckoned at one period no less than 6000 houses or families within its jurisdiction. At present it is a place of no great extent or consideration." (P. 165.)

The truth of this fact, which is worthy of *French imitation*, and speaks volumes of the state of society in Nepal, is strongly corroborated by a paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. by Pere Giuseppe, who particularly describes the transaction.

Other considerable towns are situated within the valley, the total population of which is recently estimated at half a million; that of the whole kingdom of Nepal cannot be ascertained with any accuracy, but there are many circumstances which lead us to suppose that it cannot be very dense; the very mountainous nature of the country would alone be sufficient to prevent it. It appears, however, that the Nepaulians are by no means behind their Chinese neighbours in the industrious cultivation of their soil. "The northern rise of Doona-baisi mountain, though of a perpendicular height not less than twelve hundred yards, was cultivated in some parts from its very summit to its base, presenting to the view one of the most interesting sights that can be well imagined; many of the fields, indeed, appeared to be so steep as to excite some degree of wonder in us at the husbandman's being able to reach, far less to cultivate, them." (P. 82.) The soil, in the valley especially, is very fruitful, yielding ordinarily from twenty to thirty fold, and in some places three crops in the year, one of wheat, one of rice, and one of pulse; or two of rice and one of wheat. Such fertility may certainly overcome many checks, and ancient traditions are current of a great population in former times. The subjects of the rajah of Jumlah were once said to have been so numerous, that the passage of his army over twenty-two buffalo hides piled one upon another was sufficient to tread them into one mass." (P. 292.) We have heard of a similar mode of magnifying the army of the African sovereign of Tombaktu, from a traveller who professed to have visited that city, but we doubt how far our more fastidious political economists will be satisfied with the accuracy of such a mode of taking the population.

The following passages give an interesting account of the face of the country and of its cultivation, the former of which is

further illustrated in the volume before us by two or three well executed views.

"Leaving Markhoo, which stands near the summit of an eminence on the right, and quitting the bed of the river, we ascended the hill of Ekdunta, over which there are two paths. Our cattle, and most of our people, proceeded by the safest, but neither the shortest nor easiest. It lies to the left, and partly through the course of a rivulet. That by which I was conducted winds round the right or east face of the hill, at no great distance from its brow, and is the most alarming, if not the most dangerous, passage that occurred in our whole journey; the breadth of it no where exceeds two feet, and it is in some places not so much. On one hand is the rise of the hill, which, contrary to the general nature of these mountains, is here quite bare, affording neither shrub nor stone capable of sustaining the tumbling traveller, on whose other hand is a perpendicular precipice some hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which the Markhoo-kola rushes impetuously over its rocky bed. When I perceived the situation I was in, I should have been very well pleased to have got on my legs; though probably, so surefooted are the bearers, I was better in my hammock*, where, at all events, I was under the necessity of remaining, as the narrowness of the road did not allow of my quitting it, with safety.

"After descending from Ekdunta hill we proceeded for about a mile and a half along an undulating valley intersected with canals," (not artificial canals we presume, but we wish this passage had been less vague); "and natural rivulets, and swelling sometimes into small eminences; the greater part highly cultivated, and exhibiting several interesting views of scattered cottages and hamlets, some of them standing on the summits, some on the sides, and others in the bottoms of the enclosing hills; the whole constituting a *coup-d'oeil* of the most pleasing and picturesque kind. If, indeed, it had not been for the terraces or steps (resembling an irregular flight of stairs) in which the fields were laid out, both in the low and elevated situations, and which form a striking feature in the landscape of this country, the general scenery might have been compared with the appearance of many a spot in England. The terraces or steps just mentioned are constructed with no small labour (often extending to the tops of the highest hills), for the culture of those kinds of grain which require that the water should remain for some time on the soil. The sides of most, if not of all, the mountains in this country, abounding in springs, these terraces are easily overflowed, and the water conducted from one to another, as circumstances demand. Sometimes two fields or flights of terraces are seen separated from

* A hammock slung under a bamboo seems to be the palankeen of Nepal; a print of it is given. It is very much like the Manjil used at Madeira and Goa, but has not the shading canopy that renders the conveyance at the latter place much more comfortable.

one another by ravines or rivulets several hundred feet deep, watered from the same spring by means of an aqueduct, constructed simply of one or more hollowed trees laid across the intervening chasms, and slightly supported at their extremities, as far as the nature of the precipice happens to admit." (P. 63—65.)

"With regard to the plough, it is proper to notice, that it is scarcely known among the Newars; it being only very recently that a few of those occupying the lands about Thankote have been prevailed on to employ this implement of tillage, their prejudice against the use of which would seem to have originated in the extraordinary reverence they entertain for the bullock: since, though they have no scruples with regard to buffaloes, they deem it the highest sacrilege to approach even the image of the former animal, except in a posture of adoration; insomuch, that a malicious person wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose by placing a stone or wooden figure of a cow in the midst of his field." (P. 100.)

"The Newars prepare their ground for the rice-seed, by digging it with a sort of spade; turning up the soil in ridges, as in potatoe plantations, leaving the whole for some time to be well flooded, and finally levelling the field. This mode, though very laborious, is said to be full as productive to the farmer as that of ploughing." *Ibid.*

It may be well conceived that the utmost industry must be very insufficient, under all these impediments, to procure any thing like the most abundant produce from the soil.

On the religion, or rather the superstitions, of the Nepaulians, we shall not enter much at length.

The Hindu religion, subdivided as in Hindustan, into various tribes and sects, prevails throughout Nepal; where, however, although it did not fall within the particular observation of our traveller, we are disposed to suspect that the heresy of Budha bears very considerable sway.

"The inhabitants consist, principally, of the two superior classes of Hindus (or Brahmans and Chekis,) with their various subdivisions of Newars, of Dhenwars, of Mhanjees, of Bhootias, and of Bhanrâs. The former of these, who compose the army of the state, and engross all situations of trust, whether civil or military, are found dispersed promiscuously throughout the country; the Newars are confined almost to the valley of Nepal; the Dhenwars and Mhanjees are the husbandmen and fishers of the western districts; and the Bhootias, though some families of them are planted in the lower lands, occupy, generally speaking, such parts of the Kuchar* as are included in the Nepaul territories. With respect to the Bhanrâs, they are a sort of separatists from the Newars, and are

* Or Tartarian border.

supposed to amount to about 5000: they shave their heads like the Bhootias, observe many of the religious rites as well as civil customs of these idolaters, in a dialect of whose language they are also said to preserve their sacred writings. To the eastward again, some districts of the Nepal dominions are inhabited by tribes, such as the Limboos, Nuggerkootes, and others, of whom we know, at this time, little more than their names." p. 184.

The Newars, and Bhanrás, and Bhootias, we suspect to be Budhas, or Jainas, or Mahimans, under local designations, and differing, in religious rites and tenets, from the southern people of the same fraternity.

"Between the Newars and the other Hindu inhabitants of Nepal there subsist, as well in character, customs, manners, and features, as in religious rites and language, very essential differences, all of them abundantly proving that they are an insulated race of men, whose origin is not to be traced to any of the nations immediately surrounding them. They are a peaceable, industrious, and even ingenious people, very much attached to the superstition they profess, and tolerably reconciled to the chains imposed on them by their Goorkhali conquerors, although these have not hitherto condescended to conciliate them by the means which their former sovereigns, who were Rajepoots of the Soorej-bunsi* race, adopted, and who, among other compliances with the usages of the Newars, made no scruple, it seems, of feeding on the flesh of buffaloes." (P. 186.)

If there be no mistake, in this latter piece of information, it is in direct opposition to the usages of the more southern Baudhas, as is the following: "that the Newar women, like those among the Nairs, may have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretences." (P. 187.) General Kirkpatrick thinks the national physiognomy of the Nepaulians more resembling the Malays than the Chinese, and the well-executed portraits, as we presume them to be, which he has given, seem to confirm his opinion. Many of the women had a remarkable florid tint about their cheeks; but, generally, their complexion, like that of the men, is between a sallow and copper colour, notwithstanding which, some are asserted to be handsome.

Contrary to the usages of other Hindu people, water is not the common beverage among the tribe of Newars, of whom we see nothing tending to place them out of the comprehensive pale of the Hindu faith.

* This is a local and corrupt pronunciation of Surya-vansa, meaning offspring of the sun, or the solar race.

"They distil spirit from rice and other grains, and also prepare a fermented liquor from wheat, rice, &c. which they call Jháur; it is made somewhat in the manner of our malt liquors, which it would appear to resemble, though, I fancy, from the accounts I have received of it, it is rather more intoxicating; the Newar peasants consider it as much in the light of a necessary of life as our hard-labouring people do porter." p. 210.

It is to us a new fact, that any tribe of Hindus, or even of East Indians, should use as a common beverage, or consider as a necessary of life, any thing but water. We suspect that the supposed insalubrity of the water in Nepaul has induced this deviation from a very universal habit; for we find the natives, like those of other alpine regions, subject to the goitre. Amongst some more rational speculations, as to the cause of this endemic deformity, there is a local idea which, we think, will appear no less original than amusing, and of which the Nepaulians, no doubt, may boast the exclusive possession. It is that this guttural tumour, more than usually common in two particular towns, is

"An effect of imagination in their pregnant women, who, it seems, are constantly exposed to the disgusting sight presented by the protuberant pouches of the innumerable monkies, with which an adjacent sacred grove swarms: sallying thence, these animals take possession, at pleasure, of the neighbouring houses, from which it would be an act of the greatest impiety to dislodge them forcibly." (P. 174.)

On the important point of eating, too, we find considerable relaxation in Nepaul. The flesh of the buffalo is, by some *ingenuity*, not *esteemed to be beef*, and is accordingly eaten by the Newars, and, as observed in a preceding extract, by former sovereigns, who were necessarily of the second, or Kshetri grand division, as we suppose the Newars to be, or to have been, of the third, or Vaisya.

The Hindus of the higher tribes in Bengal and the more southern countries would revolt at the idea of eating the surighai, otherwise called the yak of Tartary, under which appellation it is described with a plate in the Asiatic Researches. Nor is the buffalo eaten in Hindustan, except by the lowest tribes; who, although fully recognized as Hindus, eat every thing edible, and allow a most comprehensive latitude, as great as the Chinese, even, to the latter term. Not, however, that we subscribe to the opinion commonly prevalent, of the general abstinence of the Hindus from flesh meat and distilled drink. Brahmans certainly abstain from all intoxicating drink, and from eating beef; but they, though not universally nor under all circumstances,

legally eat fish, and the flesh of many animals. The second of the four grand divisions of the Hindus, the Khetri, or Kshetri, which is very extensive and numerous, (without, as far as we know, excepting any of its varied sectarial subdivisions,) indulge in animal food and strong drink. The second is the warrior class. Out of the third grand division, the Vaisya, or merchants, which is also entirely subdivided, we know of only one abstinent sect, this is the Bania, or Vania; and in this we have fancied such anomalies as have sometimes led us to suspect it to be a sort of connecting link between the heretical Baudha, and the orthodox Hindu; but our knowledge is at present too slight to warrant any positive assertion on this subject. The sect or tribe of Bania is not numerous, compared with some other of the Hindu subdivisions. All the Sudras, or labourers, being the fourth and last class, eat and drink pretty much as they like; abstaining however generally from beef. Allowing for some individual and local deviations, arising, in the first case, from choice, station, or enthusiasm, and in the latter, from an extension of these co-efficients, connected with political expediency, and the whole race of orthodox Hindus, from the Ganges to Ceylon, will come within the descriptive range of this paragraph.

General Kirkpatrick has not directly given such particulars of the religious observances that came within his notice or inquiry, as enable us to judge of the comparative prevalence of the sects of Hindus that now inhabit Khatmunda and its environs. Of Buddhism, under some of its forms, and differing possibly from all those hitherto described, as having obtained in Hindustan, we suspect the extensive existence. With regard to the more orthodox sects, which even now may be paramount, we recognize, in the nomenclature of rivers, temples, mountains, &c. the former predominancy of the sect of Saivabakht.

Sambha-nath is the name of a principal temple near the metropolis. Sambha is a name of Siva, but "at the foot of the steps is a colossal image in stone of the god Boudh (Budha), who is considered by some to be the lawgiver of the Bhootias or Tibetians, and to be the same as the Fo of the Chinese. The doctrines, however, usually attributed to Boudh, would appear to be so much at variance with many of the usages of the Bhootias, that this opinion is by no means to be hastily admitted; a reference alone to the Boudh Pouran itself can satisfactorily clear up this point, and happily such a reference is now no longer impracticable to the learned, as I have been fortunate enough to obtain from Nepal a copy of that rare and valuable manuscript." We should like to possess some farther

knowledge of this MS. of which we ought, indeed, to have heard less, or seen more. A Budha-purana is a novelty no doubt, but its value is not yet ascertained. Among the singularities of their religion, may be cited one from p. 196 of the work before us, where we have an account of a grand festival that occurs occasionally, which continues for four months. "It consists in visiting the shrines of all the gods in Nepaul, which are said to be two thousand, seven hundred, and thirty-three!"

To a lover of the poetry and allegory of the East, the following descriptions of scenery, and the legends to which its romantic nature has given rise, must be highly interesting.

"From the summit of Chandra-giri there is a most commanding prospect; the eye, from hence, not only expatiating on the waving valley of Nepaul, beautifully and thickly dotted with villages, and abundantly chequered with rich fields, fertilized by numerous meandering streams; but also embracing on every side a wide expanse of charmingly diversified country. It is the landscape in front, however, that here most powerfully attracts the attention; the scenery in this direction gradually rising to an amphitheatre, and successively exhibiting to the delighted view the cities and numberless temples of the valley below; the stupendous mountain of Sheoopoori (Siva-puri); the still super-towering Jibjibia, clothed to its snow-capped peak, with pendulous forests; and finally the gigantic Himmaleh (Himalaya) forming the back ground of this wonderful and sublime picture." (P. 69.)

Himalaya, or the *mansion of snow*, personified, is the mythological father of Parvati, the consort of Siva. This vast alpine chain, generally named Himala, was called by the ancients Montes Parveti: Parvati also means a mountain; and we learn from General Kirkpatrick, that the mountaineers in Nepaul are appropriately denominated Purbutties (i. e. Parvatis). In the Puranas are many wild tales of the pastimes, and amours, and quarrels of Mahadeva and his consort Parvati, under various names; and the scene is sometimes laid in these snowy regions; so that Nepaul is with the Hindus classical ground, and pilgrims resort thither, and farther north, to spots sanctified by some tradition, either in propitiation of the deity there manifested, or in expiation of sin, incurred during the present or some earlier stage of existence. As to these extravagant tales of the Puranas, the probability is that physical facts are thus concealed under the veil of allegory carried through a series of poetical narratives and adventures, related of the personified attributes of the God of nature. The facts are either forgotten or unknown to the people; but the fables remain, and are throughout India generally and commonly alluded to in composition

and conversation. "There are (General Kirkpatrick says, p. 303.) in these parts many natural grottoes or caves, which, it is to be remembered, were the favourite haunts of Mahadeo, and other Hindoo deities." Taken literally as the transactions of divine or holy persons, nothing can be more contemptible than these puranic romances; but if we desire to sift the grains of ore that the mass may probably contain, we must be content to examine them as they are; and in case of failure many inquisitive readers will deem their labour not lost, in the range of invention, and other poetical beauties abounding in the extravagant compositions of the Hindus.

Nilakantha, or the Blue-throated, (written Neel-khent by Gen. K.) the origin of which epithet we shall not stop here to explain, we find (pp. 128. 310.) to be, geographically, the "sacred source of the Trisul-ganga;" and we see the river mythologically represented in pictures springing from the head of this regenerating deity, the prevalence of whose worship in Nepal is frequently marked by the names of his family and kindred.

The cold of Nilakantha, even in the month of August, is, we are told, (p. 314.) too severe to admit of the pilgrims resting there beyond a single day. Avalanches are common in this road, and sometimes exceedingly dangerous; glaciers, both of ice and frozen snow, occur also in various parts of this alpine region. When it is considered that Neel-khent is visited in July or August; that the road is then passable but with great difficulty, owing to the depths of snow lying on and at either side of it (but particularly in the hollows which border on it); that the traveller is subject to fresh and heavy falls at this time; that the mountain (Jibjibia) inclosing Neel-khent to the southward, or towards Nepal, is covered with snow to a considerable depth, from its summit to about midway down on the Neel-khent side; and that this mountain is not situated in a higher latitude than 28°, we cannot suppose it to be less elevated than the Peak of Teneriffe. It is not extraordinary that the valley of Nepal should be discernible from this eminence; but what must we conclude concerning the elevation of Himma-leh, when we consider that some of the peaks of this alpine region, which here appear interminable, and to be heaped upon one another, seem, according to the united testimony of several travellers, to be even higher from this point of view than Jibjibia itself does from Noakote or Nepal.

The holy stone the Salagrama, of such mystical properties in propitiatory and expiatory sacrifices, is found in Nepal; and we know not if in any other country: nor were we aware that the river in which these stones are exclusively found is, in that

part of its course where they most abound, called Salagrami; and that the name of Gandaki (or Gunduck, p. 298.), by which we have heretofore been accustomed to call it, is in Nepaul, "a general appellation for a river" (p. 298.), and not specifically applicable to that in question.

On the summit of a little mount in the valley of Nepaul is the temple, called Sumbhoonath, of which a beautiful engraving is given in the work before us. The first object that engages the attention on reaching the summit of Sumbhoo is a cylindrical structure of masonry, about breast high, and from two to three feet in diameter: over this work is placed a circular plate of brass, which is covered with various engraved figures and characters, and serves to sustain a gilt Bejjerbân, or thunderbolt of Indra, *of immense size*, but better corresponding to the figure of a double sceptre. "This singular fabric was erected to the Hindoo Jupiter about 115 years ago, by a Newar Rajah of Khatmunda." (P. 150.)

A representation of this "thunderbolt" and cylindrical structure is given in the title-page. We suspect that Bejjerban is rather a corruption of one of the names of Indra; than his sceptre or weapon. Vajra is the thunderbolt or lightning held or hurled by Indra, the regent of the firmament, who is hence named Vajra-pani: Nor doth the pretty engraving of the Vajra convey an idea of "immense size." We do not presume to determine the orthodox dimensions of a true thunderbolt, or the precise admeasurement of the sceptre of Indra; but as the supporting structure of masonry is only "from two to three feet in diameter," and as the article in question is "better corresponding to the figure of a double sceptre," it seems, than to a thunderbolt, and is in length but little more than half the diameter of the substructure; we do not think that the Hindu Jupiter can be justly accused of any thing inordinate in the dimensions of his thunderbolt.

This perhaps may appear to some an hyper-criticism: but we could not let pass the opportunity of expressing our disapprobation of the use of vague and indefinite terms in describing things within the reach of scale and compass, or, at any rate, of estimate sufficiently exact, with the qualification of *about*, to convey *some* idea of dimension. A thunderbolt of "immense size"—"the river tolerably wide," (p. 11.)—"a pine-tree of immense dimensions," (p. 43.)—"a hill tolerably high" (p. 107.), and similar terms, are, to say the least of them, indications of carelessness: and are often tantalizing to those who, being disposed to read much, desire to read profitably. It is doubtless better to leave such points indefinite than to give

erroneous measurements. We do not say that such is the case in the following instance, but there seems a mistake or misunderstanding somewhere, possibly on our part. General Kirkpatrick, describing the oval-shaped valley of Nepal, which he does in a very spirited and pleasing style, computes its smallest diameter at about nine miles, and its circuit at from forty to fifty. (P. 153.) In the panoramic view of this valley, Khatmanda the capital, and the hill and temple of Sumbhoo-nath, are placed immediately opposite to each other, having, of course, the whole diameter of the valley interposed. In page 147 we are told, that "during the single week that he resided in Nepal, his camp was pitched close to the east foot of Sumbhoo-nath, and not quite a mile distant from Khatmanda." This seems irreconcilable. On turning to Father Giuseppe's account (*Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. art. 17.), he describes the three principal cities in the "plain of Nepal" under the same names given by General Kirkpatrick, and manifestly means the "valley" of the latter; but says that "the circumference of the plain is about 200 miles." This dissonance, which, if the two accounts were compared, would be found not the only instance, rather confounds than assists us.

On the subjects of the history, literature, revenue, military strength, &c. of the Nepaulians we shall be brief: General Kirkpatrick having visited the country under circumstances very unfavourable to accuracy in such researches, and another work which may perhaps prove more satisfactory on these points, being, as we understand, in preparation. Of events that occurred one or two hundred years ago, the relations of Hindu history are generally obscure and contradictory; the dates even, when brought to the test of examination, are a tissue of confusion. But if we can be induced to go back two or three thousand years, we then find every thing *seemingly* very regular, and full and consonant. The Hindu historians are mostly poets; with such writers invention is easier than inquiry, and they arrive by the shortest route at the periods of fiction. On the learning of Nepal, we shall content ourselves with one extract of a nature curious and inviting.

"Time did not admit of my attending much to the state of learning among these people, yet the little information that it was in my power to acquire on the subject, disposes me to think that the Pundits of Nepal are not behindhand, in the branches of science usually cultivated by their fraternity, with those of any other Hindu country whatever. Astronomy, or rather its degenerate offspring, and ordinary companion among superstitious nations, judicial astrology, appears to be their favourite study, and has so deeply, as

well as undistinguishingly, infested every rank among them, that a stranger might be tempted to conclude that here the horoscope and ephemeris determined, in most cases, the line both of civil and moral conduct, and that the people, in short, were universally directed by their soothsayers. In fine, it is extremely probable that there is no place in India where a search after ancient and valuable Sanscrit manuscripts in every department of Brahminical learning would be more successful than in the valley of Nepaul, and particularly at Bhatgong, which would seem to be the Benares of the Goorkhali territories. In support of this opinion I may observe, that I was credibly informed of a single private library in that city containing upwards of 15,000 volumes." (P. 220.)

That much of a curious nature might be extracted from this library it is but reasonable to expect, as well as something useful: but until such a man as Dr. Leyden of the Calcutta college can be prevailed upon to make a literary visit to Nepaul, under circumstances of more confidence on the part of the rulers there than have heretofore been experienced, we must content ourselves with conjecture as to the contents of the Nepaul libraries, and the state of literature in that country.

The three alphabets given by General Kirkpatrick are variations of the Deva-nagri: and the vocabularies of dialects current in Nepaul contain many words common in Hindustan: the Newar apparently the fewest.

Of the military strength of Nepaul we are taught to judge contemptuously—the strength of the country consists chiefly in the difficulty of access to the frontiers, and in interior impediments even should the frontier be penetrated: and its *safety* is chiefly to be ascribed to the military ignorance and unwarlike habits of its neighbours. Father Giuseppe, however, who was there in 1769, says, that "the King of Cathmandu has always about 50,000 soldiers in his service:"—but he saw the country in very troublesome times, and on this subject was very likely to be misinformed.

Recollecting that the information derived through the medium of this volume was collected nearly twenty years ago, we shall abstain from speculating on topics of a fluctuating or temporary nature. The objects of commerce are not of this description; and the importance of Nepaul to us is chiefly, if not solely, connected with commercial considerations.

The treaty concluded in 1791 by Mr. Duncan, then resident at Benares, now governor of Bombay, between the Bengal and Nepaul governments, has not, it would appear, been sufficient to secure those reciprocal advantages for which it seemed well calculated. A draft of an improved treaty as proposed to the

Regent of Nepaul is given in the appendix to the work before us. Whether or not it was ever agreed to we are ignorant; but it seems all-sufficient for the common benefit of the two states, and we conjecture, that either this or one similar to it was ratified; as, pursuant to one of its articles, we have of late years had a fixed, as well as an occasional, diplomatic officer at the court of Khatmunda.

The physical difficulties attending a commercial intercourse with Nepaul, although considerable, will yet be easily surmounted, compared with those of a political nature. It is not merely with Nepaul that we have to look for profitable barter: Tibet is a country peculiarly inviting to our mercantile speculations; and during the administration of Mr. Hastings, a fair opening appears to have offered for an improved intercourse. Its great elevation and coldness must render our woollens extremely desirable. The natives do, indeed, manufacture warm clothing; but so unskilfully, that to retain a comfortable temperament, a load of clothes is necessary, under which it is absolutely difficult to move. Such of the natives of Tibet as can afford it would assuredly purchase our woollens—among the richer, the finer kinds of flannels and thick broad-cloths would be in most request. The wealthy men of India are, as we know, in many parts, very desirous to procure our double cloths; that is, cloth of two colours, red on one side and blue or yellow on the other: a species of our manufacture, we will here observe in passing, that we are convinced might be profitably taken to India and China to a very considerable extent. It is but rarely seen in India, and always with high approbation. This is a manufacture very little known even to our countrymen, and we were once agreeably surprised upon seeing, at a manufacture in Gloucestershire, a beautiful specimen of this cloth for the Persian market. It is very expensive.

The shortest route to the eastern part of Tibet from Bengal is through Bootan, and from the government of the latter, in the absence especially of all commercial arrangement, serious impediments may be apprehended. Of all the varieties of ignorance conspicuous in the native governments of India, that in political economy is the greatest, and probably the most incorrigible. Although not altogether unacquainted with the advantages of protected commerce, a government will most contradictorily risk a prohibition by suddenly levying a heavy impost on an article in demand; looking no farther than the immediate amount of the duty, which by being farmed or given to some person to whom the rajah or minister may be in debt, or whom he may be disposed to favour, will generally be unjustly as well

as vexatiously levied. This is applicable to Bootan with respect to goods in transit from Bengal to the eastern parts of Tibet; and, indeed, generally to most other Indian governments; with whom an arrangement in the shape of a commercial treaty is a necessary preliminary to any extensive traffic in articles beyond those of the first necessity. Goods destined for the western parts of Tibet will pass through Nepaul; a rugged journey, though, on the whole, less so than through Bootan.

In exchange for our woollens and hard-ware, and Bengal goods, we might receive from Nepaul, Tibet, and Bootan, gold in dust and bars, timber, ivory, hides, wax, musk, antimony, and other drugs. In the infancy of this intercourse many difficulties would doubtless occur. The eradication of prejudices, or in other words, the removal of ignorance, will, perhaps, as in most other cases, be the greatest. Distance and difficulties of transit are obstacles of a serious nature, but more easily overcome than the ruggedness of men's minds. One circumstance, however, must not be omitted; which is, the necessity of guarding against the jealousy of the Chinese, who have of late years pretty openly assumed a paramount authority in Tibet, and even in Nepaul, although the distance and local circumstances of the latter render it less immediately obnoxious to Chinese interference,

It may seem a great distance for the conveyance of ship-timber, yet Nepaul may be looked to as a quarter to which Bengal, ill supplied in that article from its interior resources, may hereafter, and at no distant period, have occasion to resort.

"If I might venture (General Kirkpatrick observes) to form a judgment from the superficial view I had of West Turrye, I should be inclined to pronounce that it is capable of being rendered highly productive to the Nepaul government: its extensive forests contain an almost inexhaustible source of riches, since they might be made to supply with valuable timber, not only the countries washed by the Ganges, but even our other settlements in India. The pines of the Bechiacori, and the saul-trees both of that and the Jhurjoory forest, are not surpassed in any other part of the world, either for straightness or dimensions, or probably for strength or durability. I had two cut down and floated from Seg-ouly to Calcutta, by way of sample; one of these spars measured 76, the other 73 feet. Mr. Gillet the shipwright has pronounced of them, that they promise to prove both strong and lasting, and means to give them a trial in a ship which he is about to launch. They had felled a couple of immense dimensions, in girth as well as in length, but were afterwards unable to move them. Those examined by Mr. Gillet will work about a foot in diameter." (P. 43.)

If they would work a cubic foot in a length of 70 feet, they

were, indeed, respectable timber; and this we take to be the author's meaning, for in page 33 he speaks of a fir or pine felled in the Bechiacori forest, "measuring 90 feet clear of the branches, and not less than eight feet in the girth.

"The Bechiacori pines, nevertheless, seem never to have had an axe applied to them, though they grow in prodigious numbers, are very superior to what we generally meet with in Nepaul Proper; and, considering the vicinity of the Boora-gunduck, might be conveyed to us both with little trouble and with little expence, compared to the channel by which we are at present supplied with this useful article, and the cost at which it is procured. Besides timber for masts and yards, we could draw from hence whatever supplies of pitch, tar, and turpentine we required. Kota, or pure turpentine of the sulla pine, may be procured, I believe, even in Nepaul, at the rate of ten *seers* per rupee; and a tree will yield, I have been told, for eight or ten years together, about three *maunds* annually*. Neither the tar of America nor the pine spars from thence would appear to be in much estimation in India; though for want of better I suppose, we take off, it is said, from the American traders considerable quantities of both at high price." (P. 43.)

That the information and reasoning contained in the preceding paragraph is of great and growing importance is undeniable. It is very clear that we enrich our rivals and enemies by purchasing from them lumber and various articles, that are, or might be, produced abundantly in our own colonies, or obtained by commercial interchange with friendly states in their neighbourhood. That the Gangetic provinces, British and foreign, are capable of furnishing large quantities of pine, timber, tar, &c. has been long recorded in the minutes of council at Fort William. We have already observed that Sir Robert Barker, though in some respects inaccurately, pointed out the resources to Lord Clive so far back as 1776, but we are not informed that they have been resorted to. We are disposed to conclude in the negative, from the quantities of those articles *sent to India* both by the East-India Company, and by private speculators; to the extent of lumbering, in a very inconvenient degree, the ships so uselessly employed in transporting them. Cordage sufficient for both the military and commercial marine of India, if not for the whole British navy, better and cheaper than that made in Eng-

* The *man*, or *maund*, as it is commonly called, differs very much in different parts of India; and even at the same place the *man* has various weights and distinctions. The Bengal factory *maund* is 74lb. 10oz. avoirdupois. A Bengal *bazar maund* 10 per cent. more, or 82lb. 2oz. The *seer* also varies—it may be reckoned at 1lb. 13oz. avoirdupois; 40 *seers* are a *maund*. Hence the price of turpentine in Nepaul, as given in the text, was about fifteen shillings the hundred weight.

land from Baltic hemp, can be manufactured in India from its own resources; but cordage is sent thither from England and America. How is this to be accounted for? Is it supineness, or does it originate in interest and patronage? Formerly, indeed, (to descend to trifles) when the dispensaries of our Indian hospitals overflowed with re-imported castor oil (the shrub whence it is expressed growing in India, as thistles *did* in Scotland), ignorant people marvelled, till they were told that the brother of the CHAIR was apothecary to the company. When, (passing over matters of mediocrity, and proceeding at once to the other extreme,) the arsenals groaned under the load of guns, shot, and shells, of a certain calibre, that would suffice for a war of ten centuries with all Asia, it was suspected that some powerful person was connected with the Carron, or some other foundry. When shipping to an enormous amount of tonnage, and at a ruinous rate of freight, was seen engaged to carry out such things as were not, or ought not to be wanted, and to bring home others that were in no demand, and on every cargo of which certain loss accrued to the Company; it was significantly said that the shipping interest was all-powerful. This course of allusion might be extended to a length apparently invidious; but we speak of the days of other years, and may, perhaps, be told that no such usages now exist. Be this as it may, we cannot help observing that the information above alluded to did long moulder on the shelves of our Indian government, and that proper measures, directed by due energy, might have rendered us at this time, and *may still render us*, independent of the northern states of Europe. We know not what has been done towards the attainment of this important object during the mission of Captain Knox, which was subsequent to that of General Kirkpatrick; but we have no doubt concerning the main facts of the existence and accessibility of these stores; and we do most urgently call upon the Indian government to do their duty with respect to them.

General Kirkpatrick demonstrates the practicability of bringing Nepal timber to the Hoogley, mostly, if not wholly, by water. The note that we have quoted is indeed a practical proof of the fact; for although Segowly be not in Nepal, it is immediately on its frontier, and contiguous to a great river which receives several respectable streams directly from the neighbourhood of the forests, and communicates, in a course sufficiently equable, with the large rivers of Bengal.

It was with considerable surprise that we read in General Kirkpatrick's work the description of a *water grist mill* in Nepal. It is thus noticed:—"Here is a grist mill, turned by a

torrent which after tumbling for a short space over some huge rocks, mingles"— &c. &c. "the diameter of the mill-stone did not exceed two feet and a half, and the whole of this machine was of the simplest construction, as they are every where in this country, in which I understand they are very common; the stream that turned it, though it descended rapidly, was not above two feet broad." (P. 112.)

We know of water-mills, both with over and undershot wheels, in China, but do not recollect a description of any such machines for the abridgment of human labour in India; and we wish some further notice had been taken of their extensive existence in Nepaul, and that their construction was more particularly described. Religion travelled rapidly from India to China, and machinery seems creeping through Nepaul in a contrary direction. Few objects of contemplation can be more singular than the comparison of the products of Hindu industry with their total neglect of machinery, and their awkward implements of labour. Let any one examine their ivory toys, their muslins, or that chef d'œuvre of useless ingenuity, the succession of carved ivory balls contained one within the other, yet without any suture to betray the mode of their insertion, and he would suppose them the products of the most delicate and finished machinery. Yet are they in fact nothing more than the effect of patient manipulation, operating with the clumsiest instruments.

The Hindûs seem to have completely inverted the ordinary progress of ingenuity, from the agent to the subject acted upon. Instead of the regular gradations through the coarse muscular energy and obtuse extremities of the hand, to the refined and delicate instrument of art, their genius works upwards as it were, through the gross and clumsy tool to the elegant and effeminate hand:—at least the progress of perfection would stop at the hand, were it not intense enough to infuse a portion of its excellence through an implement otherwise inert and useless. The finest European lady would look with envy on the beautiful symmetry and dainty littleness of the coarsest hand of India.

We have seen rather a small-handed European attempt to grasp the sword of the late Tippoo Sultan, which was by no means a childish implement as to weight. He could barely insert his three fingers into the handle; yet upon casing himself in the helmet and coat of mail of that usurper, the weight would have prevented him from walking an hundred yards. But to return to the subject of the coarser machinery. Wheels for raising water, turned sometimes by oxen, but more generally by men, are common throughout India; but beyond this we cannot

call to our recollection a description by any of our oriental travellers, of a *machine* of any sort, properly so called, in use among the natives of that extensive country; for the wheel, although so generally applied to raising water, is never, so far as we know, extended to breaking corn. There is not, probably, throughout British India a wind or water grist mill*; nor until we read the passage last quoted did we know where to look for one in any of the contiguous countries. We do, indeed, recollect to have heard something of a water-mill near Poona; but have no particulars respecting it.

How then, it may be naturally inquired, is corn ground sufficient for such an immense population, living chiefly on farinaceous food? The question is easily answered, and the answer involves some points that in their discussion may lead to substitutions susceptible of profitable application in England, and its less remote dependencies.

A majority of Indian families have a domestic hand mill. If too poor to possess one, (although it is a piece of furniture of very easy acquisition), it is borrowed or hired of a neighbour; the borrower either resorting with her corn, if the quantity be small, to the lender, who often lends help also, or bringing home the implement, as may be most expedient. A portion of the flour is given to the owner of the mill, regard being of course had to the extent of the loan, and of the personal aid afforded. The work is almost exclusively performed by women.

It has been suggested that the introduction of hand mills into England would be beneficial; and impressed with this idea, a

* Formerly there was a common post windmill in Bombay, which was contemplated with wonder by the natives; but it had, we believe, been long in disuse, and is now taken down. While conveniently contributing to the sustenance of human life, the windmill at Bombay was the common resort of those disposed to shorten its duration. Twenty or thirty years back a ship seldom arrived from Europe without importing, in the shape of writers, cadets, or mates, one pair at least of angry spirits so disposed; and the evolutions incident to such *rencontres* excited the just amazement of the natives, equally with the unaccountable motions of the contiguous machine; for duelling is in as little use among the natives of India as windmills. "*Behind the windmill*" was a phrase of ominous import. Nor is it impossible, that in the easy mind of some innocent native, the *equally strange* actions of the men and the mill may have been somehow whimsically associated. He may, if mythologically contemplative, have fancied the one a temple in honour of Pavana, the regent of winds; and the other a deprecatory sacrifice, especially in the S.W. monsoon, to that potent deity. An inhabitant of Poona lately amused us with an association almost as ridiculous: having visited Bombay, he described something in the neighbourhood of the church, as being "near the clock;" and assuredly conceived that the extensive and ponderous pile was built for receiving and supporting the useful appendage to the steeple, so seldom, if at all elsewhere, seen in India, a public or town clock. That in Bombay is much admired by native visitors, to whom it appears a very strange sort of a thing.

gentleman of high rank and acquirements some years back brought with him from India several of these simple implements, and deposited them, as we understand, in charge of the Bath and West of England Society. Without entering into the discussion of their eventual utility in England, we shall merely observe that it is not unusual for ships in the Indian seas to take no store flour, but to grind corn daily as wanted; and this, as we have been assured by a nautical friend, was attended with very considerable advantage in regard to the freshness of the flour, and the economy of the measure. It would, perhaps, be applicable to our royal navy and East and West-India shipping. Armies in the field in India are supplied with corn in this way. Many persons obtain a livelihood by carrying about a mill on an ass, and letting it out to individuals of the lower orders with assistance to grind their corn. The women in camp do this work, while the men are pursuing their avocations. Sepoys not uncommonly take with them into the field their domestic mill; and it is found to answer well if the wife be active and industrious. It is usual to sing while at work; the stave is short and plaintive, beginning and ending very abruptly, and when sung during the night, a time often chosen for the purpose, is exceedingly expressive, and awakens feelings that may remind the hearer of the Boatman's song of the western highlanders of Scotland, or the melancholy ditty of the rope-makers in the Peak of Derbyshire.

“ With easy force it opens all the cells
Where memory slept. Wherever I have heard
A kindred melody, the scene recurs,
And with it all its pleasures and its pains. COWPER.

There is an appendix attached to the volume before us, containing an account of the diplomatic intercourse between the great men of Nepaul, and General (then Captain) Kirkpatrick. The Oriental ministers exhibited a *polite hostility*, and a refined duplicity, that would really have been esteemed very creditable to European diplomatists; they turned the envoy out of their country in a few weeks with all the rules of friendship and good breeding, and even obliged him to solicit his own dismissal, and one and all expressed the *greatest regret* at his early departure. This appendix also contains one fact calculated to throw some light on the distance and facilities of intercourse between China and Nepaul: an embassy, consisting of several persons with presents, was deputed to the Emperor of Pekin, and arrived at that court in the sixth month from their departure from Nepaul. They remained at Pekin forty-five days, and were admitted to fifteen audiences; and being then dismissed with presents, returned to

their own court within fourteen months from the day of their departure.

The last original paper in the appendix is an able memoir by General Kirkpatrick, on the general commercial advantages that would flow from a facility of intercourse with Nepal. The prospects held out appear to us very far from chimerical; and we trust that the Indian government will at length summon to their counsels energy enough to reap the profit that has been so long uselessly suspended within their grasp.

ART. XV. *Memoirs of the latter Years of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.* By John Bernard Trotter, Esq. late private Secretary to Mr. Fox. London: Richard Phillips.

ROMANTIC, alas! are the hopes of reviewers, if they flatter themselves that by their severest animadversions they can correct the passion for scribbling, or the extravagancies of authorship. In our review of Serjeant Heywood's *Vindication of Mr. Fox's History* in our last number, we took occasion to remark upon the mischief of outrageous panegyric; and the loss to the fund of instructive examples, when officious friendship, or party zeal, anticipate the award of dispassionate history. The flatulent eulogy of the book before us has set all our remonstrances at defiance. Instead of Charles James Fox, with whose career, early and late, we are most of us so well acquainted, we might have imagined Mr. Trotter, had he suppressed the mention of his hero's name and of contemporary persons and occurrences, to have been drawing the character of one of those saints upon earth

quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vitæ, patientes etheris imi
Fecit, et æternos animas collegit in orbes,

In the number of our review before alluded to, we have endeavoured to rescue the posthumous fame of Mr. Fox from that indiscreet excess of praise, which, if living, he would have disclaimed indignantly, if a tenth part of it was his due; for a manly mind is insulted by that praise which belongs only to perfection. We cannot help, therefore, discovering some impatience when we perceive that our endeavours have been so little successful: that while, on the one hand, the newspapers are full of menacing advertisements of fresh accumulations on the unfortunate memory of Mr. Fox, of collections upon collections,

selections from collections, and collections of selections; Mr. Trotter, on the other, is plying us from a magazine, which we dare not hope to see exhausted, as long as one laudatory superlative is left in the language. We wish, with all our hearts, we could by any friendly admonitions of ours persuade Mr. Trotter to acquiesce in his total want of faculty for the task of composition, and to shew his respect for his friend's memory by letting it alone at least for the future. We were consoled by a passage in his preface, in which he tells us that the early part of Mr. Fox's life must at present remain a desideratum, but under the head of *errata* he has announced an intention of following up this present specimen with the entire public life of Mr. Fox, so that it looks as if he really meant to give regular work to the reviewers.

As Mr. Trotter proceeds in his work he grows in confidence. In page 16 he laments the nation's ingratitude in leaving Mr. Fox's memory without a monument, and declares his intention to do his best to supply the deficiency, by enabling posterity to appreciate the private character of that most calumniated of men.

Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo,
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones.

Having entered upon his task at the call of friendship, his genius is kindled at its sacred fire, a sort of inspiration seems to carry him on with exulting anticipation, until at length in the 474th page of his work, he fairly tells us in a strain of rapturous egotism, that he writes for mankind and posterity. We perform with reluctance, after all this, the duty of telling him, that his work will neither instruct mankind, nor reach posterity; and that to the extent to which political curiosity may give it circulation, its tendency is, in our judgement, to lower the character of Mr. Fox, and thus to frustrate the benignant purpose of its author.

We were not a little amused with Mr. Trotter's table of the contents of his chapters, in which we think we trace very obviously the effect of a great familiarity with novels, contracted in the service of Mr. Fox, who seems to have very much exercised the lungs of his private secretary in this instructive sort of reading, even in his dying days. Our readers will judge whether he has not successfully imitated, in this respect, the manner of Fielding and Smollet. We shall make rather a large extract from this part of the work, because we think it will give the intelligent reader

a tolerable idea of the author's plan, and of the general spirit of the work.

"PART I. CHAP. XVI.—Rumours of war—Amiable disposition of the French—Dinner at Berthier's—Berthier—Massena—Bougainville—Volney—Conclusion of labours at the Archives—Mr. Fox's historical fragment—Its immaturity—Researches at Paris not incorporated—Author's opinions of the noble Editor—Description of Mr. Fox's labours at the Archives—The grand opera—Lawyers disagreeable every where—Notre dame—Pantheon—Another consular levee—Buonaparte's repeated questions.

"PART II. CHAP. IV.—First announcement of illness—The *Æneid*—Dido—His sympathetic conduct at Holland-House—Increase of Disease—Exercise—Lord Fitzwilliam—His excellent character—The Prince of Wales—His endearing attentions—Duke of Clarence—Duke of York—Miss Fox—Mrs. Fox—Crabbe's Poems—Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Grattan—Operation of Tapping—Derangement of the negotiation with France—Lord Lauderdale—Duke of Devonshire—Removal to Chiswick-House—His portrait there—Employments—Exercise—Return of Pittite feelings.

"CHAP. VI.—Operation useless—Author and Mrs. Fox in constant attendance—Johnson's Lives of the Poets—Dryden—Lord Holland—General Fitzpatrick—Miss Fox—Her character—Alarming symptoms—Solemnity of the Author's duty—Last employments of Mr. Fox—The Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room—Awful impressions—Patience of Mr. Fox—No causes for self-reproach.

"MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS.—Event accompanying his death—His countenance after death—Cast taken from his face—Embalming—His religious opinions—The immortality of the soul—Resignation to Providence—Dr. Parr's work—His body opened—Observations thereon—Digitalis—His ideas of burial—His last wishes—A public funeral resolved on—Vast concourse of mourners—Their character and affecting conduct—The procession to Westminster—Sympathy of the people—His grave—Reflections and anguish of the Author."

Now if our author shall ever carry into execution his projected plan of writing the entire history of Mr. Fox, he will probably proceed with the same minuteness, and then we shall have an introductory chapter, the contents of which may be thus anticipated:

CHAP. I.—Infantine anecdotes of Mr. Fox—Tuneful crying—Nurse—Danger of Dalby's Carminative—Retrospects of the Author—Rattles—Prognostics—Sugar-plums—Lullabies—Anxieties—Reflections of the author.

We are strongly put in mind by Mr. Trotter's table of contents of the humorous satyrist of the celebrated Mr. Norris's Theory of the intelligible World, calling himself Gabriel John, who writes what he calls a preface, a postscript, and something

between the two. His table of the contents of the 29th chapter is as follows :

CHAP. XXIX.—Of a wicked world and sad times. Of the present tense, infallibility, Pope Joan, Queen Dick, and Alexander the Great. Of the golden age, Formosa, China, and Peru. Of fashion, faction, weathercocks, and chronologers. Epic poems, dreams, and hard beds. Of the philosopher's stone, robbing church-yards, Colchester oysters, antiquity, hour-glasses, Doctor's Commons, extremes, envy, distance, microcosm, and complaints.

In making these observations on the table of contents to Mr. Trotter's work, we are not unaware that an author sometimes leaves this part of his work to his bookseller, and that it is too apt to be treated by both as a mere mechanical labour; that this is the case, in the present instance, we are willing to suppose.

Our curiosity to visit the interior of the temple in which Mr. Fox was to be enshrined by his faithful votary, could not be repelled by the grotesque deformities and idle appendages that disfigured the porch. Mr. Fox was never to us an object of idolatry: nevertheless, to the artist that could give us his resemblance with characteristic force we should be ready to pay our acknowledgments, and allow for the vanity of display, and the embellishments of fancy. But we really think that this attempt to deify Mr. Fox has so completely failed of success, that it has reduced him below his real rank among men. It has been usual in this sort of domestic biography of great persons, written by those who have had access to them in their hours of privacy, and who have composed a part of their family circle, to make them in a manner the painters of their own portraits, by recording their sentiments and observations as they dropped from them in their careless and happy hours of relaxation from business:—in those hours when, though apparently least solemn, they are often most in earnest; and, discarding the fopperies of grandeur, take a wholesome view of their real condition.

We do not recollect, however, that Mr. Trotter has given us these practical means of judging of Mr. Fox's intellectual and social qualities in private life. No maxims or memorable sayings, no practical observations on manners, professions, characters, or events, no opinions delivered in companies, small or great, no desultory talk or vivacious expressions, neither the dress or deshabelle of the fancy, neither the transient impressions, nor the treasured wisdom, are here exhibited, of the extraordinary person whose most interesting and characteristic moments are undertaken to be recorded. That there was much of all this displayed by Mr. Fox we are perpetually assured.

In page 183 we are told, that if Mr. Fox's reflections and observations were given to the public in a perfect state, they would be invaluable: That this may be so we do not dispute, but as far as Mr. Trotter's book is evidence of this, the fact rests upon his simple assertion. The reader may account or the omission as he pleases; for ourselves we pretend not to say whether it is to be ascribed to the general effulgence of Mr. Fox's character, which obliterated all these minuter graces, and prevented them from making their distinct impressions, or to grief, that could not bear to retrace so many subjects of tender regret, or to an opinion that a profane world was unworthy of revelations so pure and so sublime.

But whatever was the style of conversation during this journey, which, if we take it upon the assertion of Mr. Trotter, was very wonderful; this much appears very clear, that the whole party was in excellent humour, and in the best disposition in the world to enjoy every thing they saw, from the *pellucid and blue waters* of the Seine as it flows through the streets of Paris, to the *well-made pancakes* of Breda.

The author appears really to be an extremely good-natured man, in respect to every thing, and every person, except poor Mr. Pitt, whose memory he loads with great abuse. Every thing in his journey to Paris he finds enchanting. The radiance of Mr. Fox's perfections gave a brilliancy to every scene, and every occurrence. The delightful consciousness of being in his company seems to have kept him wound up to an exstastic pitch of mental exultation. Nothing could displease. The days seemed all to be fine, the country always picturesque, the people all happy and the very cattle full of glee. Ghent, which to our eyes some years ago, when we travelled through it, seemed a very dull and dirty town, with narrow streets, rises, under Mr. Trotter's descriptive powers, into a large magnificent place, with grand and venerable edifices. Beyond Ghent a rich and noble country presented itself. Every thing was correspondent, nothing to shock the eye, no miserable mansion, no wretched family to distress the feelings, clean farms, cattle in abundance, golden harvests, and smiling plains, Mr. Fox full of complacency, Mr. Trotter full of delight. In this manner did this happy group pass through a part of Holland, and Dutch and French Netherlands, till at length they arrived at Paris, the place of Mr. Fox's destination. The same good humour, the same optimism, still accompany them. The very waters of the Seine are purified, (page 235). The very cruelties of Buonaparte are denied, (page 187). And Mr. Trotter discovers the French to be full of sincerity, friendship, feeling, and discrimination, (page 347. 406.)

The same fascination of good humour and gaiety must necessarily have played round the heart of Mr. Fox, and brought every thing to his eye divested of its disgusting features. How else could this champion of the democratic parts of our constitution, the friend of freedom and humanity, the patriotic victim of the court, the mirror of whiggism, the idol of Palace-Yard, condescend to wait, in the antichamber of the tyrant, the summons to his detestable presence, to enter into familiar conversation with an usurping murderer, and accept the hospitalities of one whose power of entertaining him was derived from the destruction of every hope of liberty that the revolution had excited—that revolution which Mr. Fox had hailed with such glowing predictions, such ardent emotions, in the British senate; and to the defence of which he had made the costly sacrifice of his highest political friendships. It must be recollected too, that, while Mr. Fox and his friends were paying their duties to the tyrant, Toussaint and his children were expiring with famine in their dungeons; and daily dispatches were announcing fresh massacres of the Swiss, in their hapless villages, their rural homes, and their innocent vallies. As reviewers we can of course have but small pretensions to sensibility; yet why do the tears half blot out the words as we write them, but because “we have real hearts of flesh and blood, beating in our bosoms,” without one drop of the leperous distilment of party rancour, or revolutionary philosophy!

We join hand and heart with Mr. Trotter in his admiration of the many sweet ingredients in Mr. Fox's temper; we love the picture of his retirement at St. Ann's Hill; his simple pleasures,* his rural passion, his domestic affections, charm us into a momentary forgetfulness of what, when we think of it, we can never approve, without giving up the cause of truth and virtue, in his moral and political conduct. Good nature, when coupled with great understanding, is, in our estimation, doubled in price; but it assumes the air of mere facility, or something worse,—of an indifference to the distinctions of character in others, when it stretches its tolerance to such a man as the present emperor of the French, and the wretched instruments of his ferocious ambition. To the weight of this objection Mr. Trotter seems not to be insensible. He has made an effort to avert it; but to succeed in such a defence would require abilities like those of Mr. Fox himself, exerted before judges as prejudiced as Mr. Trotter.

* We shall be pardoned for our adoption of this phrase here by those who perhaps have sneered at the application we have made of it in the first article of this number.

We will allow a good deal for Mr. Trotter's prejudice, if he will make the same allowances for our old-fashioned morality. But if Mr. Trotter's theory of morals is very different from ours, we are afraid we shall not be brought nearer to a general agreement, by a comparison of our views of religion. God knows, it is not our desire to enter into this part of Mr. Fox's character. Every man has occasion for so much self-examination in respect to the religious state of his mind, that time enough is scarcely allowed him for the examination of others; and the exercise of uncharitableness, on the subject of religion, is like seething the kid in the milk of its mother. We shall, for fear of erring in these respects, abstain from all consideration of the question, whether Mr. Fox's religion was the religion of the Scriptures; but we may without offence or presumption consider, how far the evidences, on which the biographer builds his inference of the pure christianity of Mr. Fox, are satisfactory. First then he offers a sort of reasoning *à posteriori* to prove this fact. Mr. Fox, it is said, was humane, forgiving, candid, patient, and humble; and by these facts, which we are in no disposition to controvert, the orthodoxy of Mr. Fox is considered as being established. It can hardly be necessary for us to do any thing more than to state the proposition, in order to confute it. The uniform display of such divine characteristics would certainly lead to the supposition, that the man in whom they were found had profited by those precepts and principles which could scarcely have had existence, had not the doctrines of christianity been revealed to the world; for that all our best morality comes to us from this source, and that multitudes are benefited by it, without any sense of the obligation, there can be little doubt. But to call a man a good christian, on the strength of his maintaining a conduct conformable to its precepts; would be as rational as to maintain that a man is a good lawyer, because his conduct is agreeable to the institutions of his country. But admitting that the moral conduct of an individual may happen to be regulated with *immediate* reference to the christian dispensation, how would this prove his faith in its peculiar doctrines, without which we do not demonstrate an obedience to the Saviour of mankind, on any higher foundation than that on which we ground our veneration for Socrates or Plato.

But after all, we have not many specimens even of this practical sort produced to us by the author, to manifest the christian-like character of Mr. Fox. Mr. Trotter, however, sees deeper than we do. He discerns indubitable proofs of these rare qualities in Mr. Fox, in the single circumstance of his in-

viting Mr. Trotter to be of the party, in the intended tour to France. This instance of what he calls "active beneficence" (p. 31.) filled him, he says, with grateful surprise:—which is, indeed, so modest an expression, that we cannot but greatly commend it. But this is not the only inference which the grateful mind of Mr. Trotter draws from it. He seems to consider it as among the instances "of the practical homage paid to the Deity," as he expresses it, "by that great and *christian* character." His gratitude and admiration thus break forth: "Reader, such a character was Mr. Fox! To raise up the neglected, and to aid those whom scanty means might keep pining at home, or languishing in obscurity, was his bright characteristic. The practical homage paid to the Deity by this great and *christian* character, was to cheer the afflicted, and elevate the oppressed."

But Mr. Trotter's proofs of the Christianity of his great friend and patron do not stop here. What seems to have put it out of all doubt in his mind, was his adopting the fine picture of the St. Jerome of Dominichino, as his favourite among all the paintings at the Louvre. He considers this as so complete a refutation of the charge of his being, as he expresses it; but *slightly* tinctured with religion, that he thus triumphantly proceeds:

"Often has Mr. Fox stood admiring this noble production;—often and often has he returned to view it, and again was I myself induced to consider how much, and in every way, had this great man been misrepresented. He who had been held forth as devoid of principle, a revolutionist, and contemner of civil and religious establishments, was here, unaffectedly, bestowing his warmest admiration upon the affecting representation of the celebration of the most sacred of christian rites. I myself felt some surprise, though without reason, unless that the impressions made upon the public in England to Mr. Fox's disadvantage had imperceptibly taken possession of my mind, and that I had, unawares to myself, conceived that he was but very slightly tinctured with religious feeling."

After such unanswerable proofs of the orthodoxy of Mr. Fox, one can scarcely wonder, that, in describing the departing scene of his existence, his memorialist should borrow for him the words of Addison to the young Lord Warwick, "See how a christian can die!" and declare that "if the beautiful Scripture expression, *Lord, let me die, the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his*, was ever more strongly exemplified in one instance than another, it was at the last moments of Mr. Fox."

These scenes are, indeed, truly awful to a mind of sober reflection, and, more especially, of such devout feelings as those which Mr. Trotter seems to possess. Mr. Trotter's impressions were doubtless greatly deepened by personal friendship, the tender agonies of the friends and relatives of the dying patriot, and the very *religio loci* of the situation. Neither do we forget the sorrowing reflections of the author in the dressing-room of the late Duchess of Devonshire. But what hearts must we appear to such a son of sensibility to possess, when we frankly assure him, that we experienced a perfect apathy during the perusal of his emotion, in this same magical dressing-room. Far other sensations were those with which we formerly read the touching and tender description, in Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, of the apartments wherein the Marchioness de Villeroi died. We cannot refrain from laying before the reader the parallel passages, that he may derive instruction from the comparison, and at the same time form an opinion for himself on the probability of Mr. Trotter's having described the duchess's dressing-room with a very lively impression on his mind of the closet of the marchioness. "In this closet were many memorials of the departed marchioness; a robe and several articles of her dress were scattered upon the chairs, as if they had just been thrown off. On the floor were a pair of black satin slippers, and on the dressing-table a pair of gloves, and a long black veil, which, as Emily took it up to examine, she perceived was dropping to pieces with age. 'Ah!' said Dorothee, observing the veil, 'my lady's hand laid it there; it has never been moved since!' Emily, shuddering, immediately laid it down again. 'I well remember seeing her take it off,' said Dorothee; 'it was on the night before her death, when she had returned from a little walk I had persuaded her to take in the garden, and she seemed refreshed by it. I told her how much better she looked, and I remember what a languid smile she gave me.' Emily laid the veil again on the dressing-table, and surveyed the closet, where every object on which her eye fixed seemed to speak of the marchioness. In a large oriel window of painted glass stood a table with a silver crucifix, and a prayer-book open; and Emily remembered with emotion what Dorothee had mentioned concerning her custom of playing on her lute in this window, before she observed the lute itself lying on a corner of the table, as if it had been carelessly placed there by the hand that had so often awakened it. 'This is a sad forlorn place,' said Dorothee, 'for when my dear lady died, I had no heart to put it

to rights, or the chamber either, and my lord never came into the rooms after, so they remain just as they were.' Now for Mr. Trotter, and the dressing-room of the amiable duchess.

"I continued to read aloud every night, and as he occasionally dropt asleep, I was then left to the awful meditations incident to such a situation; no person was awake besides myself; the lofty rooms and hall of Chiswick House were silent, and the world reposed. In one of those melancholy pauses, I walked about for a few minutes, and found myself involuntarily and accidentally in the late Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room,—every thing was as that amiable and accomplished lady had left it. The music book still open;—the books not restored to their places,—a chair, as if she had but just left it, and every mark of a recent inhabitant in this elegant apartment.—The duchess had died in May, and Mr. Fox had very severely felt her loss. Half opened notes lay scattered about. The night was solemn and still; and at that moment, had some floating sound of music vibrated through the air, I cannot tell to what my feelings would have been wrought. Never had I experienced so strong a sensation of the transitory nature, of life, of the vanity of a fleeting world. I stood scarce breathing—heard nothing,—listened,—death and disease in all their terrific forms marshalled themselves before me;—the tomb yawned—and, oh, God! what a pang was it, that it was opening for him whom I had hoped to see enjoying many happy years, and declining in the fulness of his glory into the vale of years."

Without these concomitant circumstances to prompt our feelings, we look back on the crisis of Mr. Fox's departure with piteous, awful, and trembling sensations. That he was a great man is undeniable; that God had given him an extraordinary measure of capacity to discern between good and evil, and had made him steward over vast intellectual treasures, none will dispute; that with such clear unclouded perceptions, he frequently thought in silence on the saving promises, and the sublime mysteries of that revelation, which had approved itself to the wisdom and research of Bacon, Newton, and Locke, we cannot doubt; but really Mr. Trotter must permit us to wonder, and the surviving friends of Mr. Fox must permit us to regret, that the death-bed scene of that great person should have so little in it like that of an expiring professor of the christian faith, or like the departures of Socrates, or Cyrus, or even like those of Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, or Mr. Pitt.

A christian in heart, and soul, and sound belief, gives up this world in humble trust, and holy hope, of a better, and trembling on the verge of the stupendous change, eagerly strives to stretch his thoughts beyond the bounds of the present existence, that

he may be the better prepared to meet his judge in another. What were the secret meditations of Mr. Fox's mind we presume not to conjecture; but Mr. Trotter must pity our weakness when we fairly confess, that if we were asked whether Mr. Fox's death was like the death of the righteous, we should answer we know not, but we presume to think that any occupation was more characteristic of a Christian in such circumstances than listening to an epic poem (426. 419. 424.), or a novel, or the poetry of the Dean of St. Patrick.

In the concluding chapter of the work the author has given his opinion on the expediency of administering digitalis to the expiring statesman. But there are two objections to what he says on this subject. The physicians positively deny the fact, and, therefore, no doubt can exist of the inaccuracy of Mr. Trotter in that respect; and they complain of the statement as needlessly raising a question of great delicacy in relation to medical practice and character.

With respect to the warrantableness of putting to hazard the feeble remnant of Mr. Fox's life by medicines of strong operation, but of dubious result, the determination of the question must depend upon the grounds of expectation and probability afforded by the case, all circumstances being duly taken into consideration; but we must own that we do not think with Mr. Trotter, that there was such extraordinary value, in a national view, in the small spark of vitality which remained to Mr. Fox when that which Mr. Trotter took for digitalis was administered, that the fear of putting it to hazard should deter the physician from trying the success of a medicine of decisive operation. That Mr. Fox was at that time in such circumstances as to leave it within the compass of hope, that intervals of ease would have been allowed him to make what Mr. Trotter terms a political testament, or to have directed the operations of government, or to have collected and revised the scattered leaves of his History, seems far from having been the case; therefore, in a national view, the protraction of his painful existence does not appear to have been so very desirable. But if Mr. Fox had any accounts with his conscience and his God to settle—if the history of his own life, and not that of James the Second, was to pass under his mental review—if instead of foreign politics, the peace of his own soul was in a train of silent negotiation, and penitence and prayer were consummating that righteous end, which in Mr. Trotter's opinion was the true description of his departure, we humbly think, that every moment which the skill of physicians could have added to that perishing tenure of mortality which seemed yet to remain to him, would have been of inestimable

price to himself, however little useful to the rest of mankind. We have conscientiously read through Mr. Trotter's book preparatory to this notice of it, and should be pleased to be able to say that our task has been instructive or entertaining. Whatever pleasure Mr. Fox may have experienced in this gentleman's company, we cannot say that to us he has proved an agreeable companion. We are willing to think that this has proceeded from the style of his sentiment and language being for the most part above the pitch of our understandings. His manner of drawing characters, and particularly his ideas of moral resemblances, are peculiar to himself. The most curious of these parallels is that of Buonaparte and Augustus: which comparison is however given up by him upon his receiving a hint from Mr. Fox, that the Corsican is less cruel than the Roman. He makes compensation to us however for the want of resemblance in his parallels, by pointing out a contrast in respect to which he is sufficiently safe from contradiction. Our attention is called to the difference between the characters of Charles James Fox and Charles the Fifth, and the retirement of the senator to his villa and the emperor to his monastery are ingeniously placed in opposition. It would be unfair to close this article without giving the reader some specimen of our author's powers of composition; and as we have frankly expressed an opinion on the visit of Mr. Fox to the court of the tyrant, we think it but just to the memory of that distinguished person to give him the full benefit of Mr. Trotter's defence.

“Mr. Fox had now been twelve days in Paris, and we had not seen Buonaparte, except slightly and imperfectly at the theatre. My own wish to behold the first consul had not been increased since my arrival. The observation of military guards every where, the information that the numbers of barracks in and about Paris were very great, that 20,000 troops were within a short summons; and above all, a knowledge that the system of *espionage* was carried to an incredible height, making suspicion of the slightest indisposition to government sufficient cause for individuals to be hurried away at night,—(many of them never to be heard of again) had not contributed, by any means, to exalt my opinion of the new government. At this time I even doubted whether an Englishman, a true lover of liberty, ought to sanction the new order of things. As I have already alluded to those views, I shall only say, that Mr. Fox's determination to go to the approaching levee threw a new light upon my mind, and I was brought to consider the case dispassionately. Was an English gentleman or nobleman, travelling for instruction and pleasure, to be the reformer and censor of Europe?—at Petersburg to reprimand Alexander, or shun his court?—at Constantinople to insult the grand signior, and rudely reject the

society of his ministers?—No!—I said to myself, prejudiced and pensioned followers of ministry may affect to think in this way; but the enlightened stranger will, in all countries, respect the existing government, conform to its usages and ceremonies, and frequent its court, as the focus of all the rank, talent, and character of the country,—where the best manners are to be met with, and superior intelligence is to be collected!”

We certainly do not feel it of importance, if our limits would allow us, to give insertion to much of Mr. Trotter's performance, but the reader shall have one more specimen of his success in painting the virtues of his friends.

“Lady Moira, whose name and character is deserving of equal admiration and respect, previous to my leaving Dublin, distinctly pointed out to me the impossibility of the ministry existing long, *unless* a total change in all the minor departments took place, and predicted exactly what happened in case such regeneration was not carried into effect. All her hopes were founded on Mr. Fox, superior even to her son in genius, and inferior to no one in patriotism and the love of mankind; she found in Mr. Fox, the kindred of the soul—dignified in manner and deportment,—of an unbounded comprehension,—warm in her affections, and constant in friendship,—viewing the business of government in its general bearings, and in detail with a powerful penetrating eye,—a patriot in the very best sense of the word, because she preferred adhering to a distressed and degraded country, before the lures of grandeur, and the gratification of the society of her connections amongst the English nobility,—mistress of history, and wonderfully well versed in all the turns of the human heart,—compassionate to the miserable,—possessing eminent powers in conversation,—always serene and commanding,—often witty in the most delightful manner,—devoid of vanity, and if she had pride, it was a pride of the most ennobling nature, raising her to every excellence, and never betraying her into contempt or rudeness to others. This accomplished, and truly noble woman, felt the danger and the importance of the crisis of the beginning of 1806, and saw with a prophet's foresight, and a patriot's grief, the irretrievable errors which would spring from the destruction of a ministry, of which Mr. Fox was at the head, and the long train of calamities hanging over these countries, in the event of a restoration of the Pittite system, and the triumph of its adherents. In particular, Lady Moira impressed on my mind the necessity of a radical change in Ireland; it was the country of her adoption, to it she had consecrated a long and most useful life—in it she had determined to breathe her last,—and now, wavering on the confines of mortality, she was endeavouring to convey to Mr. Fox, through me, the admonitions of an incomparable friend, full of anxiety for his fame, of maternal yearnings for the prosperity of Ireland;—she was the guardian spirit, exerting itself

before it winged its flight to a better world, for the benefit of the friends of liberty, of her chosen country, and of mankind. Disdaining every religious distinction,—forgetting the narrow concerns of worldly beings,—full of solicitude for that happiness and prosperity, which she knew her declining life would not permit her to participate in,—she earned immortality by her last action, and in aiming at co-operation with Fox, she shewed at once the grandeur of her mind, the justness of her views, and the excellence of her heart.”

We now take our leave of Mr. Trotter, with a hearty wish that the friends of the late Mr. Fox, and the representatives of the old opposition, of which he was the gigantic leader, may not overlook the merit of a gentleman who in one octavo volume has condensed more superlative praise than Dr. Parr has collected into double the space; or than a hundred anniversary dinners of the whig patriots will be able to produce in speech, and song, and sentiment, inspired by Bacchus, and stimulated by acclamation.

ART. XVI. *A View of the comparative State of Great Britain and France in 1811; preceded by Observations on the Spirit and Measures of the successive Administrations since the Decease of Mr. Pitt.* London: Stockdale. 1811. pp. 191. 8vo.

WE are not struck either with the novelty or ability displayed in this pamphlet, although it is upon the whole not an ill-written party essay: but we have been induced to undertake a short notice of its contents by the expectation that some observations may arise eventually useful, if not to political men, at least to political writers.

The object of the work, as it appears from the title, is twofold—the first *in the work*, though the last *in the title*, seems to be, to inform us, that “the aspect of public affairs at the moment when *the great minister*, Mr. PITT, expired, who, during so large a portion of the present reign, had directed, with acknowledged integrity and ability, the helm of state, was, it must be confessed, by no means exhilarating.” 2. That the administration vulgarly called “the Talents,” under the guidance first of Mr. Fox and afterwards of Lord Grenville, was composed of persons, who, although the leaders, “were distinguished in their individual capacities, and full of vigour in parliament, nevertheless fell below the ordinary standard of political dimen-

sions in their conduct as public men, and as statesmen." "That the public voice at no moment since their dismissal from power has ever demanded their return:" (p. 51.) and our author very justly states as a conclusive proof of the general opinion of their incapacity for government, that "neither the convention of Cintra, nor the retreat and disasters of Moore, nor the dissensions and duels in the cabinet, nor the sinister events in the Scheldt, followed by the maladies of Walcheren, have ever produced even a wish for their restoration to office." (P. 51.) Notwithstanding, however, this catalogue of the political errors of that administration of departments which was nominally formed under the auspices of the Duke of Portland, this pamphlet informs us in the third place, 3. that "rarely at any time have the three secretaryships of state been entrusted to men of more recognized ability than Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, The latter, to whom the foreign department was committed, seemed to combine *almost every quality to fit him for the office, except a personal acquaintance with the courts and languages of the continent.*" 4. We are given to understand, that after the notable expedition to Walcheren, "the public attention was suddenly turned from that subject of unavailing regret, to another of a very different nature, in which the *cabinet performed, if possible, a still more conspicuous part*;—Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning exhibited a scene on Putney Heath, which had no precedent in our ministerial history since the elevation of the house of Hanover to the throne." (P. 94.) The natural consequence of this meeting, and of the intrigues which gave rise to it, was the dissolution of the administration of departments, and the formation of that which now governs the country, "who appear to have advanced in the estimation of their countrymen." (P. 100.) And it is in the last place, 5. asserted, that not "any ministers ever rose so rapidly in the public opinion and confidence, as Mr. Perceval and his colleagues have done since the last six months;" (p. 164.) (that is, the six months preceding May, 1811).

We have certainly not much to object to the truth of any of these propositions, excepting the third, which appears to us to be directly contradictory both to the second and fourth;—and as to the fifth, it does certainly express in a few words both the low estimation into which the present ministry sunk, in common with those of their former colleagues who deserted them, and the elevation to which their general ability under the firm and upright conduct of Mr. Perceval has raised them, now that they are emancipated from the debilitating effects and clashing interests of a *ministerial republic*.

; The illustration of these propositions by a rapid historical sketch of the events of the last five years, contains little that is not within the recollection of all those who have occasionally looked into the *Courier* and *Morning Post* during that period; except that the writer argues with all the prejudices of those politicians who may be distinguished as appertaining to the school of Mr. Pitt; and we doubt not (*were he a minister*) that he would annually vociferate, at the Freemason's Tavern, his firm adherence and strict conformity to the system and opinions of his great master.

This appears to us to be a species of quackery that has already done some mischief, and if not duly exposed, is calculated to produce more. There never, perhaps, was a period in which original thought and unprecedented measures were more necessary in the conduct of affairs, to counteract the very extraordinary attacks which are constantly making upon our independence. Every thing, therefore, which tends to reduce the minds of our statesmen to a state of slavery to any system, much more to a system, the glaring defects of which (brilliant as it in general was) constituted one prominent cause of the difficulties we have now to encounter, appears to us to be little short of contemptible pedantry; and we are really surprised that men, who have vigour and energy of their own, should be afraid, like Patroclus, to trust themselves in the field without the armour of Achilles. Of the grateful recollection entertained of Mr. Pitt by many persons of influence and authority in this country, we neither doubt nor disapprove. But if his spirit, hovering over the festive board on the hallowed 28th of May, can be regaled with the incense with which ministers *in office* adore his memory;—the silence, the absence, and the indifference of those whose piety has departed with their places, will prove to him that posthumous attachment is as unsteady and treacherous, as the flattery which attends upon the career of living splendour. In truth, it does appear that the appropriations made to themselves by the children and champions of his system, if sincere, arise from prejudice; if assumed, from hypocrisy; and whether from one or the other, are liable to engage the *consistency* of our political agents in a servile adherence to a course of conduct that may, in new and untried positions of the country, be injurious to the state.—We have thought, therefore, that we shall do it some service, by endeavouring to point out as briefly as possible, the precise value of the legacy which Mr. Pitt has left us in his example. If we can at all succeed in separating the dross from the metal, we may hope to be instrumental in preventing the misfortunes

which their confusion in the manufacture of state policy, during the last five years, has engendered. Some such attempt is the more called for, as we have yet seen nothing of the kind which bears the semblance of impartiality. The enormous political pamphlet for which Mr. Giffard has assumed so unfairly the dignity of history and of political biography, is (as every one knows) little else than a history of the political sentiments of Mr. Giffard himself, *illustrated* by such extracts from the periodical works of the day as fortified his sentiments, and by a *careful omission* of all facts and circumstances which impugned them. It is for this reason principally, and from the low estimation in which the work seems consequently to be held, that we have deviated from our intention formerly expressed of reviewing Mr. Giffard's production. The calumnies directed against persons of the highest eminence and most unsullied character, for which even the wretched plea of party feeling cannot be alleged in extenuation, and the gross partiality, the sins of omission and commission exhibited with respect to Mr. Addington's administration, are alone sufficient to deprive Mr. Giffard of all title to the dignity of an historian, whose duties are now too well known to make it necessary for us to enumerate them. But Mr. Giffard, in common with many who have not half either of the qualifications, or the worth of the lowest member of the administration we have mentioned, seems to think their measures fair game for misrepresentation, whenever it serves their private purposes. For ourselves, thinking as we do, that the country is at this day experiencing signal advantages from the measures, military and financial, of that administration, we shall always make a point of treating it with that degree of respect, justice, and impartiality, which are due from British writers to all men indiscriminately, who have exhibited talent and integrity in the service of their country.

We shall have the more pleasure in doing them justice when it fairly falls in our way, because we are gratified with the refutation which they gave to the vulgar and noxious idea of the general inability of good and religious men to sustain the parts of able statesmen: we presume to think that men so adorned and gifted, are better qualified by the spirit which they infuse into the character of government to carry the country through its difficulties, than those who are merely distinguished by a talent for intrigue, and epigrammatic eloquence in parliament; or in plain terms, that *character and sound sense* are better ingredients in the composition of a British minister, than *mere brilliancy of parts*. For the same reason we have hitherto approved of the present administration as *now constituted*, and are convinced

that nothing has more contributed to elevate it in the view of the nation, than the vigorous display of principle by it's leader on the regency question.

But to return to this lamented statesman, whose posthumous fame has been borrowed to sanction purposes which his living integrity would have disavowed. When with all those commanding talents and that brilliancy of eloquence, which seemed innate in him, and with all that presumption of purity which attaches to youth, Mr. Pitt stood forth as the champion of good government; professing alike to protect the sovereign from the desperate inroads of *an odious coalition*, and the people from the heartless and cankering system of corruption, set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole, and which had recently been carried to a disgusting extent of profligacy; he was received with open arms, and the suffrage of the nation conspired with circumstances to transport him at once to the summit to which by his ability he was gradually advancing; nor was his conduct for a considerable time ill-calculated to sustain the public enthusiasm. The system of open contracts instead of close biddings for the loan, the publicity and consequent fairness, with which the supplies of the year were raised, and appeared to be disposed of, the consolidation and simplifying of the duties both of customs and excise, and above all that establishment of the sinking fund, and the guards which he interposed against it's violation, which assumed in his hands all the merit of originality;—all this, aided by instances of personal disinterestedness, such as the appointment of Colonel Barré to the clerkship of the pells, and other like instances, established him in the hearts of the people. Before this impression could decay, the illness of the sovereign afforded to Mr. Pitt another opportunity of erecting his popularity on a durable basis, and fixing the confidence of the nation. The course, which was then most unwisely taken by the opposition, shocked, and turned against them, almost every individual of a nation, by nature loyal, honourable, and compassionate. When time had a little worn away this renewed impression, and his indecision in the case of the Russian armament had subtracted somewhat from the homage of the public, the French revolution with all it's horrors burst upon us; and fortunately for his fame, again the main body of his adversaries took the precise course which he might have wished them to pursue. Mr. Fox and his party thought proper to extol and applaud innovations, which were carried through, regardless of justice or humanity, and were marked by atrocities, of which only savages had till then been found capable: and this when there were not wanting turbulent and factious spirits, labouring to produce

at home a similar change, even at the hazard of similar horrors. Thus was Mr. Pitt once more, almost in spite of himself, thrust forward as the champion of order and good government; and aided by a large portion of the old opposition, who were alarmed at the desperate lengths to which their *colleagues* seemed to extend their ideas of reform, he was enabled to carry on a war, which may be truly called disastrous, inasmuch as it baffled all calculation, and falsified every prediction which he had made as to its duration and character.

Still the dread of the inevitable alternative served, amidst the pressure of the war, and an unheard-of load of taxes, to prevent the nation from even wishing to seek a removal of the evil in a change of ministers; and Mr. Pitt continued to be regarded as the great bulwark, as the rock that was to arrest the torrent of jacobinism, and *which did in fact ultimately triumph over it*, notwithstanding the impetuosity with which its efforts were propelled by party spirit.

Then followed the union with Ireland, which established in his favour a powerful claim to the gratitude of every considerate man in the united kingdom. And when even this, by one of those strange turns which no human wisdom can foresee, proved the means of bringing his administration to an end, the air of disinterestedness which marked his retirement from office gave a departing lustre to his reputation; a certain Corinthian finish to his political character. Here in our opinion ends the catalogue of benefits which Mr. Pitt conferred upon his country; from this period he appears to sink into a very ordinary politician. His treatment of his successor in office, the weakness with which he lent himself to the suggestions of those, who could only recover their places through his means, and cared not what they sacrificed so they obtained that object; the tortuous policy with which he consented to become a party to a coalition, which although by the firmness of the sovereign it was not *consummated*, was to the full as profligate, and as unnatural, as that which Mr. Pitt had himself strangled in its infancy; all this, joined to the childish precipitancy with which he stirred up the Austrian war, the unfortunate events of which hastened his own dissolution, form a sad contrast to the brilliant parts of his former character, and bring out in sharper relief all its faulty lineaments.

From this rapid sketch it will perhaps be sufficiently apparent upon what Mr. Pitt's fame will chiefly rest with posterity; and (which is more to our present purpose) what parts of his character and conduct are most worthy of the professed imitation of his successors. If, as we presume to think, it is rather his per-

sonal and moral qualities than the use to which he often converted them, or the systems and measures which he employed them to promote; we trust that the modesty of our modern statesmen will leave it to be *inferred*, rather than assume to themselves, that they possess the eloquence, the disinterestedness, the general political purity of Mr. Pitt, which were in fact the instruments by which he roused the country to a due sense of its danger and its duty, and established a claim to its eternal gratitude. We trust, also, that they will no longer think it worth while to ascribe to themselves his indiscriminate rage for expeditions, and the injudicious methods by which our military force was continually frittered away in the pursuit of remote and desultory objects; a system which had well nigh destroyed the energy and character of our army. We trust that they will not imitate his system of favouritism, and its natural consequence; his negligence in inspecting the conduct of subordinate officers; his want of firmness evinced in the mutiny of the fleet, and in permitting the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, in compliment to the politics of one of his coadjutors, and with personal views to the patronage of his administration. We trust, that they will not think it necessary to emulate his system of prodigality in conferring the honours of the peerage, by which it has been observed, he has altogether changed the nature of that respectable body; having rendered it, as we have heard well expressed, a popular body, without popular feelings or control; which is certainly *not precisely in unison* with the theory of our constitution. In the conduct of war also, we trust, that they will not think it necessary to earn the name which he acquired of "the minister of preparation," nor in the conduct of affairs, that of "the minister of expedients." It is better to act upon a settled system, than to trust to transcendent eloquence, for carrying through measures merely calculated to meet the exigency of the moment: nor will they think it adviseable to form preconceived opinions upon the elements of success to be found in the state of other countries, and obstinately to shut their ears or their understandings to intelligence from the spot calculated to overturn their prejudices. Above all, we trust, that if they have once established a fair claim to political consistency, purity, and integrity, that they will suffer no spurious arguments, or favourite predilections, to give obliquity to their conduct, and to weaken the impression of their public virtues.

We shall leave it to the recollection of our readers, to determine the extent in which a reference to this system as the standard of political excellence, has influenced our public policy for the last five years. What expeditions, what honours, what subordinate jobs, what *less* subordinate intrigues, what official negli-

gence, what obstinate pre-occupation of judgment on public affairs it may have occasioned, or been thought to justify. But before we quit the subject, we cannot possibly resist our desire to enlarge a little more upon that part of Mr. Pitt's system which has been less followed, and the close imitation of which could never be attended with more salutary consequences than at the present moment. We shall simply make our statement, and leave its application to those whom it may concern; briefly premising, that two of the principal members of the present administration have, by a laudable sacrifice of personal interest, established very honourable exceptions to a too general practice.

There was then one eminent and peculiar merit in Mr. Pitt's administration, more especially in the earlier part of it, which should never be forgotten:—this was the reanimation, as we may say, of our political character; the giving a new tone to our feelings upon public questions; bringing men again to believe in the possibility of public virtue; rousing them from that torpor and indifference, that cowardliness of spirit, which are the natural consequence of a system of corruption, especially when contemplated as *an almost necessary part of the system of government*. In such a case the sort of war carried on against it by an opposition in parliament fails to answer any good purpose; for the people at large entertain a persuasion, not unwarranted by experience, that the cry is against the *men*, not against the *measures*; and that whoever succeeded as minister would in this respect be nearly a counterpart of his predecessor. It cannot be denied, that at Mr. Pitt's first coming into office, these ideas were very prevalent, as well as that enervation, which seems again creeping over us at this moment; and which the stimulatives of faction were then, as now, insufficient to remove. And the *coalition*, which immediately preceded his appointment to office, completed the disgust and despair of all who had hitherto retained any confidence in public men. It was then, as we have observed, that Mr. Pitt stepped forward, the avowed enemy of the system, yet acting under the authority of the sovereign; thus assuring us, that the constitution had a real existence, and might by regular means recover its true tone and character. Connected with no party, yet declaring against those who had disgraced the name of party, he became at once the favourite of the considerate, and the upright, throughout the nation. The very circumstance of his being at variance with the great leading interests of the times, though it subjected him to constant and serious hostility, yet was not without its advantage. It rescued him from the temptation of bargaining with the great leaders for their support; and he may be said rather to have covered his own friends with his protecting ability,

than to have borrowed the support of their party influence. Raised above the temptation of defiling himself with a traffic which he had set out with reprobating, he might be, and still more might appear to be, perfectly disinterested in the disposal of places, of emoluments, or of honours. Positive experience, therefore, seemed to justify the hope which began to be entertained, that government might once again be carried on upon fair and disinterested principles. And it was this sentiment, very universally diffused, and kept up by the circumstances and events which we have before detailed, that enabled Mr. Pitt to put down triumphantly all the efforts of jacobinism, and to keep the great body of the community united under the pressure of its accumulated dangers, although it was well seen that those dangers had not been anticipated or encountered with that wisdom which can only be the result of long political experience, and a deep sagacity in the ways of men. True it is, that at length the circle of his friends extending itself on all sides, became a party, with the defects and evils of a party; yet it was one which, (up to the moment of his first quitting his high station,) always retained a great portion of its primitive character, and never entirely lost its hold on the opinion of the people. We are even willing to flatter ourselves, that the effect of what we have been describing is not at the present moment wholly passed away. Greatly indeed, and miserably is it diminished. The country we fear does again betray something like symptoms of that debility, that political cowardice and despondency, from which it was rescued by him, and which is going on in the same progress, to give encouragement to the wildest supporters of democracy, and the most desperate among the factions. But if this be so, we earnestly invite every public man, (and even the lowest functionary may in this case do his country good service,) to forget with us the degree in which Mr. Pitt's latter conduct served to obliterate the political disinterestedness of his earlier days; and to recollect that his fame was every way so Herculean, that it could only perish by his own hands;—to emulate that brighter portion, and to persevere through evil report and good report, in rousing every noble principle of their own nature, and of such as are within the circle of their influence, to those efforts which are necessary to convince the people that the fire of patriotism still burns in the bosoms of public men; and that the exertions, which the people themselves are disposed or compelled to make, are a real sacrifice at the shrine of their country, not a waste of vigour to promote the interested purposes of their superiors. The prize is worth the effort, and the glory of the accomplishment will be increased by

the difficulty that attends upon it. But it also requires greater intensity of exertion.

If Mr. Pitt, by his mixed system of good and evil, could scarcely carry the country triumphantly through the powers of darkness then opposed to it, (powers, the strength of which we are far from wishing to extenuate;) we certainly now require a system of greatly augmented good, and as much diminished evil, to bear us through the almost irresistible mass which has accumulated its energies for our destruction. Our *vis inertiae* is quite insufficient to resist it. In a word, and in the plainest language, nothing is now more obvious to the apprehension of the plainest understanding, which will give the subject a deliberate thought, than this truth;—that if we are now to be delivered it must be by *the universal self-devotion of the whole community*. One exalted individual,—one rank in society,—one half of the population,—two of the three parts of the United Kingdom earnest in the cause, afford not a basis wide enough to sustain the great fabric of the nation's defence. The mass cannot now be rescued from the danger by the exertion of the few. *All* must unite for the safety of the *whole*. Sacrifice must be added to sacrifice,—privation succeed privation,—while our courage and our endurance are increased by the conviction, that, like the leaves of the Sybil, the value rises as the quantity is diminished. The fund accumulated by our ancestors is not our own for selfish and absolute enjoyment; it is a bank and capital, which we are to transmit to posterity, not only unimpaired, but improved from the stock of our own industry.

That this is no theoretic assumption, a comparative estimate, such as is announced in the title of the work before us, will but too evidently prove. For if one position more evidently arises out of it than another, it is this,—that not only a trifling repose in peace from our present exertions in war, but even an abstinence from greatly increasing those efforts must, ultimately, lay us prostrate at the feet of our enemy.

We do not think it by any means necessary to follow the author of the work before us, in his comparative view of the means of defence and annoyance in the hands of Great Britain and France respectively, at the present moment. It is sufficiently obvious, that whatever naval superiority, colonies, and distant commerce can afford, is our decided portion; whatever may result from immensely superior military means, from secrecy in design, and velocity in operation, belongs to France; seated in the centre of affairs, and despotically ruling every movement of continental Europe. Supposing that neither

could materially endanger the existence of the other, the situation of England is certainly preferable, with a view to domestic comfort, the enjoyments of life, and all those nobler acquisitions which render the condition of mankind enviable. But in a contest for existence, to use a hackneyed phrase in a *bellum internecinum*, which the present contest may be said to be, it would be a miserable self-deception not to admit that France has a tenfold advantage; for while we cannot by any application of our force materially *injure her safety*, however we may check the progress of her further aggrandizement, she has only to bring her superior means into contact with our inferior, in order to place our existence in the *utmost jeopardy*. In this state of affairs too we cannot afford to relax in our efforts of *offence*, since, if well considered with reference to the state of Europe, they make a most efficient part of our system of *defence*. And all this, with God's protection, is to be performed by the natural and acquired energies of fifteen millions of people. If then any part of the community may think that it has cause of complaint against another, it must defer the settlement of that dispute, till the grand dispute, whether any thing worth contending for can be preserved, is finally determined. That the hearts of the three portions of the kingdom are in the main *sound*, we verily believe; notwithstanding the efforts which faction, and foreign influence, and profligate party spirit, are making in a neighbouring country. The question then which remains, is simply how to convert the means we possess, and the spirit which animates us, to the best purposes.

With respect to the disposition of our means of offence, we have nothing to add to what is to be found in our last number, on Spanish affairs, and Captain Pasley's work. But we are very much disposed to think, that much may yet be done to ameliorate the system of our defensive arrangements, and to render us more secure against the eventual descent of a large hostile force upon our coasts.

It cannot be denied that the interchange of the Irish and English militias (greatly as it had added to the security of Ireland) has somewhat impaired the means of defence existing in England*.

This circumstance, *joined to the general defalcation of the volunteers*, would, in the event of any disaster, considerably add to the duties that would eventually fall to the lot of the local mi-

* It appears to us that it would be a considerable improvement upon, and quite in the spirit of this measure, to permit the several regiments of militia, who have interchanged their services, respectively to take as recruits natives of the country in which they may happen to be.

litia. We speak from personal experience, when we say, that the regiments composing that force consist of raw materials, physically capable of being moulded into complete infantry; in plain terms, of the finest young men in the country, just at the plastic age most amenable to the drill, and who have eagerly flocked as volunteers to the standards erected in their own counties to avoid the ballot for the regular militia. The proportion of privates in the local militia, under the age of twenty-three, we will venture to assert is not less than five to one. The rapidity with which they learn the use of arms, and the simple manœuvres calculated for their use, and acquire the air and port of soldiers, shews how easily they might be fitted for more efficient service. But the fortnight's practice, to which their exercise is now reduced, is obviously too trifling to make them useful in their present capacity, while their security from the ballot actually locks them up from the regular militia, and, according to the present system of recruiting, from the regular army also. For we do not find that the fortnight's holidays in uniform in their county towns have quite infused that military ardor into their minds which was calculated upon as a necessary consequence of the system. Their organization also, with respect to officers, and non-commissioned officers, renders them decidedly unfit, without great addition to their present state of discipline, to occupy the first, or even the second line in opposition to an invading force. It would be a rash and weak reliance upon inadequate means to argue otherwise. Many circumstances, however, might arise, in the course of the next two years, which would necessarily bring the local militia into contact with the enemy at their first landing. In some of the distant counties the regular army and militia are by no means sufficiently numerous to contend even with a very trifling force, thrown on our shores as a diversion, or experiment. And we confess that for ourselves we should be sorely grieved that success, however partial or temporary, should encourage the enemy, or discourage the country, upon the first execution of their long delayed threat.

Many other facts and arguments might be adduced in corroboration of those which we have just stated. But we think it more useful to fill up the remaining space allotted to us, by offering one or two suggestions, due attention to which would we humbly conceive render this island, although the majority of our regular force were absent, with God's blessing absolutely impregnable.

It appears to us then, that the permanent staff of the local militia should be doubled or trebled; the latter proportion would

only raise it to three-fourths of its original establishment, which was unwisely broken up because inefficient, instead of being rendered efficient by increased attention on the part of inspecting officers.

In the next place, instead of being called out for training and exercise only one fortnight in the year, we think that there should be three weeks training and exercise in the spring, and three more weeks in the autumn. We are also of opinion, that the place of assembling should not be a town in the county, where the temptation to rioting and drunkenness, and the consequent difficulty of maintaining discipline, are doubled; but that each regiment should assemble at quarters, not less than thirty miles from the chief town of the district in which it is raised. These regulations, with a very few subordinate ones, would make the force really efficient for the defence of the country, if strict inspections and returns were frequently made, both of the regiments when assembled, and of the depots and permanent staff in the intervals of repose; without which the whole will naturally degenerate into a mere job.

Then, in order to make the local militia a real nursery for the regular militia, and the army, drafts should be annually made by lot from the local to the regular militia, by which all ballot from the population would be avoided, except for the former. From the regular militia to the army no difficulty has ever been found in procuring volunteers. Thus would be established a complete system, which, while it permanently secured the country from all danger of attack, would continually afford those supplies for offensive warfare, which must at least be said to be eventually necessary to preserve our independence as a nation. Thus should we become really a military country, and be placed in an attitude, where, if each functionary did his duty, the enemy himself could have no hopes of success against us.

In humbly submitting these reflections we are far from intending to impute blame to any one for past measures. In a free country military measures, calling upon a whole population for their services, cannot at once be brought fully into operation. The people's minds must be convinced, before the government can safely venture to lay its hands upon their persons. The army of reserve and other military measures taken at the commencement of the present war, upon the system or materials of which the army has been since fed, strongly corroborate this truth, and its natural consequence. And we also find that since the glorious ebullition of public spirit, which called forth such a host of volunteers in 1803, and 1804, to the present day, the measures for our domestic defence by the adoption of that excellent

measure the local militia, have been gradually becoming more coercive, and of more extended efficiency. We believe also that the whole mass of the people are so fully convinced of the necessity of increased exertion to preserve those blessings, which after all the pains taken to depreciate them, they still prize more highly than their lives; that they will yet repine at no personal sacrifice or exertion, in which they see the higher orders engaged as their comrades, and fairly taking their proportion of the burthen. Self-devotion is a very contagious virtue, where a chord exists in the mind that will vibrate in unison with its tone; and when an Englishman thinks of his family and his country, and thinks at the same time of French spoliation; his whole frame and all his faculties are in the hand of an honest statesman, as a well-tuned string in the hand of a skilful musician.

We have now said what we think necessary for the public good; and our readers will observe that we have not drawn their attention too much to the pamphlet at the head of our article; but that, except some few deviations, we have successfully imitated very high practice, in steering cautiously clear of the work we have undertaken to review.

ART. XVII. *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809; in which is included some Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Mission under Sir Harford Jones, Bart. K. C. to the Court of the King of Persia.* By JAMES MORIER, Esq. his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Court of Persia. With twenty-five Engravings from the Designs of the Author, a Plate of Inscriptions, and three Maps; one from the Observations of Captain James Sutherland, and two drawn and corrected by Major Rennel, F.R.S. London: Longman. 1811. Quarto. *Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie et la Perse, fait en 1807 et 1808.* Par M. Gardanne. A Paris, chez le Normant. A Marseille, chez Jean Mossy. 1809. Octavo, pp. 128.

THE conquests of the British, and the consequent expulsion of the French from every quarter of Indostan, have had a considerable influence in awakening the dormant interest of the public concerning the condition and capabilities of the ancient kingdom of Persia. The shores of India being now hermetically sealed against the entrance of French emissaries and diplomatists by sea, it has become as obvious to the ruler of France, as to the British government, that the only chance of giving us any

disturbance in possessions, whose value and importance are depreciated more by our domestic than by our foreign enemies, must be through the channel of the Persian and Afghan territories. And it is natural to conclude, that the example of Alexander, no less than that of Charlemagne, should be an object of interesting contemplation to Buonaparte, so far as it may be made consistent with his unprincipled thirst of conquest, and the sanguinary nature of his ambition. It was, therefore, with no surprise that we found in a late importation of books from Paris, the "*Journal*," which forms the second subject in the title to this article, and which is understood to be from the pen of M. Gardanne, secretary of legation to the mission from France to Persia, at the head of which was his relation of the same name. Neither were our expectations at all disappointed by perceiving that of the twenty persons composing the suite of the "*general ministre plenipotentiaire*," fourteen were officers of artillery, engineers, or "*ingenieurs geographes*;" who, under pretence of instructing the Persians in European tactics, are very coolly admitted to have been busily engaged during the whole mission in drawing plans, tracing maps, and providing the necessary materials for the future use of a French army in Persia. It must be admitted, however, that these gentlemen have very sedulously concealed from the public the result of their researches; for nothing can be more jejune than this French pamphlet, as to any real and interesting information concerning the country in which its author resided, and which he traversed from one end to the other. With a few exceptions, M. Gardanne relates only the distances from post to post, and observes but little concerning the personages with whom he fell in, except to inform us with complacency that some *were*, or with indignation and surprise, that others *were not* acquainted with the name and character of the French and "*the great Napoleon*;" and that the mirzas and khans received with great respect the portrait of the emperor, and the bulletin of the battle of Jena translated into Persian.

It may well be supposed that such a production was calculated rather to excite than to gratify curiosity. And for ourselves we are ready to admit, that the magnificence of the twenty satrapies founded by Cyrus, and which ministered to the grandeur of Darius Hystaspes; that the splendour of the dynasty of the Sassanides, established by Artaxerxes the father of Sapor, who commanded a Roman emperor to leave Asia to the "*great king*," and to confine his dominion to Europe; that the luxurious elegance of the Sofis, the triumphs and institutions of Shah Abbas; nay even the poetry of Hafiz, and the morality of Sadi, awaken

less lively sensations in our mind than the painful state of anxiety in which the French pamphlet left it, as to the power and resources which the convulsions of the last century have still left to Persia, and the disposition of its government and inhabitants towards the two great European powers, who are respectively seeking its alliance.

We burned also with impatience to ascertain whether amidst all the degeneracy and misfortunes of Persia its people still retain any of the great and noble qualities for which they were once distinguished, whether their detestation of falsehood, their generosity, liberality, and hospitality to strangers, their bravery and devotion to their sovereign, of all which some traces were still conspicuous in the days of Chardin, are yet ingredients in the national character; whether their attention to agriculture, the care in the education of their youths, their reverence of puerile simplicity (see Juvenal, sat. 14, and Cyrop.), we mean their scrupulous care that nothing incorrect should be subjected to the ears or eyes of boys, were still component parts of their system. Nothing that we had ever read or heard concerning them could induce us altogether to divest our minds of the idea that the Persian character, though very far from having escaped the general pollution, had suffered less than any of the orientals from the brutifying influence of the Mohammedan religion; a circumstance which we had always attributed partly to the milder tenets of their sect, and also to a supposed remnant of the effect of former institutions. Lastly, we were anxious to possess some probable grounds of computation as to the increase or decrease of the dense population, perhaps too liberally ascribed to Persia by Chardin, who calculated that it contained in his time, i. e. 554 cities, 60,000 villages, and about forty millions of souls.

Finding the French authorities so defective in all these points, it was with great pleasure that we received from our bookseller a few days ago the publication of Mr. James Morier, a gentleman whose talents and opportunities eminently fit him for the task he has undertaken, and who (if our partiality does not much deceive us) has executed it as well as the limited period of his residence in Persia would admit, and with an unaffected simplicity so much the more interesting, as it is known to his friends to be a prominent feature in his character; and therefore affords internal evidence of the truth and originality of the composition. This is the more valuable, as Mr. Morier has for some months been absent from England, as secretary of embassy to Sir Gore Ouseley, our ambassador at the court of Persia, who sailed from England in June 1810, in company with the mirza Abul Hassan,

so well known among the higher circles of this metropolis. Fortunately, however, the work has been far from receiving detriment from the absence of its author. Mr. Morier, before his departure, entrusted it to a gentleman whose talents, information, and industry, have done it ample justice. Conscious of the sacredness of a traveller's memoranda, Mr. Inglis seems to have undertaken the charge with a full conviction "that one line on the spot is worth half a page of recollections," and that the most perfect composition of this kind, is that where the author writes daily his own journal on the spot, and in the leisure which the completion of his expedition may afford, corrects and arranges the materials thus authenticated. The latter office Mr. Morier's professional avocations induced him, as we are informed in the preface, to commit to the care of Mr. Inglis, who has preserved throughout the body of the work the simplicity with which things which have passed under the eye should be recorded by the pen, and which accorded so well with the author's mind. But he has also illustrated and enriched the text with an appendix of notes, replete with information, drawn from the various authors who have written accounts of Persia.

In the journal of a secretary of legation in the circumstances of Mr. Morier, it may be presumed that much personal and private observation, many political and confidential minutes, would naturally occur, that are wholly inadmissible in a publication, upon every principle of official duty, and individual prudence and propriety. Yet must these passages have been very tempting in the hands of an editor, inasmuch as they are probably the most interesting in the journal. Mr. Inglis, however, has scrupulously omitted every feature of this description, yet has contrived, as we think, to select enough to impart to the narrative a great deal of interest and entertainment. Of this our readers shall now be enabled to judge in some degree for themselves.

Mr. Morier's journal contains a narrative of his proceedings from the departure of the mission from Bombay, on 12th Sept. 1808, to his arrival at Constantinople, in company with the mirza Abul Hassan on his way to England, in the autumn of 1809. It includes a voyage up the Persian gulf, and a journey overland through Bushire, Shiraz, Persepolis, Ispahan, Teheran, and Tabriz or Tauris, with occasional residence at those points, which the curiosity of the travellers or the objects of the mission rendered most interesting. Engravings by the hand of Mr. W. Daniell, from spirited sketches of Mr. Morier's, illustrate the most singular scenes which presented themselves.

Mr. Morier modestly remarks, that his volume "is meant

merely as provisional," and that he "is far from entertaining the presumption that it will class with the valuable pages of Charadin, le Brun, Hanway, Niebuhr, or Olivier." Mr. Morier's acquaintance with Persia was acquired rather in what may be termed a passage through the country; much occupied by his official duties, than during a residence of leisure for research and investigation. He cannot, therefore, be expected to enter into details respecting the agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and national character, of the inhabitants, as those authors did whom we have just cited. But then on the other hand, his official character gave him means of access and intercourse with persons among whom no length of residence would have afforded to a common traveller the same advantages. And it may be said that the work before us contains perhaps the best account extant in modern times of the higher ranks of Persians, and many detached observations that throw light on the other subjects, for the full investigation of which time was wanting. We may also observe, that Mr. Morier's industry and activity have enabled him to bring before the public *for the first time*, a detailed account illustrated by engravings of some remains of antiquity, which he investigated at Shapour, a city in the great plain of Kauzeroon, near the road from Bushire to Shiraz.

That we may not interrupt the future progress of the narrative, we shall here observe, that these remains consist of rude sculptures of battles between personages in Roman and Persian costume, many of which, though referred by the ignorant Orientals to the fabulous exploits of their Rustam, or Hercules, are probably, as Mr. Inglis observes, a record of the triumphs of Sapor the son of Artaxerxes over the Romans; and one compartment, which represents a man in Roman armour kneeling at the foot of a Persian on horseback, seems evidently to refer to the emperor Valerian, who was defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor, and forced by the barbarian to bow the neck to his foot. whenever he mounted his horse. It will be recollected also, that another Sapor overthrew the emperor Constantius in frequent engagements, and killed the emperor Julian in a memorable defeat, the merited consequence of that rash incursion, in celebration of which Mr. Gibbon has wasted so much eloquence, and prostituted so much good writing. Fac similes of some of these sculptures were observed by le Brun at Nakshi Rustam, near Persepolis, and engravings of them are given in his "*Voyages en Persie, &c.*"

In sailing up the Persian Gulf, Mr. Morier took some sketches of the singular capes and headlands which serve as a shelter to the Arab pirates, who, if we may believe their coun-

tryman, Ebn Haukal, have existed from beyond the time of Mohammed, and who have contributed with the anti-commercial habits of the Persians, to banish the intercourse of peaceful navigation from a tract of ocean peculiarly fitted for its advantageous pursuit.

The mission was received with all due honour by the sheik of Bushire, and had soon an opportunity of observing the mode of conducting state affairs in Persia. A day or two after their arrival, the *chief executioner*, an office from its great use and importance to the sovereign not dishonourable in Persia, arrived at the head of forty horsemen, deposed the reigning sheik, and exalted in his room a merchant from the bazar; in a few days he again deposed this last, and chained him by the neck to the wall of his prison; and in a few days more reinstated him in his government, and left him at length in the enjoyment of it. All this was executed by the peremptory orders of the Prince of Shiraz, in a town belonging to the Arabs, whose sheik thirty years before had given shelter to the fugitive Prince Looft Ali Khan, honourably supported him, and restored him, by Arabian valour, to his throne.

The following account of the mode in which this last-mentioned sheik collected his retainers, exhibits a singular coincidence of manners and customs with the highlanders of Scotland, as portrayed in Mr. Scott's last popular poem.

"Whenever his little domain was threatened either by the government of Persia, or by a neighbouring chief, sheik Nasr flew to arms. According to the traditional accounts of the country, his summons to his followers in these emergencies was equally characteristic and effectual. He mounted two large braziers of *pillau* on a camel, and sent it to parade round the country. The rough pace of the animal put the ladles in motion, so that they struck the sides of the vessels at marked intervals, and produced a most sonorous clang. As it traversed the *Dashtistan*, it collected the mob of every district; every one had tasted the Arab hospitality of the *sheik*, and every one remembered the appeal, and crowded round the ancient standard of their chief, till his camel returned to him surrounded by a force sufficient to repel the threatened encroachments. In every new emergency the camel was again sent forth, and all was again quiet." (P. 17.)

To make the business of recruiting poetical was beyond even the talents of Mr. Windham; but we cannot help considering this call upon Arab gratitude and patriotism more interesting than the fiery cross, or crean tarigh dipped in gore, which from the heights of Ben benne, "glanced like a meteor round," or the staff of the Scandinavians, which roused the voice of war

over the heaths and vallies, till every man of the horde rose in arms.

The residence of the mission at Bushire was principally occupied by visits of form from the officers of the courts of Shiraz and Teheran, sent to welcome the envoy. A great part of the duties of the diplomacy of Persia consists in these visits, which are of a nature far from being congenial with English taste and manners.

“Instead of the sophas and the easy pillows of Turkey, the visitor in Persia is seated on a carpet or mat without any soft support on either side, or any thing except his hands, or the accidental assistance of a wall, to relieve the galling posture of his legs. The misery of that posture in its politest form can scarcely be understood by description : you are required to sit upon your heels, as they are tucked up under your hams after the fashion of a camel. To us this refinement was impossible ; and we thought that we had attained much merit in sitting cross-legged as tailors. In the presence of his superiors a Persian sits upon his heels, but only cross-legged before his equals, and in any manner whatever before his inferiors. To an English frame and inexperience, the length of time during which the Persian will thus sit untired on his heels is most extraordinary ; sometimes for half a day, frequently even sleeping. They never think of changing their positions, and like other orientals consider our loco-motion to be as extraordinary as we can regard their quiescence. When they see us walking to and fro, sitting down, getting up, and moving in every direction, often have they fancied that Europeans are tormented by some evil spirit, or that such is our mode of saying our prayers.” (P. 40.)

The time consumed in these ceremonies, in the return of the officers to their court to make their reports to the sovereign, in the appointment and arrival of a mehmandar, whose office it is to procure from the inhabitants of the places through which the mission passed requisitions of food, money, &c. &c., enabled Mr. Morier to procure some details concerning the pearl fishery, the coasts, and the natural history of the Persian Gulf ; they form the substance of the fourth chapter, and are worthy of attention.

On the 17th of December, 1808, the mission quitted Bushire on the road to Shiraz ; the party travelled on horseback, and encamped at night ; the mehmandar's officers preceding the cavalcade to extort from the inhabitants, by the right of purveyance, the necessary refreshments. Some cultivation, but more ruins, presented themselves to observation ; and the villages “afforded a picture of poverty stronger than words can express ; there was nothing but what mere existence required ; nor to our

very cursory observation did the most trifling superfluity shew itself." (P. 78.)

We do not consider this, however, as conclusive with respect to the whole country. Wherever the rights of purveyance exist they will inevitably be abused, and render the roads immediately communicating the extremities of an empire with its court little better than a desert.

On the plains of Khisht they were met by the governor, Zaul Khan, a man of remarkable appearance, without eyes, and with the fragment of a tongue; the rest of which, with his eyes, he had forfeited during the troubles of Persia. In what a state of brutal sensibility must that country and people be, where men carrying about their persons marks of infamous punishments, or who are publicly known to have been chained by the neck to a wall, are elevated to posts of dignity and confidence! What damning proofs at once of the tyranny and venality of the government! It was in this journey that Mr. Morier and Sir Harford examined the ruins of Shapour, to which we have before alluded.

Having received with all due ceremony the King of Persia's *firman* a few miles from Shiraz, the envoy made his public entry in procession into that city on the 30th of December, surrounded by an immense multitude, through whom the meharmandar and his officers with difficulty procured a passage by the liberal application of large sticks to their shoulders. After several visits of ceremony from the great officers of Ali Mirza, one of the king's sons, who keeps his court at Shiraz, and filling up the intervals of repose with visits to the interesting objects, mosques, gardens, &c. in the neighbourhood of the city, the mission was presented at court on new year's day, 1809. On this occasion the streets were filled as before, and the bazars, or markets, displayed all their wealth.

"About thirty paces from the principal gate Sir Harford dismounted, and followed by us all, whilst the trumpet of the troop sounded the salute, advanced through the portico. Here the *ish agassi*, or master of the ceremonies, Bairam Ali Khan Cadjah, who had been seated in a small place opposite the entrance, rose at our approach to meet us. He then called for his staff of office, (a black cane with a carved pommel) and placing himself at the head of the party, led us through rather a mean passage into a spacious court, at the extremity of which appeared the prince. He was seated in a kind of open room, the front of which was supported by two pillars elegantly gilded and painted. This is called the *dewan khonéh*, or chamber of audience.

"In the centre of the court is an avenue of lofty trees, at the sides of which are two long canals: there numerous fountains threw

up a variety of little spouts of water, to the jingle of the wheels and bells of their machinery. On all sides of the court were placed in close files a number of well-dressed men armed with muskets, pistols, and swords; these were the subalterns, and the better sort of the soldiery in the prince's guard. Amongst them were here and there intermixed officers of high rank. In the centre of the avenue, and on the borders of the canal, stood in long rows, respectfully silent, and in postures of humility, all the chief officers, khans, governors of towns and districts.

"When we entered the court, the *ish agassi* stooped and made a very low obeisance towards the prince; and Sir Harford and his mission made an English bow, and just took off their hats. These salutations, which were made four times in as many different places of the court, were repeated as we entered the *dewan khoméh*. The prince in all this looked at us, but did not stir a muscle: we now proceeded straight forwards until Sir Harford faced the prince, where he was then directed to sit, and we all took our stations in order. When we were seated, the prince said in a loud voice, "*Kosh amedeed*," that is, "You are welcome;" which was repeated by Nasr Oallah Khan, his minister, who stood at about five paces from him, in an attitude of respect. Sir Harford made the compliments required, when the prince desired us to sit at our ease. We however, as in a former instance, chose to be respectful and uncomfortable, and to continue in the fashion of Persia.

"The prince then added a variety of flattering things, talked of the friendship of the two nations, said how anxious his father was to see the ambassador, and advised him to proceed to his court without delay. We had *kaleoons*, then coffee, and then (a compliment not repeated to a common guest) another *kaleoon*. After this was over, we got up, and making an obeisance, quitted the prince's presence with every precaution not to turn our backs as we departed. The same number of bows, repeated in the same places as on our entrance, closed the audience.

"Ali Mirza, the prince of Shiraz, is not the least amiable of the king's sons. After Prince Abbas Mirza, the governor of Aderbigian, and the heir of the crown, he is his father's greatest favourite. In person he is an engaging youth of the most agreeable countenance, and of very pleasing manners. His dress was most sumptuous; his breast was one thick coat of pearls, which was terminated downwards by a girdle of the richest stuffs. In this was placed a dagger, the head of which dazzled by the number and the brilliancy of its inlaid diamonds. His coat was rich crimson and gold brocade, with a thick fur on the upper part. Around his black cap was wound a Cashmire shawl, and by his side, in a gold platter, was a string of the finest pearls. Before him was placed his *kaleoon* of state, a magnificent toy, thickly inlaid with precious stones in every distinct part of its machinery. To me the prince appeared to be under much constraint during the ceremony of our audience; in which he had been previously tutored by his minister:

and I very easily believe, according to the stories related of him, that he exchanges with eagerness these etiquettes of rank for the less restrained enjoyments of his power. On these he lavishes his revenue; and in the costliness of a hunting equipage, the fantasies of dress, and the delicacies of the *harem* are frittered away a hundred thousand *tomauns* a year. Young as he is, (for he is only nineteen) he has already a family of eight children. In his public government he is much beloved by his people; and although the Persians are not inclined in conversation to spare the faults of their superiors, of him I never heard an evil word. He has not indeed those sanguinary propensities, which are almost naturally imbibed in the possession of despotic power; and where others cut off ears, slit noses, and pierce eyes, he contents himself with the administration of the more lenient *bastinado*."

Three days afterwards the prince gave a fête to the mission, and amused them with feats of rope-dancers, water-spouters, fire-eaters, singers, drummers, and musicians. On the 7th a fête of a sterner nature was given, in which an ox was devoured by a lion; the Persian nobles displayed feats of horsemanship, and the troops were made to go through their newly acquired Russian manœuvres.

"In the evening, the prince invited the envoy to meet him on horseback at the *Maidan*, and expressed a wish to see the troop of cavalry go through some of its exercises and evolutions. We accordingly proceeded, and, when we perceived the prince, we all dismounted from our horses for a moment, and when he waved his hand, we all mounted again, and rode close up to him. His manners and appearance were most elegant and prepossessing. He was dressed most richly: his outer coat was of blue velvet, which fitted tight to his shape; on the shoulders, front pocket, and skirts, was an embroidery of pearl, occasionally (in the different terminations of a point or angle,) enlivened with a ruby, an emerald, or a topaz. Under this was a waistcoat of pearl; and here and there hanging in a sort of studied negligence, were strings of fine pearl. A dagger, at the head of which blazed a large diamond, was in his girdle. The bridle of his horse was inlaid in every part of the head with precious stones; and a large silver tassel hung under the jaws. The prince was altogether a very interesting figure." (Page 117.)

In truth, whether we form our judgment by a reference to Mr. Morier's drawings, (see plate at page 70) or by the concurrent testimony of all travellers, no sight can more strongly impress on the mind the combination of feudal grandeur, with elegance and good taste, than a Persian nobleman on horseback.—The beautiful symmetry of the horse, the housings, the trappings, the dress of the rider, the attendant footmen and horsemen, some of the former of whom (called *chatters*) will run thirty-six leagues in

fourteen hours, all recall to mind the ancient splendour of the nation, and the ambition of the Persian noble, which from time immemorial has been "to be a great horseman," a qualification second in their estimation, in former times at least, only to that of "speaking truth."

Of the enticing wines of Shiraz, concerning which, Mr. Gibbon has asserted, that "in every age they have triumphed over the laws of Mahomet," we do not recollect that Mr. Morier has given any account; and M. Gardanne dismisses them with the contemptuous expression, "*Le vin de Shiraz ne vaut pas sa reputation*:" an opinion in which our limited experience of a few specimens brought to this country induces us entirely to agree.

In the last visit of the mission to the prince of Shiraz, they beheld a sight calculated to rend the heart of every one who has read with delight, the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon. "On walking through the garden," says Mr. Morier, "we met one of the prince's brothers, a little fellow about six years old, who could just totter under the weight of the brocades, furs, and shawls, with which he was encumbered. Several khans and men of consequence were standing before him in the same attitudes of respect and humility, as they did before his elder brother, and attending to all his little orders and whims, with as much obsequiousness as they would have shewn to a full grown sovereign." (Page 121). Connected with this perversion of the education of their princes, we cannot help reciting the following passage from M. Gardanne's pamphlet, which strongly exemplifies the general neglect of education among the higher ranks: "*Nous demandons*," says he, "*à un grand seigneur le nombre de ses enfans; il repond naïvement qu'il n'en sait rien; se tourne du côté de son secretaire, & le lui demande; celui-ci repond, dix-sept.*" (Page 36.) Extreme reverence to parents is, however, still preserved among the Persian youths. They prostrate themselves before them at their entrance, stand in their presence, and always rise even at the mention of their names.

On the thirteenth of January, the mission quitted Shiraz, and on their way to Ispahan, visited the ruins of Persepolis, the sculptures of Nakshi Rustam, and other less known antiquities, of which Mr. Morier gives an account, illustrated by several plates: most of these curiosities, however, have been visited and described with tolerable accuracy by le Brun, and other travellers; and our contracting limits warn us to confine ourselves to subjects of more immediate interest, and of undisputed originality.

The following extract conveys a forcible description of the

barrenness of the country, and of the difficulties which any accession of mouths to be fed brings upon the miserable inhabitants.

"The evening set in gloomily; *Deibeed* is considered the coldest spot in this region, and the snows in the winter have sometimes impeded the progress of travellers for forty days together. The *Meh-mandar* looked at the sky with apprehension; and the governor of *Moorgh-aub*, (Aga Khan, an Arab of an old and respected family who had accompanied us to the bounds of his district to provide amply for our passage,) shared his forebodings. He had himself often experienced the severities of this country, and he, better than any one, knew the distresses which the detention of two or three hundred men in a spot so destitute and insulated would occasion. He had provided sustenance for ourselves and our cattle for one night only, and this he had transported with great trouble from *Moorgh-aub* and other villages. Indeed through the whole of our march great and early were the preparations made by the chiefs of the country for our reception. If these were the difficulties of our passage, the march of an army would not be easily conducted. The country in its present state could not complete magazines of provisions, even if it were required by its own government. It must however be always recollected, that this is the least fertile province of the kingdom." (Page 147.)

Notwithstanding the last observation, the general context of Mr. Morier's journal does certainly fortify the conclusions arising from the nature of the country, and of the government, and from the concurrent testimony of other travellers, that agricultural industry is at a very low ebb in Persia; and the consequent difficulty of forming magazines for a large army may add tranquillity to the slumbers of those proprietors of India-stock whose imaginations have been haunted by the phantom of Buonaparte at the head of his myrmidons marching through Persia to the subjugation of India. The towns through which the mission passed exhibited many remains of former grandeur, but the state of dilapidation, and the scarcity of people, increased with every step of their progress towards the interior. Ispahán, the beautiful capital upon which the mighty Shah Abbas lavished all the exuberance of oriental luxury, presents a sad and heterogeneous mixture of misery and magnificence. To the eye of the distant traveller it affords the picture of an immense capital, stretching further than the eye can reach, and variegated with groves and avenues, and burnished domes, and cupolas and gilded minarets; but on a near approach the gates carved and embossed with flowers and verses from the Koran are falling from their hinges; the lacquered and variegated tiles are peeling off from the surface of the cupolas, and the ruins of houses are spread over all the plain,

and reach even to the feet of the surrounding mountains. Nevertheless the remains of that splendour so minutely and exactly described by Chardin are still to be traced; and the following description of one of the king's palaces, selected from many others of equal or superior interest, may afford some idea both of the power and evanescence of despotic extravagance.

"The palace of the *Chehel Sitoon*, or 'forty pillars,' is situated in the middle of an immense square, which is intersected by various canals, and planted in different directions by the beautiful *chenar* tree. In front is an extensive square basin of water, from the farthest extremity of which the palace is beautiful beyond either the power of language or the correctness of the pencil to delineate. The first saloon is open towards the garden, and is supported by eighteen pillars, all inlaid with mirrors, and (as the glass is in much greater proportion than the wood) appearing indeed at a distance to be formed of glass only. Each pillar has a marble base, which is carved into the figures of four lions, placed in such attitudes, that the shaft seems to rest on their four united backs. The walls which form its termination behind are also covered with mirrors, placed in such a variety of symmetrical positions, that the mass of the structure appears to be of glass, and when new must have glittered with most magnificent splendour. The ceiling is painted in gold flowers, which are still fresh and brilliant. Large curtains are suspended on the outside, which are occasionally lowered to lessen the heat of the sun.

"From this saloon an arched recess (in the same manner studded with glass, and embellished here and there with portraits of favourites) leads into an extensive and princely hall. Here the ceiling is arranged in a variety of domes and figures, and is painted and gilded with a taste and elegance worthy of the first and most civilized of nations. Its finely proportioned walls are embellished by six large paintings: three on one side and three on the other. In the centre of that opposite to the entrance is painted Shah Ismael, in an exploit much renowned in Persian story; when in the great battle with Soliman, emperor of the Turks, he cuts the *janisary aga* in two before the *sultan*. On the right of this, surrounded by his dancing women, musicians, and grandees, is Shah Abbas the great, seated at a banquet, and offering a cup of wine to another king, whom he is entertaining at his side. The wine, indeed, seems to have flowed in plenty, for one of the party is stretched on the floor in the last stage of drunkenness. The painting to the left is Shah Thamas, in another banquet scene. Opposite to the battle between Shah Ismael and Sultan Soliman is that of Nadir Shah and Sultan Mahmoud of India. On the left of this is Shah Abbas the younger, who also is occupied with the pleasures of the table; and on the right is Shah Ismael again, in an engagement with the *Usbeck* Tartars. These paintings, though designed without the smallest knowledge of perspective, though the figures are in general ill-proportioned, and in attitudes awkward and unnatural, are yet enlivened by a spirit and character so truly illus-

trative of the manners and habits of the nations which are represented, that I should have thought them an invaluable addition to my collection, if I could have had time to have made copies of them. When it is remembered that the artist neither could have had the advantages of academical studies, nor the opportunities of improving his taste and knowledge by the galleries of the great in Europe, or conversed with masters in the art, his works would be allowed to possess a very considerable share of merit, and to be strong instances of the genius of the people. The colours with which they are executed retain their original freshness; at least if they have faded, they must have been such in their first state, as we have not seen in Europe. The gilding, which is every where intermixed, either to explain the richness of the dress, or the quality of the utensils, is of a brilliancy perhaps never surpassed.

"From the interior of the palaces we ascended the Ali Capi gate, which forms the entrance. This gate, once the scene of the magnificence of the Seffi family, the threshold of which was ever revered as sacred, is now deserted, and only now and then a solitary individual is seen to pass negligently through." (P. 164—168.)

In spite of appearances, the beglerbeg or governor resolved to convince the envoy that some superfluities still remained among his people for tyranny to extort. He entertained the mission with a dinner, which, "instead of being served in the usual manner on the ground, was placed on tables framed for the occasion, and was piled up in enormous heaps." He had the "further attention to provide his guests with plates, spoons, knives, and forks, which were all in like manner made for the day's entertainment. The spoons were of silver, and that for the envoy was of gold." (P. 172.) Mr. Morier has given a very interesting sketch of one of the principal gates of the city, which forms part of a panoramic view, taken from the summit of a lofty pleasure-house erected by Shab Abbas, as a station from which to view the games of the maidan and the exercises of his troops. This view, together with those of Shiraz, Teheran, Saltanieh, &c. are strongly expressive of the magical effect impressed upon the eye by the light and elegant varieties of Arabian architecture. From these remains of former magnificence the mission proceeded without delay to Teheran, the present seat of government, which, by the favour of the reigning monarch, has acquired some small portion of that prosperity, of which Ispahan has been deprived by his desertion of the palaces of his predecessors.

Here were of course repeated with redoubled ceremony all the forms, the visits, the compliments and the presentations undergone at Shiraz. The trifling ignorance of the nobles, and even of the ministers, is singular and amusing. One of them would not

believe that the streets of Vienna were lighted with globe lamps; another was "completely staggered" by an account he had heard of an ass (zebra) with stripes on his back; a third could not be persuaded that the houses in Europe were seven stories high*; a fourth desired to know whether Sweden was not near the Cape of Good Hope. They do not appear, however, to have been very accommodating diplomatists. "The conferences of the plenipotentiaries were carried on at times with the warmest contentions, at other times interrupted with the loudest laughter on the most indifferent subjects." At one time, in the middle of a very serious conversation, the prime minister stopped short, and asked the envoy, very coolly, to tell him the history of the world from the creation. This was intended as a *joke* upon one of the Persian secretaries, who was writing the annals of the present reign. At another time he interrupted the discussions by turning abruptly to Mr. Morier, asking if he was married, and beginning some absurd story. But the following trait, we suspect, is not to be paralleled in the lethargic levity of any diplomatic intercourse that ever occurred before. "One night the parties had sat so long, and had talked so much without producing conviction on either side, that the plenipotentiaries, by a sort of unofficial compact, fell asleep. The prime minister and the ameen ed dowlah snored aloud in one place, and the envoy and I stretched ourselves along in another." (P. 199.)

Notwithstanding these unpromising interruptions, the negotiations were at length brought to a happy conclusion;—when on a sudden some mysterious and angry dispatches from the governor general of India, altogether disowning the king's minister, and discrediting his credentials, placed the court and the mission in a very unpleasant dilemma; from which his Persian majesty seems to have released them by deputing the mirza Abul Hassan to accompany Mr. Morier to England for explanations. Not having the documents in our possession, we shall at present pass over this extraordinary disagreement between the diplomatic policy of the East India Company and of the crown, with this single observation—that it affords another and a very striking illustration of the evils springing from the *imperium in imperio* established by that anomaly in politics, the mercantile sovereigns of India.

The mission was very graciously received by his Persian

* M. Gardanne has the following passage on this subject, p. 44. "Mon grand-pere parlait de Versailles devant le Roi de Perse et sa Cour; et pour leur donner une idée de la magnificence du Chateau, il n'oublia pas l'escalier de marbre. Le Roi après lui avoir fait expliquer ce que signifiait *escalier*; Tu me dis ton empereur si puissant, et il n'a pas de place pour se loger sur la Terre."

majesty, who is represented to be about forty-five years of age, "of pleasing manners, an agreeable countenance, with an aquiline nose, large eyes, and very arched eyebrows. His face is obscured by an immense beard and mustachios, which are kept very black*. His voice has once been fine, and is still harmonious, though hollow, and obviously that of a man who has led a free life."

"On his head he wore a species of cylindrical crown covered with pearls and precious stones, and surmounted by a light feather of diamonds. He rested on a pillow embossed on every part with pearl, and terminated at each extremity by a thick tassel of pearl. On the left of the throne was a basin of water in which small fountains played; and on its borders were placed vases set with precious stones. On the right, stood six of the king's sons richly dressed: they were of different sizes and ages; the eldest of them (brother by the same mother to the Prince of Shiraz) was the Viceroy of Teheran, and possessed much authority in the state. On the left behind the basin stood five pages, most elegantly dressed in velvets and silks: one held a crown similar to that which the king wore on his head; the second held a splendid sword; the third a shield and a mace of gold and pearls; the fourth a bow and arrows set with jewels; and the fifth a crachoir similarly ornamented. When the audience was finished, the king desired one of his ministers to inquire from Jaffer Ali Khan (the English agent) what the foreigners said of him, and whether they praised and admired his appearance.

"The room in which we were introduced to the king was painted and gilded in every part. On the left from the window is a large painting of a combat between the Persians and Russians, in which the king appears at full length, on a white horse, and makes the most conspicuous figure in the whole composition. The Persians of course are victorious, and are very busily employed in killing the Russians, who seem to be falling a sufficiently easy prey." (P. 192.)

Races, military reviews, wrestling, and other games were celebrated in honour of the envoy, during Mr. Morier's residence at Teheran. But his majesty's impatience to receive news from England hastened the departure of the mirza Abul Hassan, whom Mr. Morier was destined to accompany. Of this mirza, who excited so lively an interest in this country, we have only

* In page 247 Mr. Morier has favoured the public with the Persian recipe for making the hair of the beard, and consequently that of the head, of a jet black. It is a long and rather painful process, and appears to us to include some risk in the hands of an unskilful practitioner, of leaving the beard orange colour, indigo, or bottle-green. Some, indeed, as he says, prefer to have their beards of these colours. "The people of Bokara" (among whom we suppose flourished the hero of the famous romance), "are remarkable for their blue beards."

space to observe, that his father was prime minister to Nadir Shah, who in a fit of caprice ordered him to be burnt alive, a fate which he only escaped by the sudden assassination of the tyrant;—that the mirza's uncle was put to death, one of his brothers deprived of his eyes, and another bastinadoed to death by his present majesty;—that the mirza himself “was already on his knees, his neck made bare, and the executioner's sword unsheathed to sever his head from his body, when he was suddenly reprieved;”—that he travelled over Indostan and many parts of the east, till he was recalled to court, where he has since basked in the sunshine of royal favour; although we should suppose it must be occasionally clouded by certain anticipations and recollections of no very agreeable tendency.

On the 7th of May, 1809, the mirza and Mr. Morier quitted Teheran on their road through Tabriz, or Tauris, to Constantinople. The country through which they passed appears to be better cultivated and naturally more productive than the southern districts of Persia. But in proportion as they approached the mountainous districts bordering on the Caspian sea, the tribes of wandering Elauts and Arabs, and the intestine broils of the petty chieftains, were found to have a considerable tendency to frustrate these advantages of nature; and the privilege which all travellers with a firman possess of turning their cattle into the standing corn, in addition to the evils of purveyance, may well be supposed sufficient to prevent any accumulation of surplus produce. There is so great a scarcity of wood over the whole country, that the poor are necessarily reduced to great extremities: in general they are miserably clad; the children have scarcely any thing to cover them but a shirt of coarse linen, which hardly reaches to their middle; and the women wear nothing but a shirt, a pair of drawers, a jacket, and a veil which covers their head, and serves them on all occasions. (P. 273.)

The habits arising from the climate and nature of the country, and the contests with Russia, which have been carrying on for some years on this frontier, have imparted to the natives of this part of Persia qualities more cheering than those which we have hitherto contemplated; and the character of Abbas Mirza, the Prince of Tabriz, their governor and the heir apparent of the Persian crown, is highly calculated to foster and improve dispositions so favourable. Both M. Gardanne and Mr. Morier agree in ascribing to this prince mental and personal accomplishments far above the age and nation in which he lives.

M. Gardanne says of him, “Il veut relever sa nation, et il a l'ambition de la gloire militaire. S'il perd un general ou un guerrier, il déchire ses habits, et donne les marques de la plus

vive douleur. Il a perdu dernièrement des enfans, et n'a temoigné aucun chagrin." (P. 36.) Mr. Morier's account is a little more particular.

"The prince is said by the Persians to possess every quality that can grace a mortal; and (as there are many circumstances in his character which his countrymen would never think of inventing) I am inclined to believe them. They were related to me by the hakim or governor of the city, at whose house I lodged during my residence at Tabriz. Some time ago, three of the prince's children died: his vizir appeared before him with a mournful face; the prince observed him, and inquired the reason: the vizir hesitated: 'Speak,' said the prince, 'is there any public disaster? Have the Russians been successful? Have they taken any more country from us?' 'No,' answered the minister, 'it is not that; your children are sick.' 'What of that?' asked the prince; 'But very sick indeed,' continued the vizir: 'Perhaps then they are dead!' interrupted the father. His minister confessed the truth. 'Dead,' said the prince, 'why should I grieve? the state has lost nothing by them; had I lost three of my good servants, had three useful officers died, then indeed I should have grieved: but my children were babes, and God knows whether, if they had grown up to man's estate, they would have proved good servants to their country.'

"The prince is remarkable also for the plainness of his dress; he never wears any thing more than a coat of common kerbas (a strong cotton cloth) and a plain shawl round his waist. Whenever he sees any officers of his court in fine laced or brocade clothes, he asks them, 'What is the use of all this finery? Instead of this gold and tinsel, why not buy yourself a good horse, a good sword, a good gun; this flippery belongs to women, not to one who calls himself a man and a soldier.' He inspects himself all the detail of his troops, their arms, horses, and accoutrements, adopting those that appear to him fit for use, and rejecting those that are below his standard. The governor of the city, who related these traits to me, had in his house at the time two hundred muskets, which the prince refused out of two thousand that had been sent to him from Teheran, having himself examined every single gun, and tried every lock. He is said also to be extremely liberal to his troops, and to give all his money among them.

"When I asked the governor if Messrs. Jouannin and Nerciat, of the French embassy (who had arrived a few days before us, and whom I overtook at Tabriz), had as yet departed, he replied that they were gone. When he came back to me in the evening he told me that they were not. He added, that on appearing before the prince in the morning, he had related my question and his own answer; on which the prince exclaimed, 'You told him that they were gone! How could you tell him such a falsehood? I will not allow any of my servants to speak an untruth.—Go and tell him

that they are not gone.' It appeared that the governor had been really mistaken in his first report.

"The governor talked also of his prince's horsemanship, and skill in the chase, which were unequalled. He told me that at full gallop the prince could shoot a deer with a single ball, or with the arrow from his bow hit a bird on the wing. He combines indeed the three great qualities of the ancient Persians, which Xenophon enumerates, riding, shooting with the bow, and speaking truth. His countrymen however are, in general, less severe in their estimate of the requisites of a great character, and are content to omit the last trait of excellence; but they never praise any one without placing in the foremost of his virtues his horsemanship, in which alone perhaps they possess any national pride. I once in fact was in some danger of a serious dispute, by hazarding a doubt, that the Turks rode better than the Persians. It is quite ridiculous to hear them boast of their own feats on horseback, and despise the cavalry of every other nation. They always said, 'perhaps your infantry may surpass ours; but our horsemen are the first in the world; nothing can stand before their activity and impetuosity.' In fact, they have courage—one of the first qualities of a horseman; they ride without the least apprehension over any country, climb the most dangerous steeps over rock and shrub; and keep their way in defiance of every obstacle of ground. They have also a firm seat, and that on a saddle which, among an hundred different sorts, would be called the least commodious. But that is all; they understand nothing of a fine hand, nor indeed with their bridles can they learn; for they use only a strong snaffle, fastened to the rein by an immense ring on each side, which they place indifferently in the strongest or weakest mouths: nor do they know how to spare their horses and save them unnecessary fatigue; for their pace is either a gallop on the full stretch, or a walk. As a nation, as fit stuff for soldiers, I know of no better materials. The Persian possesses the true qualities of the soldier; active, inured to labour, careless of life, admiring bravery, and indeed (as the chief object of their ambition) aspiring to the appellation of *resheed* or courageous. (P. 279)

We learn from good authority, that the prince of Tabriz has directed his agents in this country to send to him the writings of our best authors, who treat upon the constitution and polity of the British empire. And the two Persian youths now in this metropolis, upon whom some of the newspapers have conferred princely honours, are in fact of plebeian origin, and were selected by the prince for their promise of superior ability, and sent hither under proper protection to learn the English language, for the purpose of facilitating his acquisition of English knowledge; and also to be educated, the one as a painter, the other as a surgeon—the one to cure the body, the other to record the exploits of their sovereign.

It is some relief to a mind long engaged in contemplating the fairest scenes of nature, the advantages of which the inhabitants waste and abuse, to reflect upon the reformation which the example and authority of such a prince may at length introduce among his countrymen. We are half disposed to indulge in so illusory a hope, by concealing the difficulties with which he has to contend. But truth compels us to admit that the case, for the present generation at least, is nearly desperate. Besides the renewed commotions which will probably ensue on the death of the reigning king, there is a corruption of heart and of taste, and an unprincipled levity of manners displayed in the following passage, which is more disheartening than many grosser vices that might at first sight appear less remediable.

"I dined with mirza Hassan, son of the first minister, mirza Bozruk. There were a number of young and pleasant men, who would have enlivened any company; but they seemed to vie with each other in the marvellous. As a specimen; a dervish had told one, that he was in his room when a shock of an earthquake threw him on the floor, where he lay for a long time in a trance; and on recovering, found himself, to his great surprise, extended in the court-yard, close under his apartment: a second shock having projected him senseless out of the window. Of sleight-of-hand they recounted the most wonderful feats; and to all this, they swear by each other's head, eyes, sons, and fathers. The surest prognostic, indeed, of a falsehood is the number of emphatic oaths by which it is preceded. The Persians are called, with sufficient propriety, the Frenchmen of the east; they are indeed a talkative, complimentary, and insincere people, yet in manners agreeable and enlivening." (P. 285.)

Soon after quitting Tabriz Mr. Morier passed the frontiers of Persia, and though his journey through Armenia and Asia Minor is by no means uninteresting, we shall here take leave of his work for the present, in order to close this article with a few reflections arising out of the political system, and the picture of national manners, which have been presented to us.

And first we may observe, that as no king of Persia for the last century has ever obtained quiet possession of his throne without wading to it through the blood of many competitors of his own family; and, as we think, that we have enumerated three or four warlike brothers now possessing governments in different parts of the kingdom, and all accustomed to the exercise of power little short of absolute sovereignty; it requires no great reach of judgement to foresee, that Abbas Mirza, prince of

Tabriz, will not quietly take possession of the government, without some years of confusion, destruction, and desolation, to already exhausted Persia. Combining, therefore, this prospect, with what we have observed of the natural poverty and difficulties of the country; and considering that there is an Afghan monarch in Cabul and Candahar, between the frontiers of Persia and those of India, almost necessarily hostile to the Persian government; we think ourselves entitled to conclude, that any serious inconvenience to our Indian possessions from the passage of a French force through Persia is for the present altogether imaginary. We are far, however, from wishing that the British government should on this account relax in the attention which it has lately given to the court of Persia. There are many moral, many political objects, which may be promoted by the connection. And generally speaking, we think it becoming in a great nation professing to act on liberal and enlarged principles of policy, to cultivate intimacies with those who can reap moral and political improvement from the intercourse. We do from our hearts detest that *truly pedlar principle* of diplomacy adopted by France and the continental states, that calculates what people can be kidnapped, what territory seized from its lawful owner, at such a consumption of human life, or at such an expence of military spies and official falsehoods. M. Gardanne's work, scanty and unsatisfactory as it is, proves clearly enough that Persia has been long entered in the Gallic ledger as an article of debit against England, or to be purchased at the abovementioned rate. But as making good the delivery would entail upon Persia an aggravation of all her evils, it behoves England to enter her protest against the demands of France, and to support it by every measure which can extenuate the evils under which the Persians labour. We should then be instrumental in extricating the fairest of the Asiatic nations from the same state of moral and political degradation from which we are now labouring to *preserve* the fairest of those of Europe; nay, we think that we may add the whole European continent. To be convinced that Spain and Great Britain are the only impediments to such a consummation of evil, it is only necessary to contemplate the abject state of Persia, and to reflect upon the causes that have produced it, and then to trace the progress and consider the plans of Napoleon. Called to the possession of supreme power under circumstances, than which none were ever more favourable to its establishment on the broad basis of the people's happiness; with a littleness of mind truly despicable, he has chosen to rest his fame on the personal aggrandize-

ment of his family and dependents, on military glory, and the oppression, not to say the absolute annihilation of the people. With his "twenty satrapies" fast rising on every side around the parent tyrant, what but the moral force instilled by the exertions of England, and the example of successful resistance so gloriously exhibited in the peninsula, prevents him from sending in a fit of caprice his chief executioner with the bowstring to the king of Prussia, or to bring to the imperial footstool the eyes and the tongue of the king of Wirtemberg, or to chain her majesty of Sicily by her neck to the wall, or to bastinado to death their new-made majesties of Bavaria or Saxony? Nor is this all; the evils would accumulate not upon the higher ranks only, but upon every class of the people. Protected as they may be by the energy of a first establisher of tyranny from all oppressions but his own; what shall save them from the horrors of the domestic contests, the rebellions, the sackings of cities, and the laying waste of countries, that have universally ensued among the degenerate descendants of the first great tyrant, who add the prejudices of a princely education to the *orthodox* vices of their established system of politics? The line of the Buonapartes, should Providence be pleased to afflict and chastise the world with a royal race from the stock, must from the nature of things surpass the Sofis themselves in luxury and cruelty; and a succession of unprincipled and warlike satraps will perpetuate civil discord and eternal bloodshed by never-ending contests for the possession of the "roi faineant," or for the substitution of a less fortunate brother or cousin as the instrument of their power.

We have reason to believe that this splendid and well edited volume is the first of a succession of works upon Persia that will gradually come before the public. A new work from M. de Sacy is shortly expected from Paris; and the present embassy under Sir Gore Ouseley contains (besides Mr. Morier) the ambassador's brother Sir William Ouseley, a gentleman whose perfect acquaintance with oriental literature and languages must afford a peculiar interest to any account of his researches.

The three maps, which illustrate the work before us, will be found to contain original matter useful to geographers.

ART. XVIII. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Sidmouth, upon the Subject of the Bill lately introduced by his Lordship into the House of Peers.* By Thomas Belsham, Minister of the Chapel in Essex-street. London: Johnson. 1811.

Remarks on the Failure of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, relating to Protestant Dissenters. London: Harding, St. James-street. 1811.

WE should be ashamed to encumber our pages with professions of zeal and respect for religious toleration. In this enlightened and free country no one is entitled to claim merit for joining in the ardent attachment of his fellow subjects to the main bulwarks of British liberty; such as the trial by jury, the habeas corpus act, and the bill of rights. With these may be justly classed the act of toleration, the real enemies to which are to be chiefly found amongst those who are actually enjoying its benefits; and this strange and unnatural hostility will probably be manifested without disguise in the course of the ensuing session of parliament.

In proportion, however, to our own veneration for this highly valuable part of the great work achieved by our ancestors at the revolution, is the keenness of our resentment and regret at the spirit of encroachment on the one hand, and of inadvertency, neglect, and connivance on the other, by which its purposes have in some respects been perverted, and its benevolence abused. Its provisions were cautiously adapted to the doctrine and discipline of the few sects of which the dissenters, then a known and definite body, were composed; and it was meant to protect conscientious dissent, and to ease scrupulous consciences by extending the freedom of religious worship. It has, nevertheless, been made the instrument of encouragement to schism, fraud, and the wildest fanaticism. These observations apply, in at least an equal degree, to the act of 19 Geo. 3. c. 44., which was framed for similar purposes, and has had to encounter similar abuses*.

* The toleration act, which is entitled "an act for exempting their Majesties protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws," having set forth in the preamble, that "forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection," enacts in the 2d c. that "all protestant dissenters, except such as deny the Trinity, shall be exempted from all penal laws relating to religion, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy (or making a declaration to that effect if quakers), and subscribing the declaration against popery."

By the 8th section, it is provided, that "no person dissenting from the

* Vide Blackstone's Commentaries, b. 4, page 53.

It, however, conceivable by any one who has read, and is capable of understanding these acts, (the principal provisions of which will be found in the note below), that the practical interpretation of *both* has almost universally been, that any person, however ignorant and however profligate, without previous recognition, appointment, or recommendation (real or implied), even by persons of his own persuasion, might claim as of right at any quarter-sessions of the peace to go through the forms which the above-mentioned statutes prescribe; and that having demanded and obtained a certificate of compliance, he should become entitled, not only to perform publicly the most solemn function that can be executed by man, not only to preach whatever he pleased, whenever and wherever he thought proper, but likewise to an exemption from serving upon juries and in any parochial office, and from being liable, in common with the rest of his fellow subjects, to be trained, disciplined, and called forth as a militia-man in the defence of his country.

The interpretation, however, which we have thus described

church of England in holy orders, or *pretended* holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher, or teacher of any congregation of dissenting protestants" that shall make the declaration, and take the oaths as required by the 2d clause of this act, and declare his approbation of, and subscribe to, the articles of religion, except the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th, shall be liable to any pains or penalties "for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion, permitted and allowed by this act." The 10th clause enacts, for the relief of anabaptists, that every person in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher or teacher, who shall perform the conditions above-mentioned, with the exception of signing that part of the 29th article which relates to infant baptism, "shall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages which any other *dissenting minister as aforesaid* might have or enjoy by virtue of this act. By the 11th clause, every preacher or teacher "in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a minister, preacher, or teacher of a congregation, who shall have performed the condition required by the 8th clause," is exempted from serving upon any jury, or in any parochial office.

The act of the 19th G. 3. c. 44. is entitled an act "for the further relief of protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters." The preamble having recited the 10th s. of 1. W. and M. and stated, that many such persons scruple to declare their approbation of, and to subscribe the said articles not excepted as aforesaid, "for giving ease to such scrupulous persons in the exercise of religion," it is enacted, that every person dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, *being a preacher or teacher* of any congregation of dissenting protestants, who, if he scruple to declare and subscribe as aforesaid, (*viz.* certain articles of religion), shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration against popery, required by the said act of the 1. of W. and M. to be taken, made, and subscribed by protestant dissenting ministers, and shall also make and subscribe a declaration in the words following; (here follows the form of the declaration); "shall be, and every such person is declared to be entitled to all the exemptions, benefits, privileges, and advantages granted to protestant dissenting ministers by the said act; and every such person qualifying himself as aforesaid shall be exempted from serving in the militia of this kingdom."

and stigmatized, though almost universal, has not, as we have already admitted, been entirely so. To the ignorance, negligence, or connivance, to which it is to be imputed, the magistrates of the counties of Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and, as we are willing to hope, of some other parts of the kingdom, have afforded creditable exceptions. It is also but justice to acknowledge, that as far back as the year 1804 this latitude of interpretation was discountenanced in some material points by a clear exposition of the true construction of the 19th Geo. 3. c. 44., given in a pamphlet published at Bristol by a barrister of the name of Smith, (himself, as we have heard, a dissenter).

Mr. Smith states, that "many persons who were not within this act had been allowed to qualify under it, and that had not the number of applicants by their vast increase excited the attention of the magistrates in a more than ordinary degree, it would perhaps have been considered that the qualification of every protestant dissenting minister might be obtained under it." (P. 36.) Mr. S. proves most clearly, that the legislature did "not mean to extend the relief granted by this statute to any besides those who are preachers or teachers of congregations;" (p. 36 :) "the true construction of which words Mr. S. understands and submits to be a preacher, or teacher chosen or elected by, and *resident amongst* a particular congregation, in opposition to such preachers, and teachers, as itinerate, or officiate occasionally amongst the dissenters; just as in speaking of a rector or vicar, who has been instituted and inducted into a benefice, we call him the minister of the parish." (P. 33.) Mr. S. further observes, that "no minister of a congregation is strictly within this statute, who does not *scruple* to declare his approbation of, and to subscribe the articles of religion required to be subscribed by the act of toleration: for the statute was expressly made for the purpose of giving ease to *such* scrupulous persons." (P. 36, 37.)

We must add, that Mr. Smith is the only writer, within our knowledge, who, previous to the discussions on the late bill in the House of Lords, exposed what Mr. Belsham calls in his pamphlet "the universally prevailing error," concerning exemptions and immunities; although many excellent persons have loudly complained of the mischievous effects arising from the practice, which they naturally enough concluded to be sanctioned by the law.

Mr. Smith's reasonings on this subject, though too prolix for insertion at length, are very conclusive; and, when considered as flowing from the pen of a dissenter, constitute a curious document. They plainly indicate the opinion then entertained

by reasonable dissenters, not only with respect to the existing laws and their interpretation, and concerning that which was most for the general interest of the dissenting body; but also concerning the extent to which a prudent government, anxious to promote the cause of religion, and to support an established church consistently with a complete toleration to sectaries, may proceed in the career of concession. But these halcyon days of contentment and good sense are passed away with the dissenters as well as with the Romanists. The unwarrantable lengths to which party zeal and private ambition have induced persons really indifferent to all religion to extend their measures of hostility under the threadbare plea of liberality, joined to the internal causes of decay, which we have without ceasing reprobated and lamented, have in a few short years converted the humble and contented subjects of toleration into fierce and contentious rivals, wrestling foot to foot with the establishment.

The view taken by Lord Sidmouth of the act 19th Geo. 3, and of the construction to be given to the 1st of W. and M. on the subject of privileges, exemptions, and immunities, seems to have been precisely similar to that of Mr. S.; and though directly at variance with the resolutions agreed to at the meeting of the methodist societies at the New Chapel, City-road, on the 14th of May last, and of the general meeting of dissenters at the London Tavern on the following day, it does not appear to have been disputed by their friends in the House of Lords on the 9th or 21st of that month; and its correctness has been since distinctly admitted by Mr. Belsham. Mr. B. however, in advertising to 19th Geo. 3, is evidently "perplexed in the extreme," by the clear import of words which cannot be explained away; and he accordingly tells us, that it was "by an unaccountable *inadvertence* in the framers of this statute that its benefits were limited to ministers being preachers, or teachers of congregations of dissenting protestants." P. 15, 16.—*Inadvertence!* in whom?—In Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Lee*; by whom the bill was framed? But this is not half: Mr. B. afterwards informs us, that "the legislature passed this bill in the form in which the dissenters and their friends desired." P. 23. So that the *inadvertence* is not only that of the framers of the bill, but of those for whose benefit it was framed; and yet the effect of it is to exclude a very large proportion of those very persons from what Mr. B. thinks their just share of the benefit.

The intent of this act was, as Mr. B. has stated, merely to afford an alternative to one of the conditions of the 1st of W.

* Attorney General under the coalition administration of Lord North and Mr. Fox.

and M., by substituting a declaration which every christian would willingly make, for a subscription to articles to which many might conscientiously object. The alteration was in the mode of relief, not in the description of persons to whom relief was to be afforded. So far we perfectly agree with Mr. Belsham. But he thinks that *any and every person*, upon taking the oaths, making the declarations, and signing the articles, is entitled to qualify under the toleration act, and that it was only through *inadvertence* forsooth that a similar latitude was not given under the 19th of the king. We, on the contrary, are decidedly of opinion that, on the part of the framers of the act, and of the dissenters, according to whose wishes Mr. Belsham tells us it was framed, there was no inadvertence whatever: but that dissenting ministers, and dissenting ministers only, were intended to have authority to qualify under either of the acts, and that persons of that description could not be so correctly designated as by the words "preachers or teachers of congregations of dissenting protestants." It is therefore on the 8th s. of the 1st of W. and M. (the original toleration act) that Mr. Belsham, and, we are sorry to add, Mr. Smith, and a noble and learned lord, of great forensic eloquence and celebrity, and several others of the more moderate latitudinarians have been induced exclusively to rely for the support of the doctrine that "*any and every person who thinks himself able* has a *right* to qualify for the purpose of officiating as a minister of religion;" admitting, however, that no one is entitled to exemptions from certain offices, and other duties, but a preacher, or teacher of a particular congregation.

This extravagant doctrine, no less revolting to common sense than to common decency, they have endeavoured to maintain chiefly on the ground of a loose and arbitrary construction of the words, "*pretending to holy orders*;" regardless of the other parts of the act of toleration, by which its meaning is clearly pronounced; and likewise of the distinct and decisive explanation afforded to it by the subsequent act of the 19th of Geo. 3; regardless too of the absurdity of supposing that the eminent persons who were the authors of the 19th of Geo. 3, and the dissenters of that period, and the legislature, could either through inadvertence, or intention, have so constructed it as that the *further* relief, which it was the object to afford, should be more difficult of attainment, than even the imperfect relief granted by the 1st of W. and M.; which would be the case if *every person* might qualify under the one, and only preachers and teachers of congregations under the other.

But even this last hold of pertinacious error has been rendered untenable by a recent decision in the Court of King's Bench. It was indeed long and earnestly wished, (though we confess that

our own opinions of the extreme wariness of all sectaries did not allow us to expect it), that some one of those, who frequently, as we understand, held out to the magistrates of Bucks, Devon, Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. the terrors of a mandamus, would take some step towards carrying the threat into execution : but year followed year, and the cautious restraint, which prudence imposed, was not departed from. At length, however, a Welchman, of the name of David Lewis, (whose application for a licence under the 1st of W. and M. had been rejected by the magistrates of Denbigh) heated perhaps by the recent victory in the House of Lords, and anticipating another triumph in Westminster Hall, improvidently and happily rushed into the Court of King's Bench, and in consideration of the decision * which he was thus the cause of obtaining, has conferred an involuntary obligation upon every man in the country who duly regards the purity and decency of religion.

Quod divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en ! attulit ultro.

Here then is a judicial comment of high authority on that which Mr. Belsham has somewhat rashly called " the fatal original blot in Lord Sidmouth's bill, which was truly said by Lord Redesdale, without contradiction from any law lord except Lord Erskine, not to infringe in any degree upon the act of toleration,

On this important decision we offer our sincere congratulations to all persons who feel what is due to the dignity of religion ; and amongst those persons, though they may not be at present quite in a humour to receive them, even to dissenters themselves, who had they rightly considered the proposition of Lord Sidmouth, would have seen it in the light of a boon, and chargeable perhaps by the zealous advocates of *high church* with an excess of liberality. They must also know that the effect of self-ordination and self-appointment has frequently been to bring discredit upon their whole body, by the inundation of interested impostors, and wild fanatics, of the lowest cast ; with whom no sect has any connection, and over whom there is no control. Such an assumption of the sacred offices of religion is not countenanced we affirm by scriptural authority ; by the policy of any wise government ; or by the practice of the primitive church. It is adverse to the discipline of the old dissenters of all persuasions, and is strongly discouraged by such of the new and anomalous sects

* A mandamus was applied for, and a rule refused.

ries or separatists of the present day, as might be supposed to be the most likely to regard it with indulgence.

The following resolution appears on the minutes of conference in 1803: "If any member of the methodist society apply to the quarter-sessions for a licence to preach, without being approved as a preacher by the quarterly meeting, such person shall be expelled the society." This certainly is not a specimen of a disposition to make an unqualified allowance for the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit. The fact is, and it ought in justice to be acknowledged, that although methodism is the name by which the irregularities we have now been speaking of are generally characterized, it is a gross perversion of the term. "They are however," as has been observed by an intelligent author, "very commonly scions from that main stock of schism." The same author *, in speaking of such irregular practices, adds,

"I conceive no unbiassed person will say, that such proceedings are not in direct violation of the toleration act, both in spirit and letter. That act was intended for the relief of tender consciences, and was applicable to those who had previously established systems, which they could not pursue, but at their peril. But here the minister does not grow out of the congregation, as was evidently the presumption in the act of King William, but the minister goes about to form, to seduce, to trepan a congregation, as an object of private convenience and profit to himself, and the act which yields him a licence to preach becomes, not as it was intended a relief to a tender conscience, but a means of estrangement and seduction from the established church."—"Is that act to be preserved, or is it not? or is it to be violated with impunity? The question is not less interesting to the old and respectable dissenter, than to the member of the church of England. He cannot view with indifference these attempts to subvert all order, to degrade religion itself by making it a mere trade and traffic; to render it too frequently ridiculous by the incompetency of the teachers; but what is most threatening, to render it a mere tool of licentiousness and fanaticism."

Mr. Belsham too reprobates some of the abuses of this act, though he is not inclined to approve of any effectual measure to prevent them in future. He admits, that "for an ignorant booby, who can neither write nor read, to demand to qualify as a dissenting minister, and for such a man to *assume* the office of a christian minister, is an insult upon common sense, and common decency;" (p. 3, 4.) He adds "I question, whether in the whole united kingdom such a person could procure three ministers, or ix householders, to sign a testimonial to his capacity." (P. 4.)

* Hints for the Security of the Established Church. *

In p. 8. he says, "nothing truly can be more unbecoming than that folly, nonsense, and impiety should be spoken in the name of the God of truth:" he subjoins, "but are we then to suffer these men to teach absurdity and impiety with impunity? undoubtedly we are; for so the master of the household has himself decided!!!"

It is certain that any absurdity however gross, and any impiety not forbidden by the law, may be preached by any licensed dissenter in any licensed place of religious worship without liability to punishment, except by the religious society to which the individual belongs; but even in case of expulsion from that society, he may still avail himself of his license, and go on preaching in the same strain in as many rooms in *ale-houses* or elsewhere as he may choose to hire, and to obtain a license for; for certain we fear it is, that by the *letter* of the 1st of W. and M. a demand made under that act for the license of any *place* of religious worship cannot be legally refused. Is not this, however, in itself, a sufficient proof of the dreadful tendency of the doctrine set up and maintained by almost all dissenters, and their partizans; and of the absolute necessity of caution and circumspection with respect to the characters of those to whom licenses are to be granted; of some presumption at least of a decent portion of moral and intellectual qualification? It also appears to us to be important on many accounts, and even with a view to the maintenance of the discipline of dissenters themselves, that the expulsion of a licensed preacher from the religious society to which he belongs should cancel his license. With respect to Mr. Belsham's assertion concerning "the master of the household," it appears to us to be extravagant and wholly groundless. We wish he had stated the passage or passages of scripture by virtue of which he has thought himself at liberty to make such an assertion*. But to return; although the interference of the legislature, for the purpose which, in the opinion of the writer we formerly quoted, appeared to call for it, is deprecated by Mr. Belsham, he declares it to be necessary on other accounts.

"It has been asked," he says, "why did your lordship disturb what was previously at rest? what occasion was there to bring forward the question? In reply to this, I, my lord, for one, am of opinion, that there was sufficient reason for proposing some amendment in the law relating to the liberty of religious worship. It was high time that the law of the land should be understood. It surely is not decorous, nor right, that what is law in one county

* We have just seen a sermon, preached last August, at the triennial visitation at Chichester, by the Rev. Dr. Goddard, in which the subject of church government, and particularly of self-appointment, are discussed with great ability.

should not be law in another. I confess that I should have expected from that respectable body to whom the civil interests of the dissenters have been committed, that they would have applied long ago to the Court of King's Bench* for a mandamus to put a stop to these dangerous innovations. In the mean time it surely could not be very improper for your lordship to come forward, and in your legislative capacity to propose arrangements to put a stop to this strange and growing anomaly." (P. 32, 33.)

On the expediency of parliamentary interference we have here the opinion of an earnest, though in many respects liberal, dissenter, and on this point we certainly never met with any diversity of sentiment amongst the members of the church of England. Previous to the introduction of the bill, the attention of the House of Lords was, in two succeeding sessions, called to the subject of it by motions for information, of which it was material that parliament should be possessed. On each of these occasions Lord Sidmouth's language appears to have been prudent and conciliatory. He declared that he felt as strongly as any one what was due to the right of private judgement in matters of religious faith, and to the freedom of public worship; that his object was not to alter, but, by the suppression of abuses, to carry into effect the existing laws of toleration, and even to extend the limits of toleration itself; that, so far from being actuated by a spirit of hostility to dissenters, he should propose nothing of which he should not be desirous, if he was a sober-minded and conscientious dissenter himself; that he therefore hoped for the concurrence of persons of that description, as, whatever might be the difference of opinion on points of doctrine and discipline between them and the members of the church of England, all had an equal interest, and an equal duty in upholding and preserving the reverence that was due to the religion which they all professed.

On the 9th of May the bill was presented to the House of Lords; and was found, in its provisions, to be strictly consistent with this declaration. It was understood to have been previously approved of by the heads of the church, by the lead-

* The author of the "Remarks," a zealous churchman, says, in p. 10, after having stated his opinion that an explanation of that statute was necessary, "As to the idea of Lord Erskine, that the point may soon be settled by suing for a mandamus from the Court of King's Bench, who will be forced to try the question; to my knowledge this has been offered to the methodists, to try the matter on amicable grounds, and it has been refused. The obvious answer is, 'No! We will not run any risk; the magistrates of the next county will give a licence without hesitation, and without difficulty. It is possible we may have a decision in the Court of King's Bench against us; we will take care to avoid hazarding it.'"

ing members of the government, by persons of great respectability amongst the dissenters, and particularly by that class of separatists to whom the new regulations, which it proposed to enact, specially applied. How far the conduct of some of these persons agreed with their previous declarations we will not at present discuss.

The purposes of the bill are candidly described by Mr. Belsham.

"The bill has been much misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. Your lordship's design was to exclude from the christian ministry the ignorant and the vicious; to extend the benefits of legal toleration to many respectable persons, who are now protected only by connivance; to render the law intelligible and uniform, and to make it imperative upon the magistrate in cases to which the statute was intended to apply." (P. 3.)

The objects of the several provisions of the bill were,

"First, to declare and enact that no person was entitled to qualify himself to officiate, as a dissenting minister, under the act of 1. Wm. and M. or 19th of Geo. III. unless he had been previously appointed to be the preacher or teacher of a separate congregation of dissenting protestants; next, to require that every such person, previous to taking the oaths, &c. should produce a certificate of such appointment, signed by three licensed dissenting ministers of the same religious persuasion as himself, or six substantial and reputable * householders belonging to his own congregation; and that such person, having so qualified, should be entitled to all the exemptions, privileges, and immunities, granted by the said acts.

"Thirdly, to enact, that any person, *not* having been appointed the preacher of a separate congregation, who wished to qualify himself to officiate as a dissenting minister, should, previous to his taking the oaths, &c. produce a certificate signed by six substantial and reputable householders, that they believed him to be a protestant dissenting minister of their own sect or persuasion, that they had known him for two years immediately preceding, and that he was a person of sober life and conversation, and, as they believed, of sufficient ability and fitness to officiate as a dissenting minister †.

* To the words "substantial and reputable," an objection was taken upon the supposition that they would give a discretion to magistrates. This objection Lord S. expressed his intention to obviate by an amendment in the committee.

† We cannot deny, that according to the spirit of the 1. of W. and M. which was intended to comprehend all classes of dissenters, it is reasonable and proper to extend to this new and anomalous description of sectarian preachers the benefit of toleration, so far as to afford them, upon such conditions as are here proposed, protection from disabilities and penalties; we must nevertheless acknowledge, that we strongly feel the force of numerous objections to an itinerant ministry; and that we have only a stronger sense of the evils that must arise

“Fourthly, to enact, that any person, upon producing a certificate from three licensed dissenting ministers of his own persuasion, that he had been appointed a probationer for the exercise of the functions of a minister of religion for a time to be limited; that they had known him for the space of one year, immediately preceding, and that he was a person of sober life and conversation, was entitled to take the oaths, &c. and to officiate as a dissenting minister for a period not exceeding two years.

“Fifthly, to confirm all former licenses, and to secure from penalties all those by whom they might have been obtained.”

Such a measure, the purposes of which were to restore the legitimate interpretation, and to give uniformity to the execution of highly popular laws, and to enlarge the sphere of toleration in a manner which did not, in any degree, affect the doctrines or discipline of those who were to be the objects of it; appeared likely to be received by dissenters with complacency at least, if not with approbation and gratitude. It was, however, assailed with such torrents of misrepresentation, as encouraged the very few, who, in the first discussion, had shown a disposition to oppose it; intimidated many of those persons in situations of authority by whom it had been approved; and produced a result deeply and for ever to be lamented by every one who feels for the freedom, the dignity, and the honour of parliament.

“I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty,
When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of,” &c. &c.

MILTON'S Sonnets.

We forbear to quote the remainder of this sonnet of Milton, although the greater part is far from inapplicable.

Indeed, a yell at once so senseless and effectual was, we are confident, never before raised in this country. The House of Lords was inundated with petitions, to the real authors of which we shall presently advert. For three days the metropolis was in a most extraordinary state. Such was the demand for penmen to transcribe petitions, that during that period the business of conveyancing was nearly at a stand; even the progress of marriage settlements was suspended, and the bliss of impatient lovers cruelly delayed. Each petition made two journeys:

from a deficiency of religious instruction; evils, which, to the discredit of those by whom they ought to be prevented, are in many parts of the kingdom chiefly averted by such means as are supplied by these irregular preachers. To immunities, it is admitted, that these persons have no pretensions.

each had its *locus a quo* and its *locus ad quem*, and each returned to the place from whence it came (viz. Fleet-street, or elsewhere) before it reached the House of Lords. Stage-coaches in all directions, *eundo et redeundo*, were so laden with the lamentations of the faithful, as to exclude inside passengers as completely as do the Norfolk turkies at Christmas. To old parliamentary reformers this mode of obtaining petitions was not new. In 1792-3 a society, not yet forgotten by the nation, pursued, (as there are many persons now living who well remember,) exactly the same course. They had improvidently declared, that they would not urge the measure of reform unless called upon by the people, upon whom, however, they called most vehemently; but as it was feared that the people might not be so fully aware of the good intended for them as to come forward without an additional impulse, the society benevolently undertook to prepare, and to send into the country for signature, the petitions by which they were themselves to be instigated*. Then too it happened, as in the late instance, that most of the petitions were expressed in the same terms, and a large proportion of the names subjoined were in the same hand-writing. On both occasions all considerations of age and sex on the part of those who signed the petitions were utterly disregarded. But the legislature and the government of 1793 were not to be intimidated.

Mr. Belsham candidly acknowledges, that "it was owing to the energetic and unparalleled exertions of the general meeting of protestant dissenters, and of other friends to religious liberty, convened by public advertisement at the London Tavern, on the 15th of May, that the host of petitions against the bill was PROCURED, which astonished the house and the public." (Vide note, p. 34.)

And it was, probably, at this motley meeting, (which must have resembled the large cage at the top of the Hay-market, containing an incongruous assemblage of animals in a state of mutual forbearance and apparent good humour, though possessed with the strongest natural antipathies,) that Mr. B. was first struck with "the extraordinary unanimity of persons, most hostile to each other in their religious sentiments, in their efforts to procure the rejection, in its earliest stage," of a bill, which in the same paragraph he acknowledges, "extended, to say the least of it, legal toleration on one side, as much as it

* This reminds us of Mr. Wilkes's declaration, that he always obeyed the instructions of his constituents, but that he took special care to draw them up himself.

restrained it on the other." (P. 1, 2.) What was the contribution from the methodists towards the composition of this heterogeneous meeting we have not heard; but it appears that they had previously thought proper to speak for themselves through the general committee of their societies, which met at the New Chapel, City Road, on the 14th of May, and there and then came to sundry resolutions; the sum and substance of which is, that if the bill passed into a law, it would curtail the *privileges and exemptions* to which the regular preachers of the methodist connection were now *entitled* under the toleration act: that their local preachers and exhorters would find it difficult, if not impracticable, to obtain licences; and that "as a large proportion of their societies considered themselves members of the established church, to which they were conscientiously attached, such persons could not in future apply for licences; because to obtain them they must declare themselves *dissenting* ministers." We now desire to remind our readers of the title of the 1 W. and M. and of the 19 G. iii.*, from which it is manifest that the benefit of these acts cannot be legally obtained by any member of the established church; and consequently that every *such* person who has qualified under either of them, and obtained the privileges and exemptions which either of them confers, has obtained his licence, and such privileges and exemptions, by means of a false and fraudulent pretence. That a great number of persons of the methodist persuasion have so qualified and obtained licences and immunities we are perfectly aware—and it cannot be doubted that the circumstance was perfectly *well known* to many of those who signed the petitions.

We are unwilling to impute unworthy motives to any man or body of men; but we confess ourselves unable to account for the conduct of this anomalous class of seceders (we must not say dissenters) in their zealous co-operation with sectaries of all descriptions, to crush the bill in its earliest stage, except upon the supposition that they thought it material to prevent a discussion, which might eventually expose past frauds and evasions, and prevent them in future; and further, that they hoped by the force of combined efforts to get rid of the conventicle act, and of other acts intended for the security of "the established church, of which a large proportion of these persons pretend

* Title of the 1st. of W. and M. c. 18. "An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects, *dissenting* from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws."

Title of the 19th Geo. 3. c. 4. "An act for the further relief of protestant *dissenting* ministers and schoolmasters."

to consider themselves as members, and to which they profess to be warmly attached." Never, indeed, were mortals placed in a more awkward predicament than those who wished to pass for churchmen, and at the same time to enjoy the benefits of dissent. Never was the miserable policy of "sinister dexterity" more completely exposed. The dread of the conventicle act, and of the militia, pressed them on the one hand, and conscience, we are willing to believe, occasioned some qualms on the other: but the contest too frequently proved unequal; and fear and interest prevailed. This, however, it must be acknowledged, has not been the case universally: several persons of the same religious connection have disdained, as we have reason to believe, to purchase protection and immunities by fraud and evasion.

For the principal difficulties attending their present situation the methodists have only to blame themselves. Thanks to the discussion on the late bill, and to the publications which it occasioned in the various forms of resolutions, and of pamphlets, —impostures, evasions, and frauds, which before were little known, are fully exposed. Still very many of this description of separatists have shewn, that they prefer the chance of being enabled to persist in such practices, or of the continued connivance of magistrates, to the beneficent, honest, and sure protection of law, which was proffered to them. In pursuance of this system they have become connected with the body of real protestant dissenters, the far greater part of whom are actuated by a spirit of decided hostility to the established church; and in whose minds, if there exist any sentiment as strong as hostility to the church, it is contempt for those with whom they are thus associated, and to whom they cannot therefore be desirous that those benefits should be extended, to which, under the strict construction of law, they have themselves been so long exclusively entitled. The conduct of the sectaries, to whom we are now alluding, has on this occasion resembled that of the adherents of their predecessors in 1689, when the comprehension bill was under discussion, which, it is said by Bishop Burnett, was not supported by those who seemed most favourable to the dissenters. "They set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in church and state, and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the presbyterians" (for these read methodists) "to be made more easy. So this great design, being zealously opposed and but faintly supported, fell to the ground*." To persons of this de-

* Bishop Burnett's History of his own Time, v. ii. p. 11.

scription the bill in question did not, to say the least of it, afford the slightest pretence for complaint. But an opportunity of making a display of strength and influence was not to be lost; and the importance of obtaining for that purpose an increase of noise and numbers from any quarter could not be overlooked. The first fruits of this union have been the defeat of a measure, to the principle and purpose of which every one ought to have shewn favour, who felt what was due to the sanctity and influence of religion. The next consequence will be a concerted and combined attack on all the acts of the legislature relating to religion; and amongst them on their own palladium of religious liberty, the act of toleration, which indeed must fall of course, if the other acts are done away. This reminds us of the old jacobins (*a race not yet extinct in this country*), who were perpetually pleading the principles of the constitution which they laboured to destroy, in opposition to all the measures which were proposed for its preservation. In fact, jacobins and dissenters, though actuated, as we are willing to believe, by very different views, are pursuing a course that obviously leads to the same result. The destruction of the state necessarily involves that of the church; the destruction of which no less certainly involves that of the state: and who can pretend to say that the former would or could survive the accomplishment of the projects which have been publicly and in high places distinctly avowed*?

If that day should arrive, and arrive it will, unless in future there should be more vigour and prudence in certain quarters than have lately appeared, what will be the feelings of methodists, and what their situation? "A large proportion of them," as they have themselves assured us, "are attached to the church," and we have no reason to suppose that any of them are disaffected to the state; and yet they will have contributed to bury both in one common ruin. Under the cir-

* "They are aware that the worst consequences might happen to the public in accomplishing this double ruin of church and state; but they are so heated with their theories, that they give more than hints, that this ruin, with all the mischiefs that must lead to it and attend it, and which to themselves appear quite certain, would not be unacceptable to them, or very remote from their wishes. A man amongst them of great authority, and certainly of great talents, (Dr. Priestley is understood to be here meant), "speaking of a supposed alliance between church and state, says, 'perhaps we must wait for the fall of the civil powers, before this most unnatural alliance be broken. Calamitous, no doubt, will that time be. But what convulsion in the political world ought to be a subject of lamentation, if it be attended with so desirable an effect? You see with what a steady eye these gentlemen are prepared to view the greatest calamities which can befall their country!'"

Vide quarto edition of Burke's Works, vol. 3, page 88.

cumstances of such a catastrophe a struggle for superiority would ensue. Are they presumptuous or weak enough to feel confident that as a religious body they would long survive such a convulsion? They may be assured that their professed attachment to the principles, to the faith, and liturgy of our church, would in itself be sufficient to unite all other dissenters, however inconsistent in other respects, in a common cause for their destruction. And have they read the instructive page of history? If they have, they may surely derive a lesson from the past conduct of the sectaries, with whom they are now connected, when possessed of authority and power. The individuals are changed, but the spirit of the sects is the same. Into the particulars of that conduct we will not now enter. Let them, however, be diligently inquired into, and seriously reflected upon by those to whom we are thus offering a friendly admonition. Let them beware of their new associates, of whom they are at this time in a great degree the dupes and instruments, and of whom they may possibly become the victims.

But let us not be misunderstood. We have a scrupulous and tender regard for the DISSENTING CONSCIENCE, and the highest respect for the character and conduct of many enlightened dissenters. But we have no respect or regard whatever for what may be called the DISSENTING INTEREST, that is, for those who make a cloak of religion to cover their private purposes, and to obtain for themselves the power and influence of a party. And we have the utmost contempt for those persons *not dissenters*, who flatter and encourage what they must believe (if they are honest men) to be dangerous error, and who condescend to purchase by dexterity and hypocrisy the rewards of popularity. Convinced as we have often declared ourselves to be, that the preservation of the established church can alone secure to England the enjoyment of toleration, and the continuance of pure and undefiled religion, we should appear hypocrites to ourselves had we shrunk from stating what is contained in this and former articles on the same subject. We are rejoiced to perceive that a strong and salutary impression has been made in this country upon all classes of the community.

It is nevertheless to causes which cannot be contemplated but with the highest satisfaction, we mean the increased influence of religion, and an augmented population, that the increase of the number of separatists is in some degree to be ascribed. Of this number the far greater part, as we have often observed, has been excluded from the church by the inadequacy of the means of accommodating those who have wished to attend its

service. Of these, many we fear are become permanently connected with the religious societies whose places of worship they have frequented, and many are become the dupes of imposture, or the victims of fanaticism.

Under these circumstances, we must again and again press the conclusion, that a twofold duty is imposed upon those to whose guardianship the welfare of the people is entrusted. If "religion is the root of all the virtues, and the stay of all well ordered commonwealths, it follows that pure and unstained religion ought to be the first care of public government;" and how can that care be more usefully manifested than by the adoption of such means as are calculated to keep religious instruction out of incompetent, or at least polluted, channels? While testimonials of learning, and scriptural knowledge, and good character, are *required*, as they most properly are, from all persons applying for episcopal ordination; it surely cannot be fit that no regard whatever should be shown for even the moral qualifications of those, who, though they differ from the church in points (often minute) of doctrine or discipline, are nevertheless to perform the functions of ministers of our holy religion. It cannot surely be deemed inconsistent with the principles of toleration, that from such persons some test should be required, if not of doctrine, at least of competency, for the important office which they propose to undertake. Upon this ground, we hope that the legislature will stand fast; and if ever it should be disposed to extend its protection to those who, not being settled ministers of separate places of worship, are found by the late decision to be without the pale of the existing toleration, we confidently trust that there will be required from them, before they are permitted to officiate, a test of sufficiency, at least as strong as that which, with respect to persons qualifying under the present laws, can only be inferred from their appointments to be preachers of congregations.

The other duty to which we have adverted, is that which is urgently called for by the state of our church establishment; which, in the language of Mr. Burke, is "first and last, and midst in our minds." He has truly said that "a great majority of the people of England do not consider this establishment as convenient, but as essential to the state. They consider it as the foundation of their whole constitution, with which, and with every part of which it holds an indissoluble union." It is in their opinion the best calculated to answer the end of all religion. It is that which has settled, and which might preserve the pure and noble standard of morals, by which this country is

distinguished; which is the source of our social and domestic happiness, the safeguard of our liberties, and, we will add, the main instrument of our national prosperity and power.

We have accordingly all the inducements arising from a just view of our duty to God, our country, and ourselves, to animate our zeal and exertions for its preservation and improvement. From various causes, and particularly from recent occurrences, a strong sense of the necessity of resorting to efficient measures for this purpose is showing itself in various parts of the kingdom; and in the metropolis, we rejoice to observe, that it has been manifested by the formation of a society, under the patronage of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with the view of promoting, upon an extensive scale, the education of the children of the poor in the principles of the church of England*. Should the wisdom of the plan correspond, as we have no doubt it will, with the nobleness of the design, it will assuredly meet with general support; under a conviction that it must necessarily tend to improve the condition of society, and to develop the means by which the moral grandeur of the state is to be secured upon its only substantial basis—the sound principles, and the virtue of the people. But to accomplish its great and ultimate object, it must have the co-operation of legislative measures. Our church must be enabled to afford the means of public worship to all those who may be desirous of attending its service. For it would be a gross inconsistency, and a mockery, that a plan of this description should be adopted, and that the best and only effectual means should be neglected of cherishing and preserving the principles, which it is its main purpose to instil. But we are inclined to indulge better hopes; to consider this institution, which has been just announced, as the dawn of a brighter day; and to cherish the persuasion, that as by union, well directed zeal, and persevering exertions, the loyal part of the nation succeeded, as we gratefully remember, in averting from it the miseries of democracy; the piety and patriotism of the true friends to our ecclesiastical establishment will by similar means, and without the slightest infringement on the sound principles of an enlightened toleration, be enabled to check the progress of a widely extended schism, which threatens the stability of the church and the state, by the abuse of legislative benevolence.

* See Appendix to this number.

ART. XIX. *Self-Controul; a Novel.* Edinburgh. 1811.

THERE are a great many well-meaning writers, who with very little knowledge of the manner in which vicious thoughts obtain possession of the heart, but with a misplaced confidence in their own powers, persuade themselves that the most effectual way of encountering depravity is to set before the young scenes of possible temptation, the better to guard them against its influence when it actually arrives.

In the prosecution of this good design they furnish an abundance of defensive arguments, of spirited exhortation, and lively painting of the misery that waits upon vice. If they can but work up the description of the penalty to a level with the gratification, all, in their judgement, is made secure. But in this calculation nothing is allowed for the casuistry of the passions, which is always telling us in flattering whispers that in our own superior prudence we shall find the means of enjoyment, with an immunity from the ordinary consequences.

There are, indeed, very few novels, romances, or tales (we are aware of some noble exceptions to this remark in our own language) among those which are written with a professed, and perhaps a sincere intention of inculcating moral principles, which do not inadvertently administer nourishment to the passions. The perils of youthful innocence, and the stratagems of the accomplished seducer, are topics which carry a very imposing air of instruction: and we have no doubt that the virtuous young reader is in theory and sentiment wholly on the virtuous side. But while our better nature is engaged in deducing from these amorous conflicts, glowing scenes, and amiable struggles, maxims of speculative wisdom; prurient curiosity is on the tip-toe, the thoughts are idly busy, and the sensibilities, after being so often carried to the verge of forbidden pleasure, begin at last to feel something too like disappointment at the escapes of chastity and the triumphs of innocence. Ignorance is bliss where it is dangerous to be wise. It is, therefore, hard upon youth and innocence that it *must* be led into this danger before its own good time, and robbed of its negative security, because a matronly authoress of experience is bursting with information on a slippery science, of which

“ — to know no more,

Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.”

We are, for these reasons, persuaded that the world is little indebted to those sapient writers of novels, who exercise their

faculties in representing vice, at once in its strongest characters of physical allurements and moral torpidity. The bane is usually much too powerful for the antidote. Those "frigid villains" who have retired within their closets, "only for the refinement of debauchery," have well understood this truth. There is, therefore, scarcely any one of those pestilent productions, whose purpose it is to arm the passions against the happiness of man, which does not begin a little to cant towards the conclusion, well knowing, that in consulting the success of their mischief, a spice of interdiction will not diminish its zest.

The poison soon circulates with the juices of the system, and speedily penetrates too far to be overtaken by halting advice. There is a balsam in our minds like that which enriches our blood, which when destroyed, it is hardly within the compass of moral medicine, or all the aromatic virtue of argument or counsel to restore.

The objection, therefore, which we feel to all that class of novels which present to us the conflicts of chastity with brutal passion, is this,—that under their sanction unchaste images are forced upon the mind of the female reader, and while she is told what it is her duty to shun, she is at the same time well informed of what she loses by her abstinence. "*Discunt hæc miserae antequam sciunt vitia esse, inde soluta et fluentes non accipiunt ex scholis mala ista, sed in scholis afferunt.*"

We are of opinion, therefore, that few if any novels can with safety be put into the hands of our daughters; and that a large part of the ruin which befalls them results from the early initiation of their minds into the mysteries to which we have been alluding. With respect to the novel, which we have now taken up more for the sake of throwing out a few observations on this subject than from any importance we attach to it, we are ready to give the author, or more probably the authoress, (for we think we discern clear indicia of feminine composition) full credit for the best possible intention; but we can by no means except the work out of the case to which our remarks are meant to be applicable. It is the story of a young woman very virtuous and chaste, and we admit very interesting in many points. In her conduct is displayed all that the sentimentalist could desire of love and feeling, duty and distraction, but unfortunately she does not appear to be able to check, like Milton's Eve, the licentious and brutal desires by which our sex is debased. It is thus that Adam describes the sanctity of our first parent:

"Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complete, so well to know

Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
 Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls
 Degraded. Wisdom in discourse with her
 Loses, discount'nanced, and like folly shews;
 Authority and reason on her wait,
 As one intended first, not after made
 Occasionally ; *and to consummate all,*
Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic placed."

As for poor Laura, she is assailed in a summer-house, and critically rescued ; she is carried off in a curricule ; she is transported across the ocean ; she is importuned at the grave of her mother ; and the church is no sanctuary from the fury of her suitors. She is presented to us in all the fainting, dying, and dissolving predicaments, in which the warm imagination of the writer could place her without giving her up to final ruin. Seduction encounters her at the very entrance of her career, and never leaves her till the catastrophe demands that it should be put an end to. The seducer chooses the grave of the mother as the scene of his shameless proposals. He is of course rejected with horror, but he is admitted again in the character of a probationary lover. During the period of his probation some episodical amours are brought to a happy conclusion, as if by the facility of their accomplishment to give additional glory to the self-controuling magnanimity of the heroine.

But notwithstanding these attractive ingredients, and the imposing apparatus of duelling, adultery, and suicide, the story moves on heavily through its protracted pages, and the reader becomes more and more lethargic as the distress increases, till at length when the fair fugitive sinks down to sleep in the Indian canoe, he takes the opportunity of yielding himself up to his own slumbers, lulled by the roar of the cataract.

The style of the book is in general affected without point, and by constantly endeavouring to strike, perpetually overshoots the understanding of the reader. The attempts at wit are bungling, and the only character with which it is endeavoured to be blended, and which seems to be an imitation of Lady G. in Sir Charles Grandison, is on a level with its model in flippancy and want of feeling, but exceeds it greatly in vulgarity. For humour the author resorts to the never-failing fund of slip-slop phraseology. Of the manners of fashionable life she seems to have a very commendable ignorance, but to have painted them with force, she should have known them with accuracy. She

seems to have looked into our old plays for specimens of these manners. These manners are detestable in many respects, and we always rejoice in their exposure; but as they are perpetually shifting, nothing can be more absurd than to borrow the representation of them from the common places of antiquated ridicule. It would be an uneasy task to mark the instances of vulgarity which are but too frequent in these volumes; we shall only mention two instances, which, considering the character of the speaker, are quite shocking to delicacy.

"You are in the midst of a happy family," says Laura to Harriet, "endeared to you by all that is lovely in virtue; all that is sacred in kindred. I know not what would tempt me to resign your situation." "What would tempt you?" cried Harriet, "why a pretty fellow would."

Again, the same Harriet talking with Miss Montreville about Mr. Bolingbroke, who was then paying his addresses to her.

"The man has good legs," said Harriet, plaiting the fingers of her gloves with great industry."

And this from the accomplished sister of the accomplished De Courcy.

The piety which the author has with excellent meaning infused into the work, mixes with the story like oil with water. It is, indeed, a sort of profanation to introduce religion among the tumults and agitations of love adventures; it must in such scenes always hold a secondary place. If it is to be introduced at all, let it appear in its unsullied graces, its calm dignity, its appropriate lustre. The pure and holy fervors which are due to the Almighty, to be properly felt and rendered, must meet a correspondent frame of mind; a mind prepared and chastised: it cannot be presented genuine to the reader's thoughts amidst a crowd of sensations produced by tales and descriptions merely human, and partly sensual. Independently of this consideration we have no objection to the following passage, which we have thought proper to extract, because it recommends a practice, which if the novel before us shall in any degree promote, we will forgive, for its sake, all the faults of the general execution, and implore the author, in spite of our ignorant criticism, to favour us with fresh efforts of her pen.

The conclusion of the evening in the De Courcy family, two of which are drawn with considerable force, and represented in very amiable colours, is thus described.

"With a manner serious and earnest, as one impressed with a just sense of their importance, Montague read a portion of the Holy

Scriptures. He closed the volume; and all present sunk upon their knees. In plain but solemn language, he offered a petition in the name of all, that all might be endowed with the graces of the christian spirit. In the name of all, he confessed that they were unworthy of the blessings they implored. In the name of all, he gave thanks for the means of improvement, and for the hopes of glory. He next, more particularly, besought a blessing on the circumstances of their several conditions. Among the joyous faces of this happy household, Laura had observed one alone clouded with sorrow. It was that of a young modest-looking girl in deep mourning, whose audible sobs attested that she was the subject of a prayer which commended an orphan to the Father of the fatherless. The worship was closed; the servants withdrew. A silence of a few moments ensued; and Laura could not help gazing with delight, not unmingled with awe, on the traces of serene benevolence and manly piety which lingered on the countenance of De Courcy."

As it really appears to us that the author has at heart the best interests of her fellow-beings, and is withal endued with some vivacity, some powers of lively description, and no small degree of force where nature is not sacrificed to ambition, to which qualifications experience may yet add the faculty of compression, we should be sorry not to meet her again in the same capacity, and shall, upon future occasions, be happy to witness her improvement, and to compensate for our present want of gallantry, and the rustic sincerity of our remarks.

ART. XX. *An Essay on the Principle of Population; or, a View of its past and present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Inquiry into our Prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occasions.* By T. R. Malthus, A.M. &c. &c. &c. London: Johnson. 1807. 2 vols. fourth edit.

As the new census of our population appears likely, from some of the returns already obtained, to exhibit a considerable increase above that which was taken ten years ago, our attention is naturally drawn to the publication of Mr. Malthus. If his theory be unquestionable in all its parts, this increase will be a national evil instead of a national benefit. But we will not hesitate to avow, that a calm deliberation on the subject has led us, and on grounds not hitherto brought before the public, to differ in some essential points from the popular work before us.

We are therefore anxious to state to our readers what we conceive to be the real dispensation of Providence with respect to the principle of population. Much of the apparent increase of the present census may indeed be ascribed to the superior accuracy which results from an improvement in the method of making and collecting the returns, and from the emancipation of the minds of the vulgar from their former jealousy concerning the objects of government. But after a due allowance for these circumstances, we believe that a positive increase of population will be found to have occurred since the last returns: and this fact brings directly to our contemplation the general principle of Mr. Malthus's book.

We are sorry to be obliged to admit the justice of his imputation upon most of those who have hitherto attempted to refute his arguments; that of the little which they have produced, "the greatest part is so full of illiberal declamation, and so entirely destitute of argument, as to be evidently beneath notice." (Vol. ii. p. 429.)

We confine, however, our admission of the truth of this complaint to what has been written in answer to Mr. M.'s *general arguments*. In his *practical inferences* with respect to our own country, we think that he has been more than once successfully answered; indeed the various modifications he has himself introduced in his several editions appear to us to amount, in some instances, to something little short of a direct retraction: and we would recommend no caution more strongly to the readers of Mr. Malthus's essay, than that of carefully distinguishing between the practical measures recommended, and those obviously deducible from the principles laid down. An insight will thus be acquired, not only into the nature of the principles themselves, but, we are happy to think, also into the amiable disposition and enlightened humanity of the author. Our present limits will not allow us to consider much more than the *general arguments* and conclusions, which we must confess have been hitherto attacked in a mode which has usually added much to their strength.

The principles of Mr. Malthus's theory are now so well known, that it will be sufficient briefly to remind our readers of their general nature, as they are developed in his two first chapters.

Population in very favourable circumstances (in the newly settled countries of America for example) has been found to double itself every twenty-five years; that rate, therefore, is as-

sumed to be (at the least) its *natural* rate of increase, which might go on *ad infinitum*, if interrupted by no checks. But it is evident that the increase of food (land being an absolute quantity) could by no methods be augmented to such an indefinite extent. It might possibly double itself for once in twenty-five years, while the best lands remained uncultivated; but so far from following up this ratio of increase in subsequent periods, it cannot even be supposed possible that its produce could be augmented even in the simple ratio of its original quantity.

"The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase," (says Mr. Malthus, and we beg our readers to bear the passage in mind) "when brought together will be very striking. Let us call the population of this island eleven millions, and suppose the present produce equal to the easy support of such a number. In the first twenty-five years the population would be twenty-two millions, and the food being also doubled, the means of subsistence would be equal to this increase. In the next twenty-five years the population would be forty-four millions; and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of thirty-three millions. In the next period the population would be eighty-eight millions, and the means of subsistence just equal to the support of half that number. And at the conclusion of the first century the population would be 176 millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of fifty-five millions, leaving a population of 121 millions totally unprovided for."

Extending this reasoning to the whole earth, it will be found that the population of the world would increase in a geometrical ratio as 1.2.4.8.16.32.64.128.256., and subsistence only in an arithmetical ratio, as 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9. In two centuries the population would be to the possible means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries, as 4,096 to 13; and as of course there are ultimate limits to the produce of the earth, an end must come to any increase in the supply of food, while the principle of population still retains its full force.—Such is the account rendered by Mr. Malthus of the dispensation of Providence with respect to the *natural* power of increase in mankind, and their subsistence respectively; and we cannot but think that if true, it affords a most singular and extraordinary exception to the admirable adaptation of means to ends which is so beautifully prominent in every other arrangement of the Creator.

But as it is evident that in point of fact, mankind, unable to exist without food, do not increase in the abovementioned geo-

metrical ratio, but precisely in that in which food is produced for their support; Mr. Malthus, in his second chapter, enumerates what he is pleased to call the *checks* to this exuberant power of production. They consist of "all those customs, and all those diseases, which seem to be generated by a scarcity of the means of subsistence; and all those causes, independent of this scarcity, whether of a moral or physical nature, which tend prematurely to weaken or destroy the human frame." These checks may be classed under two general heads, the preventive and the positive; the FORMER consisting of prudential abstinence from marriage, which when accompanied by irregular intercourse between the sexes, produces aggravated vice and misery; when accompanied by moral restraint produces comparative comfort. The LATTER, consisting of every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree tends to shorten the duration or repress the productive power of human life; such as extreme poverty, wars, diseases, famine, pestilence, and the like. The obstacles to the increase of population, therefore, whether classed under the positive or preventive checks, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice or misery. And as the former (explained to mean an abstinence from marriage, unaccompanied by irregular gratification,) is the only mode of escaping the encounter of the two latter in some form or other, it is evident that upon this theory the whole onus of counteracting, consistently with human happiness and virtue, the immense disproportion of the relative powers of increase above enumerated, rests entirely upon this single conservative principle. It follows of course also, that the more it can be made to operate, the greater portion of virtue and happiness will be found in society. And as it is upon the lower ranks that the vice and misery alleged to arise from a redundant population particularly press, it evidently becomes the duty of governments so to model their political arrangements as to lend encouragement to such protracted abstinence from marriage, from the moment that the produce of the land after its first period of doubling sinks into the regular arithmetical progress, or in plainer terms, from the moment that a country emerges from the purely agricultural state of society into one compounded of agriculture and commerce. Such is the theory, and such are its consequences.

Granting the premises, it is indeed perfectly obvious that this conclusion is undeniable. Once persuade a man against all experience that the oak in his field hath a natural tendency to increase *ad infinitum* in the same ratio as during the first fifty years, and may in time overshadow his whole estate, unless checked by the axe, and his prudent course of conduct will not

long remain doubtful. But when we consider the absolute impossibility of such a general system of abstinence at once from marriage and from sensuality, where, according to the theory, it is most requisite, i. e. among the lower orders of any country in such a state of society, (which indeed is fully admitted by Mr. Malthus); we confess our utter inability to reconcile his practical conclusions either with the nature of man, or the plain dictates of religion upon the subject of marriage. But it is not by starting doubts and difficulties that the system, however apparently inconsistent with the goodness and justice of the Creator, can be shaken. We shall therefore proceed without delay to state the course which we are about to pursue on this occasion, and we trust that the result will at least be very much to modify Mr. Malthus's doctrine.

What he professes to have done (see preface, p. vii.) in addition to the arguments found in the writings of others, is to state the subject more philosophically, to illustrate more fully, by reference to history, the various modes by which the level is preserved between population and the means of subsistence; and to draw new practical inferences of a general nature for the political conduct of states. Now these appear to us to be precisely the faulty parts of the work. Plato, Aristotle, Montesquieu, Mr. Townshend, and other writers, who seem to have believed in the natural tendency of population towards a too rapid increase, either state the fact incidentally to illustrate some partial phenomena in society, or draw their conclusions from a very confined view of it under an imperfect administration, where slavery, ignorance, or tyranny, evidently checked the industry of the people. Even the state of society in the boasted republics of ancient Greece cannot be exonerated from some part of this imputation; and those of Spain and France were too palpably open to it. Observations, therefore, with respect to the vice and misery arising from the difficulty of procuring subsistence, drawn from the view of those countries, seem to us only to prove that they had not yet adopted that system of polity for the government of the mass of their inhabitants, which is consistent with the views and ordinations of Providence. But the mode in which Mr. Malthus attempts to adapt these confined observations to the general laws of the world, appears to us to be open to the following objections. The philosophical statement of the subject is defective in one of its main branches—the statement of the *natural* tendency of population to increase. The historical references appear to have been made (as Mr. Malthus indeed in his preface seems partly to admit), with a mind predisposed to the theory with which it was impressed; and professedly in-

search of facts to corroborate it. And the practical inferences, (as far as they rest upon the peculiar arguments arising out of the principle of population,) are not borne out by the premises; can in no case be *justifiably* acted upon; and are very evidently inapplicable to the advanced stages of society in a free and extensive Christian country; being calculated, as we conceive, rather to check its progress in wealth and happiness, than to promote it.

Of each of these heads in their order.

The origin of what are conceived to be the modern mistakes, and false reasonings, with respect to the principle of population, seems to be the assumption of a general tendency to increase in the human species, the quickest that can be proved possible in any particular state of society, as that which is natural and theoretically possible in all; and the characterising of every cause which tends to prevent such quickest possible rate, as *checks* to the natural and spontaneous tendency of population to increase; but as checks evidently insufficient to stem the progress of an overwhelming torrent. This is as eligible a mode of reasoning, as if one were to assume the height of the Irish giant, as the natural standard of the stature of man, and to call every reason which may be suggested as likely to prevent the generality of men from reaching it, *checks* upon their growth. The natural and spontaneous tendency of the principle of population in distinct states of society varies its rate with every difference in their political condition: it is no more the same in the manufacturing, as it is in the agricultural, or in this as in the pastoral states of society, than the natural growth of an oak on a mountain top in Scotland, is the same as it would be in the rich valleys of the New Forest. But the term *check* of course implies the prevention of that, which would otherwise naturally take place; it is, therefore, very incorrectly applied to denote a relative difference, invariably fixed by the primary laws of nature, and the immutable decrees of providence. From the deception caused by the wrong use of this term, we find writers supporting such positions as the following: "civilization does not weaken the principle of population;" (Monthly Review, June 1807, p. 137.) again, "assuming a peopled portion of the earth, there is a point at which its produce would be a maximum; *there is no point*, however, at which the people upon it, however numerous, might not under advantageous circumstances go on increasing without number. Besides, while the soil is still capable of increasing its produce, yet if it be approaching somewhere near the limit of its capacity, the increase of its produce cannot possibly keep

pace with the *natural*, or rather the *possible*, increase of the population upon it." (Christian Observer, July 1807, p. 452).

These are, in truth, but natural corollaries from Mr. Malthus's premises, who asserts of population, "that a thousand millions are just as easily doubled EVERY *twenty-five years* as a thousand," and "population, could it be supplied with food, *would go on with unexhausted vigour*; and the increase of one period would furnish the *power of a greater increase* the next, and this without any limit." (Malthus, vol. I. p. 8.) And again, "it is not the question in England, whether by cultivating all our commons we could raise considerably more corn than at present, but whether we could raise sufficient for a population of twenty millions in the next twenty-five years, and forty millions in the next fifty years*," as if it were possible, that the people of England, one third of whom are asserted by this very writer to live in towns, and consequently, not to keep up their own numbers†, could by any possible means increase so fast as to double their total amount in twenty-five years; which is assumed as the quickest possible rate in the agricultural state of society, where the employment and situation of the people is most favourable to population. After these passages, however, we cannot be surprised at the opinions which they have engendered, or that another writer, with the characteristic arrogance of his fraternity, should state, that "the greater part of those reasoners, who are in the habit of misunderstanding and misrepresenting Mr. Malthus, would have some chance of attaining clearer views on the subject of population, if they would attend to the very simple proposition from which his doctrines are deduced; namely, that the human race have a tendency to increase faster than *food can be provided for them*." Mr. Malthus, in his essay, does certainly intend to convey that idea. We apprehend, however, that those reasoners who wish clearly to understand, and fairly to represent the principle of population, would have a better chance of obtaining their end, if, instead of blindly acquiescing in these *assumed* data, they proceed to inquire into the degree in which the principle of population *naturally and really* operates in the several stages of society. They will find this to be very distinct from its assumed "possible"

* See Malthus, Book iii. c. 11. p. 222, vol. ii.

† See Malth. Book II. c. 7. the passage is as follows: "to fill up the void occasioned by this mortality in towns, and to answer all further demands for population, it is evident that a constant supply of recruits from the country is necessary; and this supply appears, in fact, to be always flowing in from the redundant births of the country." (Vol. I. p. 464.)

operation, and in most cases to be very far from having a necessary tendency "to push the number of people beyond the point at which food can be acquired for them." This is the point on which we mean to rest our difference *in principle* with Mr. Malthus, and its investigation will be the object of the pages immediately following. If our readers, during the perusal, should be disposed to think that some part of what we state has been previously noticed by Mr. Malthus, (for indeed there is little relating to the earlier stages of society, which has not been noticed by him,) we beg them to recall to mind the passages which we have just quoted from his essay, which, we think, must convince them that he could never with any consistency notice the statements we shall bring forward, in the sense in which they are used by us. We will venture also to promise that in whatever degree a difference as to *fact* may be thought to exist between Mr. Malthus and us, those who will have patience to read to the end of this article, will be convinced that the legitimate difference as to our practical conclusions is little short of absolute opposition.

In newly settled and purely agricultural countries, where the progress of population is infinitely the fastest, *it can never* overtake the supply of food, as long as this first state of society continues, for these plain reasons; that land will always produce, even in a very inferior state of cultivation, much more than sufficient food to support the cultivators, and the simple artisans, attached to them; and that where good land can be had for nothing, the love of property and independence will find it occupiers, although no immediate demand may exist for the produce beyond the place of its production, and the family which occupies the farm. The surplus produce, however, which such a country is *capable* of raising, will usually find purchasers among the commercial and manufacturing nations, whose wants create a demand for it. This demand will ensure its growth, and the returns from its export to those countries will afford to the growers many necessary or convenient manufactures, besides a capital which will enable them to settle their children upon fresh land.

This state of society, and the rapid progress of population attending it, will continue, in the natural order of things, till all the best and most conveniently situated spots of land are occupied; and it would require the application of a large sum, on a remote prospect of return, to bring the remainder into cultivation. Till this point, a country may be said to be in the agricultural state of society, and the population is evidently far within the limits of the actual supply of food; although indivi-

dual instances of want or poverty may occur, caused by personal idleness or misfortune.

At this period, the children of the farmers, unless their industry be violently depressed by ignorance or tyranny, will turn their views to trade and manufactures; which would then become the most profitable employment of capital. They would bring up their children also to the same occupations, and though capital made in trade might be occasionally realized in land, it would usually be by the purchase of that already cultivated, rather than by the cultivation of the barren and more ungrateful tracts. The surplus produce of the land, before exported to manufacturing countries, will now be consumed by the domestic workmen; and the goods before imported will be wrought at home; at first only in sufficient quantities for the domestic demand, but at length for the purpose of exporting them to other countries, who have not yet advanced beyond the agricultural state of society.

As soon as this manufacturing population is sufficiently numerous nearly to consume the surplus produce formerly exported, and it becomes difficult to procure grain for the various purposes of luxury, or convenience, to which it is applied in all commercial countries, its price will rise; and this, let it be observed, before any actual pressure of distress for a mere *sufficiency of subsistence* occurs. This rise in the price will tempt the capitalist to lay out his money in bringing inferior waste land into cultivation, or in undertaking agricultural improvements, by which the old lands may be made to produce somewhat more food with an equal quantity of labour. As this mode of procuring food, however, is evidently much slower in operation, and its increased quantity, in a given space of time or territory, less abundant than in the agricultural state of society, it is clear, that if the natural progress of population continued the same, it must shortly *overtake* the supply of food, and verify the positions just disputed. Let us see, therefore, whether the manner in which this manufacturing and commercial population arranges itself, and the moral and physical effects produced by their employments, dispositions, and spontaneous distribution, do not naturally weaken the principle of population as it originally subsisted, and reduce it as nearly to a par with the diminished power of production in the soil, as the views of Providence for a still further amelioration will admit.

It is found that the convenience of the merchant and manufacturer is much promoted by having their residences contiguous to each other, and by collecting round them the houses of those who are employed in the various departments of their in-

dustry, and in supplying them with the necessaries and conveniences of life. They will, therefore, fix upon a favourable spot, in the midst of an extensive neighbourhood, where first a knot of houses will be formed, next a village, and at length a town, by the accession of more manufacturers, and of many of those who before carried on trades in the country, but who are tempted by the superior convenience of markets and intercourse to migrate to the town. From various other causes too, not necessary now to detail, towns will arise. In manufacturing countries the rise of many has been witnessed even in recent times; till at length the independent proprietors, the farmers and agricultural labourers, and the very simple artisans, will be the only inhabitants remaining in the country. These will convey their stock, or its produce, to the market in the town, and return from thence with the manufactured goods they may want. Two descriptions of inhabitants will thus be formed,—the townsman, and the countryman; and the habits, manners, and relative condition of each will naturally and spontaneously produce a very essential difference in their relative tendencies to contribute to the increase of population; while the progress of civilization, universally attendant upon commercial prosperity, will considerably diminish the absolute power of such increase throughout the whole community; and as we hope to shew in the course of this article, without any necessary increase of vice and misery. Care, forecast, anxieties of mind, emulation, severe attention to business, various active avocations, and the general incompatibility of the marriage state with this new order of pursuits, form the first natural causes of a diminished tendency in the population to increase, incident to the prosperous conduct of trade and manufactures. For there seems to be no doubt, that in proportion to the continued necessity of mental exertion or abstraction, many, who could well afford to rear a family, are placed in situations and pursuits where a voluntary abstinence from marriage, and the incapacity and indisposition to rear large families become very general. Moreover, the comparatively unfavourable state of the atmosphere even in towns* of a moderate

* See Malthus's *Essay*, book ii. c. 7. vol. i. p. 462. The passage illustrates the position in the text so strongly, that we cannot resist our wish to quote it at length. "There certainly seems to be something in great towns, and even in moderate towns, peculiarly unfavourable to the very early stages of life; and the part of the community, on which the mortality principally falls, seems to indicate, that it arises more from the closeness and foulness of the air, which may be supposed to be unfavourable to the tender lungs of children, and the greater confinement which they almost necessarily experience, than from the superior degree of luxury and debauchery usually, and justly, attributed to towns. A

size, and the confinement, and unhealthy occupations of the inhabitants not only weaken the robust state of health necessary to the production of a numerous and healthy progeny, and diminish the number of births; but likewise very much shorten the period of human life in those situations, and increase the proportion of deaths. The average number of births to a marriage in towns has been calculated at between 3 and 4, while in the country it is said to amount to $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5*; and even in moderate towns, such as Newbury, containing a concentrated population of not more than about 4200 souls, the deaths are to the population as 1 in 28 or 29; while in the purely agricultural villages, they often do not exceed the proportion of 1 in 50 or 60†. Here then are two natural and unavoidable causes very strongly tending to weaken the *principle* of population. Moreover, the artificial wants, which are converted into necessities of life at every step in the progress of civilization, render the support of a wife and family more difficult, consistently with retaining other personal enjoyments, and cannot but diminish, in some degree, the proportion of marriages throughout the whole community. So that the triple operation of a decrease in the number of marriages, diminished fertility in the human species, and an augmented proportion of deaths immediately begins, by the natural and unavoidable course of nature, to repress the progress of population as soon as a part of the people are collected into towns.

This progress will indeed be retarded less during the earlier stages of the commercial and manufacturing states of society, than afterwards, when towns become larger, population more dense, and civilization more general. Nor is it necessary that in these earlier stages population should be so much retarded. For as the power of the land is still capable of supporting a rapid increase of people from its surplus produce before exported, some time must necessarily elapse before population, though with a very trifling abatement in its progress, would begin to press against the actual supply of food. The labour of one family employed in tilling the earth, even in this early stage of agricultural improvement, may be fairly accounted able

married pair with the best constitutions, who lead the most regular and quiet life, seldom find that their children enjoy the same health in towns as in the country."

* See Price's *Reversion Payments*, vol. ii. p. 227. Perceval's *Observations on Manchester*, &c. vol. iii. of his *Essays*, edit. 1776. p. 60, 1. and Mr. Malthus's luminous observations on this subject in his chapter on the fruitfulness of marriages.

† See Price's *Rev. Paym.*, vol. ii. p. 40, and Malthus, book ii. c. 7.

to support itself, and two others : two-thirds of the whole population may therefore by degrees become engaged in manufactures and commerce, in unprofitable professions, or may be living idly on the fruits of former industry, before a demand arises for a further increase of food. But long before a nation can have two-thirds of its people thus occupied, a great proportion of it must reside in large towns, and the introduction of luxury, and an artificial state of society, must have produced many imaginary wants among the country residents. Many of the people will be also lifted above the rank of the lower orders, and be affected by those artificial arrangements of society, which, though they universally produce high mental cultivation, do very much diminish the natural powers of increase in mankind*. Hence, from the diminished average of marriages and births, and the increase of premature mortality, a very great proportion of the population will cease to reproduce its own number; and a considerable deficiency will remain to be filled up by the peasantry, or lower order of country residents:—the most productive class in every well-regulated community.

Thus it appears, that in proportion as the population advances towards an equality with the surplus produce, existing at the first emergence of a country from the purely agricultural state, in such, precisely, will its progress naturally become slower, by the inevitable and unalterable laws of Providence; though the people be left as perfectly at liberty to follow the dictates of their own inclinations as is consistent with a free and well-regulated government. Let it be observed, also, that this effect will be produced by certain and unerring causes, which can by no human means be very materially altered. It is as impossible to render the residents in towns more fruitful, to make the air of towns more wholesome to infants, to induce any large proportion of those who wish to abstain from marriage for their own convenience to enter into that contract, as it would be to feed the increased population that would follow, supposing the possibility of their production to exist. The abatement in the progress of population is voluntary, natural, and unavoidable. It is another question, which will be treated hereafter, how far it necessarily produces an increase of vice and misery, and how far that species of moral restraint, which consists in involuntary abstinence, be either necessary or useful to the welfare of the people. All that is here asserted is, that the abatement is *the*

* See "Dr. Trotter's View of the Nervous Temperament," for a detailed account of the effects of civilization on the physical powers of a people.

necessary consequence of the progress of society, and that to exclaim against its effects, is in fact to exclaim against all advancement of a country beyond the purely agricultural state.

Population, however, will at length overtake the supply of surplus food, so far as to press lightly against the luxuries to which some of it is converted, which will raise its price. And this is the first point from the most savage state of society, in which the pretended universal aphorism, that population presses against its supply of food, can be said absolutely to apply.

The elevation in the price of produce, from the increased competition, now encourages the capitalist to divert part of his funds from commerce and manufactures, to the cultivation of inferior waste lands, or to agricultural improvements on those already cultivated; and let it *be carefully observed*, that this pre-existing demand for food from a population pressing against its supply, is the only possible mode by which a further increase of food can now be elicited from the soil: for cultivators will not lay out their capital upon inferior soil, until they find by an enhanced price of its produce, that there is an increasing demand for it:—a fact which is of itself enough to shew the futility of Mr. Malthus's idea, that a manufacturing nation can ever permanently export large quantities of corn; neither is it more favourable to his position, that an increase of people should always *follow* and never *precede* an increase in the produce of the soil; which appears to us to be nearly tantamount to saying, that an increase in the number of backs should always follow and never precede an increase in the manufacture of coats; whereas it appears to us, that a previous increase of wearers and consumers is absolutely necessary to the respective production of further food and raiment.

The produce, however, of these new speculations in agriculture will set the people at ease till a further increase of population. But the improved methods will also enable a smaller number of cultivators to rear an equal quantity of produce, and will therefore set free a larger proportion of the people for manufactures, or unproductive occupations. This will add to the number inhabiting towns; while the accumulation of capital, and of private fortunes, the increase of menial servants, and the various calls for men who are in situations and pursuits of risk, danger, and the like, add greatly to the list of those who do not reproduce their own numbers even in the country. So that it is only after a longer interval than before that the people again come to press against the supply of food; and thus an increased retardation takes place at every stage in the progress of society. The difficulty of procuring food will evidently increase with each of these

revolutions ; because the country will after each have approached nearer to its acme of cultivation and production, and the best remaining lands being occupied at each revolution, none but inferior and ungrateful soils will at length be left. But it is equally clear from what has been said, that the progress of population will have become proportionably slower, and less capable of overtaking the diminished power of the land to supply it with food.

If it be necessary to make this proposition yet more plain, by any addition to the preceding arguments, let it be considered, that after no long progress in this very advanced state of society, one family employed in agriculture will be able at least to support* itself and three others, in consequence of the improved modes of culture, which the necessity of a large surplus produce, and the application of commercial skill and capital to agricultural pursuits, invariably introduce. Three-fourths of the people therefore will be left at large to follow manufactures, or non-productive employments, to be the menial servants of the higher orders, to navigate the ships, and fight the battles of the country. Of these three-fourths, at least two-thirds, or one-half of the whole population, would cease to reproduce their own numbers of efficient people. This will be evident to any one who considers, that in a state of society where so large a proportion of the people are merchants, manufacturers, or idle persons, at least one-third of the whole population must dwell in towns, some in very large towns ; and that the remainder of those, who are calculated not to reproduce their own numbers, principally consists of soldiers, sailors, men of good families but small fortunes, servants, dependents, and emigrants to colonies, or other places. These are usually taken out of the mass of the population in the prime of life, but before they have contributed children to replace their loss, which must therefore be filled up by the children of others. And with respect to the towns, it is proved to demonstration, that even of those of a moderate size, not one can keep up its own effective population †. It appears, that when our provincial towns were increasing much less rapidly than at present, Dr. Short calculated that nine-nineteenths of the married were strangers ; and of 1618 persons examined at the Westminster infirmary only 824 were found to have been born in London. The continual influx of settlers, in the prime of

* See appendix to Dirom on the Corn Laws.

† See Price on Rev. Paym. Perceval's Essays before quoted, and Malth. b. ii. c. 7.

life, from the country, to repair the waste of the towns, is indeed proved both by actual observation, and by the great excess of the births above the burials in the adjoining agricultural villages; although the population either of those villages, or of the towns to which they emigrate, by no means exhibit a corresponding increase. This excess of births above burials in some of the villages; where no numerical increase has taken place in the population, has been found to mount as high as 2 or 3 to 1; and, as the excess of births above deaths is *naturally* the universal measure of the increase in the population, we may be sure that where that excess is great, in a situation where no increase has taken place, the surplus has been artificially drawn off to other points.

If we suppose that, taking one town with another, a fifth of the inhabitants are not natives but settlers from the country, the calculation will probably be found not exaggerated for towns with a stationary population, and to be much within the proportion that has been proved to exist in many towns that have rapidly increased their numbers. This may perhaps at first surprise many readers; but it will by no means appear exaggerated, if they attend to the following calculation. An excess of annual deaths above annual births of 7 in each 1000 of existing persons is a low average in a town even of a moderate size. Upon this datum then let us suppose a town to contain 1000 inhabitants, and the deaths to exceed the births in the proportion stated. Seven emigrants per 1000 from the country must yearly settle in the town to keep up its population. We will suppose likewise, that the proportion of deaths to the population in this town is 1 to 28; i. e. that a number equal to the whole population dies in 28 years, or a twenty-eighth part (viz. $35\frac{1}{2}$ persons in 1000) on the average in every succeeding year. This is a rate of mortality less than that which agrees with all the correct information with respect to the average mortality of towns. It will appear reasonable, if we consider that the returns seem to prove that, (omitting all emigrants from them into the army and navy, and those sent into the country in the early periods of life, where a portion of them die), from a third to a half of the number born in towns usually die in the very earliest stages of life. The average expectation of life in a child just born in a town is never more than 19 years. In Vienna and Stockholm half the number born die under two years of age, in Manchester, containing 84000 souls, under five, in Northampton, containing 7000 souls, under ten. Now in any space of 28 years the number of acceders from the country settled in this town at 7 per year will be 196: and if they arrive there at the usual period of life,

(between 18 and 22 years of age,) when they have all one with another an expectation of life equal to 30 years, i. e. an average prospect, which may be safely calculated upon, of reaching the ages of 48 to 52, the number will not be diminished in the course of the generation: on the contrary, 7 multiplied by 30 gives 210, which would be the number per 1000 of emigrants from the country always residing in that town after the lapse of the first 30 years. For though some may die within a few years of their arrival, others will live beyond the age of 48 or 52, so the average will be same. But as a few may come to settle between the ages of 22 and 35, during which periods the expectation of life is in some degree lower, and continually decreasing, a subtraction must be made on this account from the number of 210 strangers. This, however, cannot be very large; and would scarcely do more than reduce the whole number of them to 200, the fifth of 1000, which is the proportion of settlers always existing, that we have been endeavouring to establish as a moderate calculation, and which appears from the foregoing statement to be indispensable in towns, even when so small an excess of deaths above births as 7 in 1000 takes place among the inhabitants.

Such would be the case were the population of the town stationary; but if from an increase in the demand for labour, or other causes, it should be rapidly extending itself, of course a larger influx of settlers must take place. Supposing the number required to be no more than two individuals in a thousand annually, this would raise the proportion of strangers in the town from a fifth to above a fourth, and so on in proportion to the rapidity of the increasing demand for labour, or of the other causes of attraction to settlers. For all these reasons it cannot appear exaggerated to assert, that that third part of the population, which has been supposed to reside in towns in the state of society referred to, is not only incapable of keeping up its own number, but requires in each generation a number, at least equal to a fifth of its own, from the other two-thirds of the people, in order to prevent a diminution in its actual population. Still less can it be denied, that where a continually increasing demand exists for labourers in employments which are carried on in towns, a much larger proportion of recruits must be afforded by the rest of the people. Let us see, therefore, to what extent the remaining two-thirds are capable of affording this necessary supply of recruits.

Of these two-thirds of the population not resident in towns, we have already remarked three-eighths; or a portion equal to

one-fourth of the whole population, to be employed in agriculture. The portion remaining to be accounted for, which does not live in towns, and is yet not employed in agriculture, amounts to five-eighths, or about two-fifths of the whole population. These comprize the village shopkeepers and manufacturers, soldiers, sailors, and men of fortune, with their descendants, families, and menial servants; of whom (though some may be productive enough of people), yet it may be difficult to say that the whole keep up their numbers. A reference to the state of England would probably shew, that about a fourth of this portion of the people consists of men of rank and easy fortune, with their families, and unemployed descendants, deriving income from various funds, but many of them possessing not more than enough fortune to afford their accustomed enjoyments in the single state, From these and other causes, so many of them do not marry, or at least not till late in life, and so many more from the various causes before-mentioned do not rear families of any size, that the aggregate amount of all their descendants is not sufficient to replace their own number; although they do not fall short of it in the same degree with the inhabitants of towns. Of the remainder of this portion, one-eighth may be said to consist of the army, the mercantile and military navy, emigrants to colonies, &c. with their families, and attendants; who are so far from keeping up their own numbers at home, that they are a continual drain to nearly their whole amount, upon the most robust and effective part of the people. The remaining half and one-eighth of this portion of the people consists of the manufacturing labourers, and small proprietors, residing in the country, who (though the former, from occasional unhealthy occupation, fall short of the husbandmen in prolific power), are capable, upon the whole, not only of keeping up their whole numbers, but of affording a surplus, large in proportion to the means they have of sustaining their children by the remuneration of their labour. The same is the case with the agricultural fourth of the people*. Thus we see that

* In a country containing a population of nine millions, the following would be the distribution of the people according to the state of society supposed in the text.

1. One-third in towns, (not reproducing their own numbers)	3,000,000
2. One-fourth in agriculture, (reproducing their own numbers and supplying the deficiencies in the towns, &c.)	2,250,000
3. A fourth of the remainder, men of rank and fortune with their families, unemployed descendants, and servants, (not reproducing their own numbers)	937,500

before a country has advanced very far in the commercial state, and long before it approaches to its ne plus ultra of cultivation, about half of its population is incapable of reproducing its own number of individuals, from moral and physical causes of universal and spontaneous operation, unalterable by human means. It is evident also, that with every step it takes in the same progress, or the nearer it advances towards a fulness of people, and the end of its resources in cultivation, the part of the community reproducing its own numbers will still further diminish its proportion to the whole. The towns will increase, and all those artificial wants and debilitating customs engendered by wealth, civilization, and the progress of intellectual endowments, will act with accelerated force.

Now in the pursuit of this career, it is very certain that there must be a point at which the whole population will *naturally* be incapable of a further increase; it appears that this will happen when the sterility of that part of the people, which does not reproduce its own number, becomes so great, that the reproducing part will not be able by any natural fertility of its own to supply it; when each couple among them (for example) must produce eight children on an average for the purpose. That this effect must arise at last, we think obvious from the preceding argument, and shall be at any time ready to give the proofs in detail, although we are now induced to omit them for the sake of brevity.

In the mean time we may observe, that if the foregoing deduction of the progress of society in its higher stages be at all correct, population, so far from having an inconvenient tendency, uniformly to press against the means of subsistence, becomes by degrees very slow in overtaking those means. By the inevitable accumulation of a larger than the average proportion of the means of subsistence into the hands of rich individuals, the pressure of want operates indeed upon a part of the people to that salutary extent, which insures their industry in order to supply their necessities; and the miseries ascribed to the pressure of

4. Army, navy mercantile and military, emigrants to foreign settlements with their families and attendants, (almost entirely supplied from the classes reproducing their numbers)	468,750
5. Country manufacturers, shopkeepers, small proprietors, &c. with their families, (reproducing their own numbers)	2,343,750
	9,000,000

The three classes not reproducing their own numbers, leaving a deficiency of at least a fifth of their aggregate numbers, or 880,000 souls in a generation to be made up by the two other classes, principally by that marked 2.

population are more justly due to the backwardness of men to exercise that industry. But that the whole population is constantly pressing to a hurtful extent against the whole supply of food; or that the human race have a natural "tendency to increase faster than food can be provided for them," are perfectly untenable propositions. On the contrary, it is evident that there is a point beyond which the population cannot possibly advance further without artificial assistance. That the healthiness or insalubrity, the mildness or severity of the climate, that the excellence or depravity of the government, the freedom or slavery of the people, may, in different countries, accelerate or retard this point (which we shall hereafter venture to call the point of non-reproduction) cannot be denied. But no salubrity of climate, nor any municipal regulations, consistent with a regular progress in industry and prosperity, could ever defer it (in a country of extended territory at least) till the period at which no more food could be raised, and no more people could of consequence be permanently supported.

It is very true, also, that bad government and the consequent vices, that foreign violence or influence rendering the political system of a country subservient, not to its own interests, but to those of its master-state, may often prevent the further exertion of industry: the present state of the continent of Europe affords but too deplorable an instance in point. It is true, also, that impolitic restraints upon agriculture may prevent the improvement and further cultivation of the soil at any given point in the progress of society. The consequence of such vicious interference, before the people have arrived at their point of non-reproduction, must evidently be the pressure of the population against the supply of food, and the vice and misery so eloquently portrayed by Mr. Malthus as the consequence of such pressure. This, however, is certainly no necessary effect of a law of nature, but of human oppression and folly. The removal of the oppression and folly would assuredly restore the comfort and happiness of the people; whereas were the pressure previously removed, it would take away that impulse which urges the individuals of a community to the improvement of their condition, and to resist that which opposes it; and, contrary to the obvious designs of Providence, would, humanly speaking, pass sentence of eternal slavery and ignorance against the unfortunate people. Tyrants only can wish to make the œconomy of human affairs consist with a state of ignorance, slavery, and oppression.

Without some such interference, then, with the natural rates of increase in produce and population, it is no "vulgar misconception to suppose, that the evils of a redundant population can

never be (necessarily) felt by a country, till it is actually peopled up to the full capacity of its resources." We may even go farther; and assert, that should this point of plenitude be ever attained; the evils of a redundant population would not even then be necessarily felt, because the non-reproducing part of the people must bear too large a proportion to the whole to permit any total increase in their numbers. And let it be observed in aid of this argument, that a free scope for industry, security of person and property, and a free constitution and practice of government, which are all necessary to carry a country many steps in its progress in the commercial and manufacturing state of society, and consequently towards a full state of cultivation, do all very much assist the causes before enumerated in enlarging the non-reproductive portion of the people.

Thus we see that every step, which a country takes towards the end of its resources, is accompanied by a correspondent abatement in the tendency of its population to increase; that although in *abstract theory* so many people, if they were all to marry as early as possible, and all to procreate and rear as many children as they might do were they in different circumstances and distributed in a different manner, would very soon outrun the decreasing powers of the soil to afford food; yet that necessary and anticipating alterations arise in the state of society, as those powers of the soil diminish, which render so many persons unwilling to marry, and so many more who do marry incapable of reproducing their own numbers, and of replacing the deficiency in the remainder, that the population is *in real fact* always prevented from having a natural tendency to exceed the feasible supply of food; and that those circumstances which have (improperly as we think) been called *checks* to a natural tendency towards increase, constitute of themselves, with the addition of others, a natural tendency the contrary way; a tendency not to be overcome in a free and enlightened government by any remaining power in the population. The idea of producing a previous increase of food, in order that it might be followed by a proportionate increase of people, if it were possible, would evidently alter the state of society: but we have already shewn that this (to use a vulgar phrase) is putting the cart before the horse; and that it is impossible, in the advanced states of society, to produce any considerable increase of food without a previous demand from an already increased population.

It is equally clear, that had not the Divine Providence adapted the progressive power of the principle of population to what it must have foreseen of the effects of the progress of society, it would have made a very inefficient provision for its professed purpose as to

the earth; viz. that it should be peopled and replenished. Had that power been materially less than it is found to be, the world instead of being well-peopled would have been comparatively a desert. Omniscience, so far from having made its machinery too strong for the work it has to perform, as the propositions we have now controverted go to assert, has very nicely adapted its means to its ends, provided the workmen will comply with the regulations given them for performing their task. If these indeed choose to alter or disarrange the machinery, with an audacious confidence in their own superior wisdom, it is more than probable that the work will be liable to interruption and irregularity. Now, although we do not mean to dispute, that to build a theory upon well ascertained facts is perfectly allowable; yet it is a very gross addition to such audacity to ascribe the blame to the machinist, and to the principles upon which his work is constructed, and not to their own misconception and misapplication of his plan.

We trust that we have at length proved that the theory laid down by Mr. Malthus as an inference from the assumed tendency of population to a too rapid increase in the more advanced stages of society, is founded upon data perfectly supposititious; viz. that a possibility exists that the physical powers of a people could double their numbers in 25 years in a commercial, and manufacturing state of society, because that effect has been produced in one purely agricultural. It is evident that their tendency to such a rate of increase is as absolutely gone, as the tendency of a bean to shoot up further into the air after it has arrived at its full growth. The argument appears to us not even to be theoretically true—

“Frustra simulacra fugacia captas
Quod petis est nusquam.”

It is a mere shadow—a theory built upon another theory, which when brought to the test is directly at variance with experience of the fact, and as unsafe to act upon, as would be that of a general, who should assume the force of a musket shot to be double its actual range, and then should calculate upon the death of all his enemies as soon as he had drawn up his own men for battle within this line of assumed efficiency.

Neither do we think that Mr. Malthus's reference of his system to fact, and the experience of ages, which he has attempted in the various chapters on what he calls the *checks* to population in the different countries of the world, would, upon accurate investigation, tend to supply what may be thought deficient in his theoretical statements. A detailed investigation of all those

chapters would open so wide a field of controversial argument as evidently to exceed our limits. But we have little doubt, that in the course of our future labours, opportunities enough will occur to demonstrate the agreement of the phenomena of society, as we have now laid them down, with the actual condition of those countries in which we are most interested; particularly of Great Britain and Ireland. In the mean time we shall be content with making a few observations upon one of the two particular states, which Mr. M. considers as his strong holds, viz. the South Sea Islands; leaving the consideration of modern China to a future opportunity.

It appears, that in the island of Otaheite no regular cultivation has ever existed; the people have always been supported under the shade of their own forests by the almost spontaneous bounty of nature. Upon the first pressure of population against the existing supply of such food, the natives, instead of having recourse to agricultural exertion, preferred their original state of barbarism, and this against the repeated efforts of benevolence to induce them to adopt a better system. They removed the tendency of their population to excess, necessarily arising out of such conduct, by the murder of their children. But mark the effects of vice, and of the interference of human depravity with the order of nature, and the designs of Providence! The number of inhabitants, which in the year 1774 amounted to 204,000*, for whom nature had provided sustenance with scarcely any exertion of their own to procure it, gradually dwindled to such a degree, that at the beginning of this century it did not amount to more than 5000†; and this in a climate delightful and healthy in a very superior degree. No doubt, in short, seems to remain, that the whole of the original natives will soon be extinct, and the island re peopled by the missionaries who have taken up their abode there. To complete the argument, it is only necessary to state, that in the Friendly and Sandwich islands, where nature has done less for the inhabitants in healthiness of climate, and fertility of soil, the absence of this vice, and the adoption of trade and cultivation, have kept them in a gradual progress of improvement. The superiority of the latter too, (who have derived commercial advantages and civilized intercourse from their vicinity to the north-west coast of America, and the convenience they afford to the piratical and smuggling navigators of those seas), proves that

* Cook's Second Voyage, vol. i. p. 349.

† Turnbull's Voyage, vol. 3, p. 76.

the progress made by the two has been exactly in proportion to their industry and exertion. Nor has any inconvenience been found to arise in these two last-mentioned groups of islands from a redundant population; nor have any extraordinary checks occurred to prevent it. Yet upon them and Otaheite Mr. Malthus seems very much to rely for the exemplification of his theory. "Where," says he, "could they be disposed of in a single century, when they would amount to above three millions, supposing their numbers to double every twenty-five years?" And in a note he professes to think, that they might perhaps increase in a ratio still faster. But "*proh hominum fidem!*" the island, which has endeavoured to check its natural increase, instead of providing for it, has dwindled in 30 years from 204,000 to 5000, while those who have permitted theirs to take its natural course, and have exercised their industry in the best method afforded by their circumstances and situation, have not only gradually increased in numbers, but in prosperity and happiness. Nor have they been afflicted with any extraordinary quantity of vice or misery. Diseases are upon the whole less frequent among them than in more civilized states; and though havoc has certainly been made by war among their chiefs, yet their insular situation and limited means of transporting an army must have prevented that havoc from extending widely among the lower orders.

With respect to the island of Otaheite, there is something in the mode of checking population by infanticide, which rouses a feeling of horror in the mind, and deprives it of patience to calculate in detail the political consequences of such a check. It cannot be denied that so summary a method will certainly keep down the population, but its general result we have seen; and the foregoing statement gives every reason to conclude, that effects of the same nature would arise from every other method taken to interfere with the laws of Providence for the due replenishment of the world. They all have a tendency to reduce a people to that point where the smallest exertion becomes irksome; the quantity of food, therefore, even where nature has performed nine-tenths of the task of producing it, will gradually decline, where any means, however horrid, can be found of dispensing with the trifling labour necessary to procure it. Thus it is at Otaheite, where 5000 barbarians still prefer the destruction of their offspring to the moderate exertion necessary to provide them with food, in an island which previously supported more than 200,000 persons, without vexing the earth with their instruments of tillage.

By way of *general conclusion* to the whole of the preceding

arguments, we would observe, that an enlightened government, and an industrious people, who will discharge their duties with an ordinary degree of practical wisdom and virtue, so far from endeavouring to add force to the spontaneous abatement in the progress of population, accompanying the civil phenomena to which we have been alluding, may safely venture upon the removal of every *check* to population which *really* comes under that title by being of a nature to be removed by human power: they will leave the people to the natural rate of increase unalterably inherent in the state of society which may then be subsisting. In pursuing this course of conduct they will not interfere with that necessity for industry and exertion, which Omniscience seems to have contemplated in calculating the force of the principle of population, and on which the happiness and virtue of all societies depend. But they will certainly feel it incumbent upon them to use every exertion to give free scope to human industry, and indeed will consider that circumstance as almost the sole object of all rational politics. A full population necessarily renders the people industrious; because in such a condition universal industry is absolutely essential to the sustentation and happiness of the people, and to the security of the government. In *ancient China*, which was eminently populous, idleness was a penal offence, and we are told by Strabo, lib. xv. that it was capital to lame an *artificer* in the hand, or to blind him of an eye, though not so with respect to other persons. These laws must have originated in the necessity of an universal industry in that country. As in such a situation it necessarily becomes expedient to the safety of the government, that every man should have it in his power to work without being deprived of the fruits of his labours, a free form and practice of government naturally ensues. The regular administration of justice, and the absolute necessity there is for encouraging industry by rendering property secure, are all so many bars to despotism. In truth, the attention which a full population renders it necessary that a government should pay to the removal of all impediments to the people's industry, (particularly when employed upon the land), and consequently to the welfare of the lower orders, is above all price. It was formerly the custom in India, at the beginning of a new year, for the kings and philosophers of the country to meet together and consult about the people's welfare; and those who had made any pertinent remarks, either relative to the fruits of the earth, or to animals, were exempted from tribute. What a magnificent board of agriculture and internal improvement! To bring one more instance of the effect of a full population on the people's industry and happiness, let us refer to the account given by a

Roman author of ancient Egypt, the most populous and industrious of the old states, and the mother of the arts and industry of Europe. He says, “* *Civitas opulenta, dives, fœcunda, in quâ nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, ab aliis charta conficitur, alii lynphiones sunt; omnes certè cujuscunque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent; habent cæci † quod faciant; ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt.*”

The difference between the opinions maintained in this essay, and those of Mr. Malthus, is most important; since they lead to directly opposite conclusions upon the most interesting questions of morals and politics. Of these we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion to the following. 1st. As to the nature and extent of the duty of charity. 2d. As to the possibility of the existence of a free and equal option to *all ranks* of the people of entering into the contract of marriage without injury to the commonwealth. 3dly. As to the influence of the principle of population and the progress of society on the virtue and vice of the people.

1. Of charity.—If it be true, as asserted, that population has in all cases a tendency of itself to exceed the supply of food for its support; since we cannot in the nature of things assist the poor in any way, without encouraging them to produce, and enabling them to rear a greater number of children, or at least, without prolonging the existence of the objects of our charity; it is evident, that by every exertion of it, we are only increasing the quantum of human misery. While we assist some, we are proportionably depressing others, and adding to that number which is already exuberant to a fault. It is impossible to parry this conclusion: and though the humanity of the author of the *Essay on Population* very naturally recoils from the proposition, nothing can more strongly mark its practical inapplicability to the exigences of human life, than the manner in which he endeavours to escape from it. He says, that general principles should not be pushed too far, and that cases may occur where the good resulting may more than overbalance the evil to be apprehended. But if his principles be true, how is it possible to know, that the being you thus *exalt* may be more worthy than those so *unjusti-*

* Vopisci Saturninus.

† See an account of the school for the indigent blind in St. George's-fields, instituted 1799. Printed by the Philanthropic Society. The ingenious methods there detailed, of giving profitable employment to the blind, exhibit a delightful combination of ingenuity and benevolence.

fiably depressed? If the world be already miserable because it has a continual tendency to repletion, all charity which encourages marriage among the lower orders in order to promote happiness and morality, which assists women in childbirth, which helps any of the poor to rear their children in soundness of body, which bestows relief upon the old who have not saved a provision from their youthful earnings, which saves, in short, the life of one whose death would set his fellow-creatures more at ease, is a criminal indulgence of individual feeling at the expence of the general welfare of mankind: since by the exercise of any one of these charities towards one individual, you reduce another, who may deserve it less, to the same distress, from which the object of your benevolence is relieved. This is the plain, manly, and consistent conclusion to be drawn from the premises. He who is thoroughly convinced of the truth of the latter, must of course think it his duty, however painful it may be, to act up to the former. Nor can his opinion or conduct be at all altered by a mere recommendation from the person who, as he thinks, has established the principles, not to push them too far, because the benefit he may bestow upon one individual may perchance be greater than the injury he will certainly do to another. He may reasonably doubt this; and the doubt may serve very strongly to fortify the natural inclination, of which we are most of us too sensible, to keep our money in our pockets.

Again, the goodness and justice of the Divine Providence, in the precepts it has laid down for the exercise of our charity, are no less implicated in the conclusions referred to. We are commanded *absolutely*, and without any reference to its effects upon society, "to give unto the poor sufficient for his need," "to deal bread to the hungry," "to cover the naked," and so forth. The law is represented as of the highest obligation, and not only strict, but generous obedience to it as the most decisive test of faith. This is too broad a principle of duty to be palliated or denied: and being so, we are surely justified in presuming *a priori*, that a compliance with it can never endanger the welfare of those towards whom it is exercised, by enlarging the boundaries of vice and misery amongst them. Nor can we quite reconcile our minds to the solution of this difficulty, which has been attempted, by saying, "that the scriptures command us to give to the poor, but are quite silent as to the *utility* of such a virtue." Undoubtedly, if in any case the commands of God appear to our finite understandings to be inexpedient in their particular application to human affairs, we bow with humility, and conclude that their *general* expediency has reference to the universal scheme of things, which the wisdom of the Creator has removed

far beyond the blinking imbecility of mortal ken. But on a subject of such daily importance to us as the practice of charity, it would not be without an obstinate struggle, nor without exquisite pain, that we could be brought to rest its expediency solely on an argument so abstracted. We would rather argue, that if we conclude charity to be a virtue, we can hardly admit its consequences to be vicious; and whether or not our abilities would enable us to refute arguments that may be brought forward to prove them so, we would no more admit the truth of those arguments, than we would the falsehood of the Newtonian system, because its founder could not explain to us the cause of gravitation; or the non-existence of the electrical energies of various bodies in nature, because the primary cause of electricity is beyond the scope of our knowledge. To be told, therefore, that the delightful sentiments arising from the practice of virtue are "baseless illusions," should not disturb our repose in the least; and so far from seeking for consolation in a forgetfulness of the truth, we should immediately have recourse to the expedient of reminding ourselves of it. For the truth must evidently be, that since God is an all-wise and all-good being, who made the world, and is intimately acquainted with the principles upon which it is conducted, whatever he commands *must be expedient for the benefit of man*, whether we can prove it so or not. Actually to bring forward that proof must nevertheless give a sensible pleasure, though it can impart no additional conviction to the truly rational mind.

It is therefore gratifying to reflect, that the conclusions to be drawn from the first part of this article, with respect to the exercise of charity to the poor, leave the expediency of the practice of that virtue not only open to the utmost extent, under the controul of discretion, to which a benevolent heart may find pleasure in its exertion; but by rendering every rational mode of relief innocent and praiseworthy, afford to all according to their means the opportunity of obeying the commands of God by the exercise of this sublime duty to their fellow creatures. And let it be recollected, that all money permanently bestowed in charity to those who are *really* unable to work does as certainly encourage industry, as if paid in the first instance to the industrious labourer; for while it holds out no encouragement to the able and slothful, it is immediately paid away by the person first receiving it for objects the products of industry. It equally operates as an increased demand for those products; and where freedom and security of property give scope to the people's industry, those products, whether they consist of food, of manufactures, or of objects of foreign commerce, will certainly

be supplied. If it keep in action a mouth which would otherwise be closed for ever, the demand for food thereby created will cause its production as certainly, as if the rich man had spent his money so bestowed in building a summer-house, or digging a fish-pond. To prosecute these observations to their full extent, as exemplified in our own country, must be deferred to future opportunities; in the mean time, we here think it expedient to enter our protest against a very witty retort, to which we perceive that we lie open: viz. that according to this argument, there would be no public injury in supporting the whole labouring population by donations in money, since they would immediately go to the purchase of necessaries, and thus to the encouragement of industry: while it is evident, that if all could be so supported, none would work to produce those necessaries. In answer to this piece of pleasantry it may be sufficient to observe, that the office of charity consists entirely either in supporting those who *cannot* support themselves, or in making up to others the deficiency which their own fair exertions leave in their power of supporting their families. When giving away money extends beyond these limits, it becomes (not charity, but) thoughtless profusion: within those limits, it can never have the effect of diminishing industrious exertion, since it is only bestowed in proportion as that is *impossible* or *insufficient*.

It is hoped that the different practical conclusions respectively deducible from our arguments, and those of Mr. Malthus with respect to the exercise of charity, are sufficiently obvious without further repetition; that those advanced by us have at least the advantage of being consistent with themselves, with the commands of God, the known precepts of morality, and with true benevolence; and that there will be no necessity to advise a departure from the *principles* of conduct laid down, in order to make the *practice* square with precepts, which every enlightened christian must allow to be reasonable.

2. The different conclusions to be drawn from the two arguments, with respect to the propriety of a free and equal option of marriage to all ranks of the people, are no less obvious than those respecting the exercise of charity, and quite as important to their moral good, and general happiness. The following propositions have been repeatedly drawn from the principle of population as laid down by Mr. Malthus; that moral restraint, i. e. involuntary abstinence from marriage by those who cannot support a family of the average number, accompanied by abstinence from irregular intercourse, until the pecuniary affairs of the parties are absolutely in a condition to support a family of the size that may eventually be born to them, is the only method of escaping the vice and

misery incident to a redundant population. As the lower orders are evidently the only part of a people who cannot support a family, if they choose to give up other enjoyments in exchange for the domestic, it follows, that the rule of involuntary abstinence from marriage applies exclusively to them; and that it is necessary to the public welfare, that they should continue single, and of course unpolluted, to a comparatively advanced period of life. At the same time Mr. Malthus is compelled to admit, that such a *general system* of restraint among the lower orders is from the nature and constitution of mankind altogether impossible; and that, supposing the abstinence from marriage *only* to be attained, there would be great danger of encouraging the worst vices among them. The attempts to weaken this objection to his system consist principally of a comparison of its result with other crimes and vices to which, according to his system, the opposite course of conduct, or the encouragement of marriage would lead; which he asserts to be great, but which we must beg leave to think (from an extensive observation of the lower orders) by no means the greater of the two, even according to his statement. Again, he is compelled to admit, that "considering the passion between the sexes in all its bearings and relations, including the endearing engagement of parent and child resulting from it, it is one of the principal ingredients of human happiness;" and we may surely add, that its lawful gratification is the great constituent of the happiness of the lower orders, who do not profit in proportion with the rest of the community by the progress of civilization: at least it does not afford to them, as it does to the higher ranks of society, any mental substitute for these interdicted gratifications. Even an attentive perusal of Mr. Malthus's confessedly Utopian state of society, described in his chapter of "the effects which would result to society from *the general practice*" of such double abstinence as is above described, will undoubtedly shew that almost all the moral advantages and happiness resulting from it attach exclusively to the feeling and condition of the higher orders of society. The people should therefore be entitled to retain that which they possessed in the earlier stages of society, and for which its further advancement has afforded them no substitute.

But, say the supporters of the new opinions, if the lower orders do not alter their conduct in this respect with the progress of society, an increase of misery, and a multiplication of deaths by famine and various other diseases, must be the inevitable consequence. To prevent this lingering misery, therefore, if we attempt to facilitate marriage, as a point of the first consequence to the morality and happiness of the people, to act consistently, we should facilitate and not impede the production of mortality,

Instead of recommending cleanliness to the poor, we should encourage contrary habits; we should make our streets narrower, and implore the return of the plague; we should build our villages near stagnant pools, and encourage settlements in bogs and morasses. We should above all reprobate those benevolent, but much mistaken men, who have foolishly thought they were doing a service to mankind, by projecting schemes for the total extirpation of particular disorders. According to the dilemma here stated, it appears that great and irremediable vice and misery in some shape or other is what a reasonable man must expect to find the lot of the larger portion of his fellow creatures, even supposing them to practise the degree of virtue and morality which has ever been found to exist in the best regulated and most civilized societies; and that one great and inevitable source of vice and misery is gradually increased among the lower orders, without any counterpoise, in proportion as the situation of the other ranks is ameliorated.

But can this be the ordination of Providence? Has it made the attainment of moral virtues so unequally possible among men? we cannot believe it; nor is it any defence of the justice of such an arrangement to say, "that at some particular periods in the progress of society men are more strongly tempted in a particular manner than at others;" for it is evident, that according to Mr. Malthus's exposition of the plan of Providence, it is not a substitution of one species of temptation for another, but an exoneration of a degree of temptation from the higher orders, to place the burthen upon the shoulders of the lower. It seems that the last are the only persons to whom the option of early marriage is to be denied, though they have at the same time fewer enjoyments to substitute for it, and infinitely fewer means of avoiding the temptations to vice, which an involuntary abstinence from marriage necessarily multiplies. Their mental resources being most deficient, they are more in want of other gratifications, and of the means of humanizing their minds by the enjoyments of the social affections. Whereas the higher and middle orders, who want it least, have a perfectly free option of marriage.

The denial of this fact, which is sometimes attempted, cannot, we think, be maintained. That their pride, their desire to retain the enjoyments attached to a life of celibacy, the profits arising from pursuits with which the care of a wife and family is incompatible; the various pleasures and advantages in short, which in a civilized state men in the higher and middle classes must sometimes resign upon marriage, prevent them from entering into that contract for fear of losing those advantages, is very certain. But they have evidently the power of choice. If they

choose to sacrifice one enjoyment for the sake of the other, by descending a degree in the scale of society, they may gratify their wishes with innocence, and exchange a part of their pecuniary or other advantages for the comforts of a family. If they prefer the ease and disencumbrance of a single life to the social comforts of the marriage state, they can never have a right to complain of the sacrifices by which alone those enjoyments can be innocently obtained, since they are of their own imposing. Before they can prove that vice or misery arising from an involuntary abstinence from marriage are any part of the lot bestowed upon them by Providence, they must prove that the same Providence hath made the enjoyment of luxury, and the acquisition of riches, a necessary condition of their existence.

Providence, for example, cannot be arraigned for reducing a man to the necessity of abstaining either from marriage, or his wine; nor would it be any mitigation of the crime of irregular intercourse, if a man should say, that by the constitution of human affairs, he could not enjoy the comfort of a wife without parting with his bottle. He has it clearly in his power to support the former in health and temperance, if he choose to abstain from the latter;—the choice is his. But when he has made it, he is certainly bound to abstain from illegal gratification, having the power of enjoying that which is legal. As this, however, is not the case with the poor, if it could be proved that they, among whom perhaps the natural passion is at least equally strong, with less power of escaping its effects, be absolutely precluded from the option of an early marriage; if the weight of the greatest of all temptations be laid exclusively where the smallest means of resisting it are bestowed; if there be no possibility of bestowing upon the lower orders the gratifications which their religion holds out as innocent, and the domestic enjoyments of a family, (those cordial drops in the cup of a poor man, which by lulling his most restless passions to a repose, that his intellectual faculties could never produce, lift him to a level with his superiors in the scale of happiness and contentment, and in the power of practising the moral duties), then may we be tempted to think that the impartiality of Providence may be plausibly impeached, and that the sins and vicious indulgences of the lower orders must be held harmless in its sight. To say in defence of so partial a dispensation, "that the scriptures most clearly and precisely point out to us, as our duty, to restrain our passions within the bounds of reason; and that it is a palpable disobedience of this law to indulge our desires in such a manner as reason tells us will unavoidably end in misery;" would scarcely be admitted as

conclusive in any place where the hearers were not restricted from answering, so long as the argument is exclusively used in reference to the lower orders; which in this question of the free option of marriage or celibacy it certainly is, according to the arguments just referred to.

Such, then, being the difficulties and inconsistencies of the new opinions respecting population, when connected with the subject of marriage, let us see how the system we have adopted will alter the conclusions to be drawn; and whether they will not prove that every man, in every station of life, has equally the option of contracting matrimony, if upon due consideration he may think proper to do so, without any necessary injury, from the principle of population, to the society in which he lives. We have seen that as civilization advances the number of those who spontaneously prefer the advantages of celibacy to those of the married state continually increases; and that the power of propagating their species in many of those who choose the other alternative is at the same time continually diminishing. We have seen, that in proportion as these effects arise, the necessity that the re-productive part of the people should remain at least as fruitful as before increases. The re-productive part of the people are principally the lower orders, who, while the agricultural state of society existed, married early, and reared as large families as they could procreate, because progeny in that state of society is equivalent to wealth; they must, therefore, do the same now in order to make up for the deficiencies left by the non-reproductive part of the people. But the lower orders are precisely the persons who, in a well-regulated government, would most wish to enter early into the contract of marriage, because the blessings arising from it are almost the only innocent enjoyments within their reach. According to our system, therefore, it is not only possible for the lower orders generally to marry early, without any evil consequence from the principle of population; but it is absolutely necessary that they should follow their natural inclinations in this respect, in order to produce that salutary increase of people which is connected with the prosperity and industry of a nation. And to leave without inquietude "every man to his own free choice," though evidently insufficient to guard against evil, according to Mr. Malthus's *principles*, is fully so according to those maintained by us.

To give any positive encouragement to marriage further than to point it out to the people as their legitimate resource against irregular indulgence, must depend upon the particular situation of polity in which a country may happen to be placed; but

never to discourage it directly or indirectly, appears as consistent with sound policy as it is with the dispensations of Providence, and the commands of religion. Providence does not seem to have intended any restraint upon the higher and middle classes in the exercise of their option as to marriage or celibacy, but to leave to every one his power of selecting his own method of passing through his state of probation in this respect. He doubtless foresaw the election that a large portion of them would make, and has converted it into the means of balancing more equally the temporal advantages and happiness of each rank, and the several temptations to which each should be exposed. The reasoning, therefore, is by no means impaired by the consideration (to the limited extent in which it is true), that if those who now voluntarily abstain from marriage, from the above-mentioned causes, should choose the other alternative, population might have a tendency to advance too rapidly for the diminished power of the earth to supply it with food. Such a supposition is nothing more than an assertion, that if the world and the dispositions of mankind were differently constituted, affairs would not go on so well; a proposition which we should be among the last to deny. But as the truth now stands, we observe, that by a beautiful arrangement, so common in the dispensations of Providence, a provision is made to arise from the silent and unobserved operation of man's propensity to better his condition, which at once ensures the political welfare of the community by keeping up the population, and enabling it to make a further progress, while it facilitates alike to the poor and the rich the practice of virtue, by exposing neither to a *degree* of temptation from which the other is exempt.

Having shewn, we trust, that on the subjects of charity, and the free option of marriage, the principle of population introduces no new duty, nor any necessary increase of vice and misery, as society advances, and the land arrives nearer to its point of complete cultivation, it now only remains in order to complete our view of the subject, to inquire whether any of those natural arrangements of society, which we have pointed out as contributing to the simultaneous progress of food and population, do, generally speaking, increase the intensity of vice and misery; whether the result of those arrangements be not a general compensation of enjoyments, leaving the *increase or decrease* of vice and misery entirely dependent upon the general conduct of the people as to morals and religion; thus establishing the glorious conclusion, that an eminently vicious people will at all times destroy itself, and a moderately virtuous one support

itself and flourish. We think it is somewhere observed, that every attempt to explain the cause or ultimate object of moral evil in the world will fail; and if a new revelation were given to turn this dark inquiry into noon day, it would make no difference in the actual state of things. An extension of knowledge would not reverse the fact that human nature has through every age displayed the clearest proofs of innate depravity, nor could it weaken the probability that it will still continue to do so, whatever were the reasons for giving a moral agent a constitution, which it was foreseen would soon be found in this condition. We are thankful, therefore, that it is not necessary for us to entangle ourselves in these depths, but only to shew that *ceteris paribus* the average quantity of evil that affects humanity, is not necessarily increased as society advances.

It is evident from the preceding statement, that the classes whose situation in life is changed by the progress of society, are the non-reproductive classes; i. e. the higher ranks generally, and the lower and middle ranks resident in towns. Among the higher ranks, we think, after what has been stated, that the principle of compensation is so self-evident as not to require any additional illustration in this place; but we are aware that some difficulty may arise from the situation of the people in large towns, which form so considerable and so necessary an ingredient in the composition of an advanced state of society. In order to investigate it fairly, however, with reference to our present inquiry, it is evidently necessary to distinguish between that quantity of vice and misery which actually exists in many towns, where no adequate pains have been taken to improve the morals and the police, and that quantity which has been assumed to be *necessary* to produce the requisite abatement in the progress of population. The last is clearly all that can be justly ascribed to the dispensations of Providence in this argument; and when it has been reduced to its proper quantity, we must proceed (if any be left) to ascertain how far it may be sufficient to counterbalance the superior exertions of virtue, which the state of society producing many towns enables us to make.

We have already had occasion to shew the high proportion which the average number of deaths to the population in towns bears to that in the country, and that a great portion of this extraordinary mortality takes place among infants and young children. But a certain number of premature deaths occurs in the country as well as in towns, and it is probable that the most favourable condition can hardly reduce it among the lower orders to less than one-third of the number born. As far as our personal experience goes, we should say it was rather more

Now, as to these individuals themselves, who shall say that their condition thus early taken from the world is not to be envied by those left behind? The principal question, therefore, as to the sum of misery produced by this increase of premature deaths, seems to be the degree in which the parents are affected by it; and the immediate point to be determined in the case before us is, how much more heavily this species of grief presses upon parents residing in towns, than upon those in the country. As this is probably the chief drawback which we shall have to make from the numerous advantages of civilization and commerce, we shall endeavour to investigate its extent with some precision. The number of births produced by each marriage must of course be various in different situations; but there is good reason to believe, that the average of four to a marriage in towns, and six in the country, may not be far from the truth. Now, as half the number born in towns die in childhood, each married couple must of course lose two children on an average. In the country, where it has been fully proved that the majority of the members born live to be married, we will calculate the number of those who die in childhood at one third; for the waste of life among those who are just adult is very trifling in the country.

But as each married couple here produces six births upon an average, if one-third die in childhood, the loss they sustain is of two children each, as we have seen to be the case in towns; so that the average pressure of grief upon each married couple is in quantity precisely the same, and the difference between them appears to be in the proportion which the loss of each bears to their whole stock, which in the townman's case is one half, in the countryman's one third. The loss is of the same nature, as if two men, one possessing an income of 4000*l.* and the other of 6000*l.* a year, should each be deprived of 2000*l.* a year. On the face of this account there certainly is a comparative disadvantage on the side of the townsman; but if we consider that both the contract of marriage and the residence in the town are voluntary on the part of the parents suffering the loss, as well as the numerous advantages and enjoyments by which they are tempted to place themselves in that situation, their whole lot may well bear a comparison with that of the country residents. That such is the opinion of the people themselves is evident from the eagerness with which every situation in great towns is sought after by the residents in the country; and from the infrequency of the opposite course of conduct. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that the general increase of misery is not very great, if any at all. Nay, we think, that we may fairly assume

that there is upon the whole an increase of happiness, particularly when we consider the superior capacity for enjoyment which the townsman's mental improvement gives him, and the superior means of attaining it afforded by the higher remuneration of his labour.

It remains to inquire how far the abatement in the progress of population which is incident to the existence of towns is caused by an increase of the vice of which they are said to be the hot-beds. Upon this subject there are some curious facts to be found among the writers who have turned their attention to it. We have selected the two following; the first of which is highly honourable to the sect upon whose society the experiment was founded. It struck Dr. Perceval*, that the principles and manners of the quakers, though often made the subjects of illiberal censure and ridicule, might afford them advantages over other bodies of men, with respect to the duration of life. The diligence, cleanliness, temperance, and composure of mind by which the members of this society are distinguished, in towns as well as in the country, might reasonably be supposed to contribute to health and longevity; and as there are no persons among them in abject poverty, and few immoderately rich, this more equal distribution must lessen the sources of disease, and furnish every individual under it with the necessary means of relief. These considerations excited his curiosity to know the proportion of deaths among the quakers of Manchester; and he was gratified by Mr. Routh, one of the friends, in the most obliging manner, with the following information. The society consisted of 81 males and 84 females, 54 married persons, nine widowers, seven widows, and 48 persons under 15 years of age.

The births during the last seven years had amounted to 84, and the burials to 47; about 1 therefore in 24 of the quakers in Manchester died annually; whereas the proportion of deaths among the inhabitants of the town at large was as 1 to 28. This difference, which is directly the reverse of what would occur were vice and intemperance the only causes of mortality in towns, Dr. Perceval afterwards reduces to a level, by supposing, that the quakers had few or no accessions to their number by new settlers or converts during the last seven years. This must have considerably increased their proportional mortality; because, as new settlers generally arrive in towns in an adult state, and the chief mortality takes place in childhood, they must of course raise the proportion of *inhabitants* to the *deaths*, and also of *births* and *weddings* to the *burials*, higher than they

* See Perceval's Essay on Population, p. 41. Ed. 1776.

would otherwise be, if this cause did not exist. He conceives, therefore, that the general proportion of deaths to the population in Manchester, would be at least as high as among the quakers, perhaps something higher; but it cannot be denied, that the proportional mortality among them is *naturally* very near as high as among the other residents of the town, notwithstanding the difference in the temperance, regularity, and cleanliness of the parties. That "the want of vivacity in the people of this sect," and "the sedentary lives of their females," tend materially to shorten the period of their existence, will not probably be admitted by any philosopher or physician. What then remains but that we come to the conclusion, that the causes which shorten the period of human life in towns, however they may be sometimes aggravated by vice, are fully sufficient, without any such aggravation, to produce all the effect contended for in this article, and to render the inhabitants of towns, supposing they conducted themselves as temperately and as virtuously as the quakers, a non-reproductive part of the population of the state. Dr. Perceval * has afforded another fact to prove, that the quantity of vice usually existing in towns does not materially alter the otherwise natural rate of the progress of population. By a careful comparison of the difference in the proportion of deaths between the town of Manchester and the villages immediately surrounding, he found that the yearly mortality in the former bore a proportion to the whole population, very nearly, if not quite, double to that in the latter;—yet "both live in the same climate, carry on the same manufactures, are chiefly supplied from the same market," and their habits of life, their morals, and their manners, cannot therefore be very different: supposing the fact as established by the quakers to be out of the question, there can probably be no difference of vice in these two situations sufficient to account for their different rates of mortality; and the two facts taken together render it absolutely certain that such is not the cause. We must evidently, therefore, have recourse to the other circumstances in which towns differ from the country; and these are chiefly, confinement from such exercises as render the body vigorous and robust; an atmosphere unfavourable to the duration of life; and the weaker spark which originally animates the frame of the townsman, and which refuses to carry his existence to the same extended period as the more vivid fire which glows in the frame of the countryman.

Some of these circumstances are caused, and all of them are

* See Perceval's Essays on Population, p. 56.

compensated, by the superior degree of mental exertion necessary to the townsman, that cannot fail to impart to him a portion of refined enjoyment to which the peasant must be a total stranger. Nor has he ever felt the want of the more efficient properties of the body. Although he is born an animal less vigorous than the peasant, his native air affords him a state of personal feeling as comfortable, fits him as much for the less hardy and laborious occupations in which he is employed, renders him as free from pain and as capable of the quiet enjoyment suited to his station, as the air of the country affords to the rough peasant flushed with the boisterous amusement of athletic exercises.

We are aware that it has been the custom of late among a certain set of our fraternity, who are too little scrupulous concerning the effects of their sophistry upon the public good, to decry the effects of civilization, and to enlarge upon the degradation induced on the human mind by commerce and extended manufactures. They assume, that the moral degradation of the inhabitants is commensurate with the degree in which the division of labour exists in a country; and suppose, that when the public prosperity has been raised to a great height by the minute subdivision of labour, the *ideas* of the people shall in each class be limited to the performance of one single manipulation. The only mistake in this proposition seems to be, that the word *ideas* has been used instead of *hands*; unless, indeed, it is intended to assert, that men receive their ideas through their finger's ends, or the palms of their hands! A man's *hands* may be limited to one single manipulation; and in proportion to the adroitness with which he performs it, his ideas may wander at large. A weaver, for example, long before his apprenticeship is expired, may throw the shuttle to and fro by mere habit, with little mental exertion, or even attention; and he is in constant intercourse with a large society of men, whose minds require only the proper pains, which it is the duty of every government to take in providing for their cultivation, to turn the activity, naturally resulting from the collision of ideas, to the moral advantage of the individual and of the community. We do not think, therefore, that the collection of people into towns necessarily induces any moral degradation among them; on the contrary, we believe that letters and arts introduce into the morals greater advantages, if properly seized, than wealth does disadvantages, notwithstanding the absurd paradoxes of Rousseau and his imitators upon this subject; and we heartily subscribe to the opinion of the ancient philosopher, "*Quid enumerem artium multitudinem sine quibus vita omnino nulla esse potuisset. Quis enim agris*

subvenisset? Quæ esset oblectatio valentium? Qui victus aut cultus, nisi tam multæ nobis artes ministrarentur, quibus rebus exulta hominum vita, tantum destitit à cultu et victu bestiarum." (Cicero de Officiis, lib. 2.) Although, therefore, the townsman's life may be somewhat shorter in duration than that of the countryman, it may certainly be said to be longer in giving more density of enjoyment to the individual; and as to the effect on the community, the spread of knowledge and talents will always secure freedom at least in the practice, if not in the form of governments; and the latter will always by degrees adapt itself to the former. Unless foreign influence should check the course of industry and improvement in Russia, its government will not be despotic a century hence.

In quitting this part of the subject we must remark, that if towns have been called the hot-beds of vice, they have deserved that appellation more from indolent despair than from necessity. The towns have hitherto by no means had fair play. Notwithstanding the extreme difference between the dispositions, manners, opportunities, and temptations of the inhabitants of towns and the country, not only have the same laws been thought adequate to the government of both, but too often those laws have been even relaxed in towns. Where regulation has been most wanted, it has been most neglected; and what is worse, religious instruction, the only sure foundation of all morality, has usually been more scantily provided in the same proportion. It is pleasing, nevertheless, to reflect, that if towns have been actually the hot-beds of vice, they have been no less the seats of exalted virtues. The most enlightened exertions for bettering the condition of mankind have been struck out by the intellectual collision of many enlarged minds collected into the focus of a great metropolis. And although we cannot quite vindicate from partiality the predilection for a city life, entertained by our great philosopher and moralist Dr. Johnson, we cannot either avoid thinking, that he who would (if possible) reduce cities and towns to annihilation, rather than use due exertions for their improvement, and to render them more conducive to the views of Providence in making them a necessary condition of one state of our political existence, would, by the same rule, hang a boy for his first fault, rather than endeavour to root out the innate seeds of evil implanted in his mind.

One word more and we have done. It may perhaps be said, that the number of the childless and unmarried among the higher orders is a clear addition to the mass of public misery as society advances. To this we shall briefly reply, that those qualities of the mind and body, which are least favourable to the production

and care of large families, are often the most so to other pursuits not less useful or advantageous, or less capable of conferring happiness. Strange as it may appear, unless we revert to this solution of the fact, the greatest heroes and most celebrated men have in very many instances been childless, if not unmarried. But have they been therefore the more miserable? By no means. That affection which would perhaps have been engrossed by their families has all been lavished on their country and on mankind. And however great may be the satisfaction arising from domestic endearments, the high-wrought pleasure flowing from a consciousness of having conferred a benefit on one's country and the world, of deserving public applause and gratitude, will scarcely yield to it in intensity of delight.

If it be said that this applies exclusively to men, we would cite the names of Hannah More, Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Hamilton, Maria Edgeworth, and many others, to shew that the other sex have their full share in the observation; and some of them so much the more emphatically, as temporal affairs must yield in importance to those which are eternal.

We ought perhaps to apologise for the length of this article, but we are convinced, that there is no subject which more remarkably involves the happiness of the creature, and the glory of the Creator. And we shall indeed rejoice if the candid and enlightened portion of the community should give us any encouragement to think,

“ That to the height of this great argument
We may assert eternal Providence,
And vindicate the ways of God to man.”

APPENDIX.

I.

TO RECOMMEND

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

protection of such of our patriotic readers as have the means of promoting its success, is, we trust, superfluous. But many, perhaps, may not have maturely reflected upon the superior claim established in its favour over all *individual charities*. It may not, perhaps, have occurred to them, that whereas, ordinary charity benefits only the generation that now is, this is calculated to extend its blessings to our remotest posterity;—that whereas, common charity affects only the body, this goes directly to the souls of its objects;—that whereas, common charity can only pretend to relieve the pressure of misery actually endured, this has a direct and obvious tendency to prevent its occurrence;—and if, after these higher motives, we may venture to suggest one of less importance,—we would observe, that this is the most *economical charity* ever proposed; for, in proportion as its objects are attained in the diffusion of instruction and intelligence among lower ranks, will the sums now rendered necessary for their relief from evils arising from ignorance and apathy, be curtailed.

The patronage under which it is presented to the public, is as unexceptionable as the most suspicious anxiety can require; and the effects of its patronage have been already considerable. Within a few days after the establishment of the Society, H. R. H. the Commander in Chief published an order for establishing, in every regiment of the army, a school for instructing the children of the soldiers “on the plan recommended by Rev. Dr. Bell *,” and adopted with great success at the Royal Military

* We cannot suffer the name of this distinguished individual to pass without offering him our sincere congratulations upon the triumphs lately obtained by the cause of truth and justice over misrepresentation and prejudice. The question between him and Mr. Lancaster, and their respective systems, is now, we think, at rest. To say nothing of the unworthy efforts in our first number the subsequent publications of Mr. Herbert Marsh, Archdeacon Bowyer, and the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1811, appear to us as unanswerable as they are unanswered. We wish to the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, and to Mr. Joseph Lancaster, all the consolation to be derived from the reflection which, (if we rightly recollect the correspondence in the *Morning Post*) was made by the latter gentleman with admirable taste and modesty, in reference to his own failings, “that even the sun hath spots.”

APPENDIX.

Asylum." "The object of these institutions is to implant on the children's minds early habits of (religion) morality, obedience, and industry."

II.

ADVERTING to the statement with respect to the Rev. Mr. Usko, in (p. 233, et seq.) of Mr. Hodgson's *Life of Bp. Porteus*, we think it fair to lay the following facts before the public:—Mr. Usko's first acquaintance with his lordship was in the year 1798, upon his appointment to a chaplaincy by the *Levant Company*; on which occasion the bishop gave him very honourable testimonials. For eight or nine years he kept up his connection with the bishop by occasional correspondence, and personally renewed it on his return to England in 1807, by delivering to his lordship a plan for instructing young gentlemen in Arabic and Turkish, to be afterwards sent to the Levant as *giovani di lingua*. We are also in possession of a certificate from the principal inhabitants of Oront, stating, that they perfectly understand Mr. Usko's pronunciation, and are satisfied with him as their rector. We shall only add, that Mr. Usko is occasionally afflicted with severe inflammation of the eyes, which prevents a continued attention to literary pursuits; that he performs, when able, all the duties of his parish; and that no precise time was fixed by his excellent patron within which he is bound to publish his intended work.

LIST OF NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED
IN THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, AND
NOVEMBER, 1811.

AGRICULTURE.

Report upon the Farm of Thomas Greg, Esq. at Coles in Hertfordshire. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

On the Name and Origin of the Merino Breed of Sheep. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Walton's Account of the four Species of Peruvian Sheep, called Carneros de la Tierra. 8vo. 8s. boards.

A General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides. By James Macdonald, A. M. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Economy of the Barn Yard. By W. Lester. 4to. 1l. 1s. boards.

A General View of the Agriculture of the County of West Lothian. By J. Trotter. 8vo. 9s. boards.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, Vol. X. 12mo. 15s. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

ARTS (FINE).

The Gallery at Brocklesby, in Lincolnshire, the seat of the Rt. Hon. Lord Yarborough, &c. By C. Heathcote Tatham, Architect. Folio. 12s. sewed.

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

An Account of the Trigonometrical Survey, carried on by Order of the Master-general of his Majesty's Ordnance, in the Years 1800, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. By Lieut.-col. W. Mudge, of the Royal Artillery, F.R.S. and Capt. Thomas Colby, of the Royal Engineers. 4to. Vol. III. 2l. 2s. boards.

Mathematical Lectures, containing Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, and Conic Sections. by the Rev. B. Bridge. 2 Vols. 8vo. 15s. boards.

The Transactions of the Geological Society, established November 1807. Vol. I. 4to. 2l. boards.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Lives of J. Selden, Esq. and Archbishop Usher, with Notices of the principal English Men of Letters, with whom they were connected. By J. Aikin, M.D. 10s. 6d. boards.

Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sumbel, late Wells, of the Theatres Royal, Drury-lane, Covent-garden, and Haymarket. Written by herself. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. boards.

Lives of Remarkable Characters, who have distinguished themselves from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the present Time. From the French. 3 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

Memoirs of the Life of Prince Potemkin. From the German. 8vo. 8s. boards.

Lives of the Twelve Cæsars. By Elisa Rogers. 5 Vols. 8vo. with folio Atlas of Maps. 3l. 13s. 6d. boards.

BOTANY.

Hortus Kewensis; or, a Catalogue of the Plants cultivated in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew. By the late W. Aiton. The Second Edition, enlarged, by W. T. Aiton, Gardener to his Majesty. Vol. III. 8vo. 12s. boards.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

Lexicon Aristophanicum, Græco Anglicum. By J. Sanxay, O.T.D. Editio Nova. 8vo. 9s. Royal 8vo. 15s. boards.

Cicero de Amicitia et Senectute, with English Notes, for the Use of Schools. By E. H. Barker, of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo. 6s. bound.

A Grammar of the Persian Language; comprising a Portion of the Elements of Arabic Inflection; together with some Observations on the Structure of either Languages, considered with Reference to the Principles of general Grammar. By M. Lumsden, LL.D. Professor of Arabic and Persian in the College of Fort William, in Bengal. 2 Vols. Foolscap folio. 4l. 4s. sewed.

Etymologicon Universale; or, Universal Etymological Dictionary. By Walter Whiter. 4to. Vol. I. Part I. and II. 4l. 4s. boards.

COMMERCE.

The Law and Principle of Money considered, in a Letter to W. Huskisson, Esq. M.P. By J. Raithby. 8vo. sewed.

Observations on the present State of the Currency in England. By the Earl of Rosse. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed.

Some Observations on the Agreement drawn by Mr. Huskisson and the Bullion Committee. By Civis. 8vo. sewed.

Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. By David Ricardo. 8vo. 4s. sewed.

Observations on the Fallacy of the supposed Depreciation of the Paper Currency of this Kingdom. By F. Perceval Eliot, Esq. 6s. 6d. sewed.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occasioned by the Report of the Bullion Committee. By Jasper Atkinson, Esq. 3s. 6d. sewed.

Thoughts on the present Political State of Affairs. By W. Hunter, Esq. 5s. sewed.

Considerations on Commerce, Bullion and Coin Circulation, and Exchanges, with a View to our present Circumstances. By G. Chalmers, F.R.S. & A. 8vo. 6s. 6d. sewed.

Considerations on the present State of Bank Notes, Specie, and Bullion; in a Series of Letters, addressed to the Rt. Hon. ———. By Mercator. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

DRAMA.

The Boarding House; or Five Hours at Brighton: a Musical Farce, in two Acts. By Samuel Beazley, jun. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Thé Kiss, a Comedy, in five Acts, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Lyceum. By Stephen Clarke. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Darkness Visible, an After-piece; as performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Mary's Bower, or, the Castle on the Glen; a Pastoral Drama, of five Acts: founded on a real Event in Scotland, about the End of the fifteenth Century. Royal 8vo. 5s. sewed.

EDUCATION.

Epitome Sacræ Historiæ, in usum Scholarum. 18mo. 2s. bound.

The Rudiments of English Grammar, elucidated; or a Guide to Parsing. By B. H. Smart, Private Teacher. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

A Vocabulary in the English, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Languages. By J. Boardman. 12mo. 7s. boards.

Five Hundred Questions, deduced from Goldsmith's History of England. By James Adair. 18mo. 7s. sewed.

An English School Grammar. By Joseph Guy, jun. 18mo. 2s. 6d. bound.

English Exercises, for teaching Grammatical Composition on a new Principle. 12mo. bound.

Five Hundred Questions on the New Testament. By S. Barrow. 18mo. 1s. sewed.

Aunt Mary's Tales, for the Entertainment and Improvement of Little Girls. 18mo. 2s. half-bound.

The Tutor's Key to the Questions appertaining to Blair's Preceptor, &c. 18mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

Elements of Conversation, French and English. By C. Gros. 12mo. 2s. 6d. bound.

GEOGRAPHY.

A New Modern Atlas. By John Pinkerton, Esq. No. VIII. 1l. 1s. containing Maps of Holland, Germany, South of the Mayne, and Scotland, Northern Part.

A Sketch of Ancient Geography, adapted to Smith's Atlas. By Miss Mangnall. 8vo. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

HISTORY.

Neal's History of the Puritans; or the Rise, Principles, and Sufferings of the Protestant Dissenters, to the glorious Æra of the Revolution; abridged. By Edward Parsons. 8vo. Vol. I. 12s. boards.

Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England; from the Roman Conquest, in 1066, to 1803. Vol. VIII. and IX. Royal 8vo. fl. 11. 6d. each, boards.

The East Indian Register and Directory, corrected to August. 12mo. 8s. sewed.

Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, from the Roman Invasion, to the Year 1700: illustrated by eighteen Engravings. By James Peller Malcolm, F.A.S. Second edition. 3 Vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

Historical Inquiries concerning Forests and Forest Laws; with Topographical Remarks upon the Ancient and Modern State of the New

Forest, in the County of Southampton. By Percival Lewis, Esq. 4to. 31. 11s. 6d. boards.

Histoire des Femmes Francaises les plus celebres, et de leur Influence sur la Litterature Francaise, comme protectrices des Lettres et comme auteurs. Par Madame de Genlis. 2 Vols. 12mo. 10s. sewed.

The History and Antiquities of Scarborough and its Vicinity; with a View of Scarborough, Arms and Seals of the Borough, and Plans of the Town and Vicinity. By Thomas Hinderwell. Second edition. 8vo. 12s. Royal 8vo. 18s. boards.

LAW.

Cobbett's complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, from the earliest Period to the present Time. Vol. X. Royal 8vo. 21. 11s. 6d. boards.

The Trial of Arthur Hodge, Esq. at Tortola, for the Murder of his Negro Slave Prosper; taken in Shorthand by A.M. Belisario, Esq. 8vo. 4s. sewed.

Trial between the Governess of a Lady's Boarding School, and the Mother of a Pupil, committed to her Charge. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

A Treatise on the Bankrupt Laws. By Francis Whitmarsh, Esq. Royal 8vo. 16s. boards.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Essays on the Changes of the Human Body, at its different Ages; the Diseases to which it is predisposed in each Period of Life; and the leading Principles of its Longevity. By Thomas Jameson, M.D. Member of the Colleges of Physicians in London and Edinburgh, and resident Physician at Cheltenham. 8vo. 9s. boards.

Popular Directions for the Treatment of the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burns, Lecturer on Midwifery, and Member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow. 8vo. 9s. boards.

A Collection of Treatises on Sol Lunar Influence in Fevers; with an improved Method of curing them. By Francis Balfour, M.D. First Member of the Medical Board in Bengal.

Practical Remarks on Insanity. By Bryan Crowther. 8vo. 5s. boards.

Practical Observations on Cancer. By the late John Howard. 8vo. 5s. boards.

An Essay on the Yellow Fever. By Edward Nathaniel Bancroft, M.D. 8vo. 11. 1s. boards.

A Practical Treatise on Pulmonary Consumption, and of Asthma. By Richard Reece, M.D. 8vo. 5s. boards.

Engravings of the Arteries, illustrating the Second Volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body; and serving as an Introduction to the Surgery of the Arteries. By Charles Bell, Surgeon. Third edition. Royal 8vo. 15s. boards.

Posologic Companion to the London Pharmacopœia. By John Nott, M.D. 18mo. 3s. sewed.

Principles of Midwifery, including the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burn. Second edition. 8vo. 12s. boards.

MILITARY.

Observations on the present State of the Portuguese Army, 2s. 6d.

ganised by Lieutenant-general Sir William Carr Beresford, K.B. By Andrew Halliday, M.D. 4to. 15s. boards.

An elementary Treatise on the Mounting of Naval Ordnance. By Lieut.-col. Wm. Congreve, A.M. F.R.S. and Equerry to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. 4to. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Observations of a Veteran on the Principles of War, Military Economy, &c. &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

The Tactical Regulator. By John Russel, Lieutenant and Adjutant of Nottingham Staff. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

MISCELLANIES.

The New Pocket Cyclopædia; or, Elements of Useful Knowledge. By John Millard. 12mo. 8s. boards.

Letters from an Elder to a Younger Brother, on the Conduct to be pursued in Life. By William Hussey. Part second. 12mo. 5s. boards.

A brief Statement of the Origin and Advantages of the New Western Road. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

The Remains of Joseph Blackett; consisting of Sketches, original Dramas, Poems, including "The Times," an Ode, and Memoirs of his Life. By Mr. Pratt. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 1l. boards.

An Essay on a Punic Inscription. By the Right Hon. Sir William Drummond. Royal 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. boards.

The American Review of History and Politics, and General Repository of Literature, No. III. for July. 8vo. 6s.

A General History of Quadrupeds. By Thomas Bewick. The Sixth edition. 8vo. 1l. boards.

The Projector; a Periodical Paper, originally published in the monthly Numbers of the Gentleman's Magazine from January 1802, to November 1809. Revised and corrected by the Author. 3 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 7s. boards.

The London Catalogue of Books, with their Sizes and Prices, corrected to August. 8vo. 7s. 6d. half-bound.

An Abridgment of Locke's Essay on Human Understanding. By Louisa Capper. 4to. 1l. boards.

A Dissertation upon Rhetoric, translated from the Greek of Aristotle. By D. M. Crimmin, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Historical Memoirs and Anecdotes of the Court of France, during the Favour of Madame de Pompadour. By J. L. Soulavie, the Elder. 8vo. 8s. boards.

An elementary Investigation of the Theory of Numbers. By Peter Barlow, of the Royal Military Academy. 8vo. 14s. boards.

Elements of Rhetoric; or, the Principles of Oratory delineated. By John Luxton. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed.

An Attempt to simplify the Notation of Music, illustrated by Examples both sacred and secular. By B. S. Bootsey, F.L.S. 4to. 10s. 6d. boards.

Instinct Displayed, in a Collection of well-authenticated Facts, exemplifying the extraordinary Sagacity of various Species of the Animal Creation. 12mo. 5s. boards.

Masonic Miscellanies, in Poetry and Prose. By Stephen Jones. New edition. 18mo. 6s. boards.

Lord Somers' Collection of scarce and valuable Tracts, arranged, &c. by Walter Scott, Esq. Vol. VI. Second edition. Royal 4to. 3l. 3s. boards.

Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Tyrtæus; translated from the Greek. By the Rev. Mr. Polwhele. 4 Vols. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Simple Pleasures, designed for Young Persons above twelve Years of Age. By Miss Venning. 12mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

The Æsculapian Monitor, or faithful Guide to the History of the Human Species, and most important Branches of Medical Philosophy; combined with moral Reflections, and enforced by religious Precepts. By the Rev. Dr. Barry, Rector of St. Mary's, Wallingford. 8vo. 5s. boards.

Cruttwell's Housekeeper's Account-Book, improved by red Lines ruled across the Pages, for the Year 1812. 4to. 2s. sewed.

Sketches, civil and military, of the Island of Java. 8vo. 12s. 6d. boards.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

Beauford; or a Picture of High Life. By Henry Card, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 15s. boards.

Rosalie, or the Castle of Montalabretti. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. boards.

The Englishman. By Miss Byron. 6 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 10s. boards.

The Clergyman's Widow, and her Young Family. 12mo. 4s. boards.

Yamboo, or the North American Slave: a Tale. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Ora and Juliet, or the Influence of First Principles. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. boards.

Brighton in an Uproar: a Novel. 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. boards.

St. Osburgh, or the Carmelite Monk: a Romance. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. boards.

New Canterbury Tales; or the Glories of the Garrison. By Maj. Gen. Oliver Outline. Cr. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Rudolph and Adelaide, or the Fort of St. Fernando: a Novel. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Sir Ralph De Bigod: a Romance. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s. boards.

The Decision: a Novel. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Virginia: or the Peace of Amiens. By Emma Parker. 4 Vols. 12mo. 1l. 4s. boards.

The Caledonian Bandit, or the Heir of Duncaethal: a Romance. 2 Vols. 12mo. 10s. boards.

The Cousins, or a Woman's Promise and a Lover's Vow: a Novel. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

Sense and Sensibility: a Novel. By Lady ——. 3 Vols. 12mo. 15s. boards.

The Welch Mountaineer. By Arthur Mower. 2 Vols. 12mo. 7s. boards.

POETRY.

The Battle of Albuera, a Poem; with an Epistle dedicatory to Lord Wellington. 8vo. 3s. sewed.

Poems. By D. P. Campbell. Foolscap. 7s. bound.

The Capital! a satirical and sentimental Poem; dedicated to the Earl of Stanhope. 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

Poems. By Lieutenant Charles Gray of the Royal Marines. Foolscap. 6s. Post. 8vo. 12s. 6d. boards.

Milton's Poetical Works, with Cowper's Translations; and Hayley's **Life of the Author**. 4 Vols. Crown 8vo. 2l. 2s. boards.

Craig Pnadic, **Visions of Sensibility**, with legendary Tales, and occasional Pieces. By David Carey. 8vo. 8s. boards.

The Tocsin; with several minor Poems. By a Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. 4to. 4s. sewed.

British Scenery: a Poetical Sketch. By a Quondam Oxonian, and Carthusian. 4to. 4s. sewed.

Leisure Hours; or, **Morning Amusements**; consisting of Poems on a Variety of Interesting Subjects, moral, religious, and miscellaneous: with Notes by W. Steers. Foolscap. 7s. boards.

The Battles of the Danube and Barossa. 8vo. 5s.

Poems. By Whiston Bristow. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d. boards.

Squibs and Crackers, serious, comical, and tender. By Jasper Smallshot. Cr. 8vo. 7s. boards.

Lines sacred to the Memory of the Reverend James Grahame. 4to. 2s. sewed.

Translations from Ancient Irish Manuscripts, and other Poems. By James Martin. Cr. 8vo. 7s. boards.

The Curse of Kehama: a Poem. By Robert Southey. Second edition, 3 Vols. 12mo. 14s. boards.

POLITICAL.

A Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. on the Subject of Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament. By Wm. Roscoe, Esq. 8vo. 6d. sewed.

The Speech of Mr. Johnstone, on the third Reading of Lord Stanhope's Bill. Friday, July 19th, 8vo. 4s. sewed.

The Substance of a Speech delivered by Lord Viscount Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, July 15, on the second Reading of Earl Stanhope's Bill. 8vo. 2s. sewed.

Letters addressed to the People of the United States of America, on the Conduct of the past and present Administrations of the American Government toward Great Britain and France. By Colonel Timothy Pickens, formerly Secretary of State to the Government of the United States. 8vo. 5s. sewed.

A concise View of the Constitution of England. By George Custance. Third edition. 8vo. 1s. 6d. boards.

The new Standing Orders of the House of Commons, as revised by a Committee, June 21. 8vo. 5s. boards.

THEOLOGY.

An Exposition of such of the Prophecies of Daniel as receive their Accomplishment under the New Testament, together with a Comparison between them and the Apocalypse, as explained by the late Dr. Bengelius, By the late Reverend Frederic Roos, A. M. Superintendent and Prelate in Lustnau and Anhausen. Translated from the German, by Ebenezer Henderson, Member of the Royal Gottenburg Society of Arts and Sciences. 8vo. 7s. boards.

A Sermon preached at St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, before the Missionary Society in London, on Friday Morning, May 10. By the Reverend John Wilcox, A. M. 8vo. sewed.

The Duty of Christians to partake of the Afflictions of the Gospel, A Discourse, delivered at Portsmouth, on Wednesday, June 26. By Thomas Rees. 1s. sewed.

La Sainte Bible, qui contient le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament Sténo-
type. 12mo. 15s. boards.

A Selection of Psalms, and several Hymns on particular Occasions, for
the Use of the Members of the Established Church. Foolscap. 2s. sewed.

The Golden Grove: a choice Manual of Prayers. By the Reverend
Jeremy Taylor. 24mo. 2s. 6d. bound.

Lectures on the Pastoral Character. By the late George Campbell,
D.D. F.R.S. Ed. Principal of Mariscal College, Aberdeen. Edited by
James Fraser, D.D. Minister of Drumoak.

Letters to a Friend on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the
Christian Religion. By Olinthus Gregory, LL.D. Of the Royal Military
Academy, Woolwich. 2 Vols. Cr. 8vo. 14s. boards.

An entire New Version of the Book of Psalms. By the Reverend
William Goode, M.A. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. boards.

A Body of Divinity: wherein the Doctrines of the Christian Religion
are explained and defended. By Thomas Ridgely, B.D. 8vo. Vol. 1.
9s. boards.

Christian Liberty, a Sermon preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, before
H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, and the University of Cambridge, at
the Installation, June 30. By Samuel Butler, D.D. Cr. 8vo. 5s. boards.

Observations on some important Points in Divinity, chiefly those in
Controversy between the Armenians and Calvinists, with three Dialogues.
By Ely Bates. Second edition. 12mo. 6s. boards.

A Charge, delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Northum-
berland, at the Visitation, 1809. By Robert Thorp, D.D. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

A Sermon, preached at the Chapel in St. Saviour-gate, York, on Sunday,
June 24, 1810. By Charles Wellbeloved. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

Sacred Truth unfolded, in a Course of practical Lectures. By the
Rev. S. Piggott, A.M. 8vo. 10s. boards.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Barbary, &c. in the Years
1806 and 1807. By F. A. De Chateaubriand. Translated from the French.
2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

Travels in the Island of Iceland, during the Summer of the Year 1810.
By Sir George Steuart Mackenzie, Bart. F.R.S. Edinburgh. 4to. 3l. 2s.
boards.

Geological Travels. Vols. II. and III. in England. By J. A. De Lue,
F.R.S. 1l. 4s. boards.

Journal of a Tour in Iceland, in the Summer of 1809. By W. J. Hooker,
F.L.S. 8vo. 16s. boards.

I N D E X

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME OF THE BRITISH REVIEW.

A.

- Abbas Mirza*, character and anecdotes of, 426, 427.
Action, the representation of, in design, an object with the ancient artists, 47.
Addington (Mr.), merits of his administration, 223.
Administration, state of the, in France, 161, 162.
 ———, sketch of that of Mr. Pitt, 401—404.
Agriculture, state of, in Nepaul, 366—368.
Albuquerque (Duke), his conduct preserves Cadiz, 71—sketch of his life, 74.
Alexandria, expedition to, 216.
Ali Mirza, Prince of Shiraz, his person and character, 418.
Allegory, the origin of monstrous representations, 52.
Alliance of petty states, a burden, 210.
Aloes, the fibres of that plant used for caulking ships, &c. 127.
America, ratio of increased population in the newly settled countries of, 456.
Amiens, ridiculous flattery of Bonaparte by the mayor of, 167.
Anecdote of a French soldier, relative to Lord Wellington, 93.
Anecdotes, illustrative of Mr. Fox's assertion, that the frequency of battles and massacres weakens our sympathies, 155.
Angelo (Michael), some remarks on his paintings, as compared with West's, 48, 49—his assiduity, 54.
Augustina, the heroine of Zaragosa, account of her exploits, 78—description of her person, 81.
Antiquity, inquiry how far the models of, assist in advancing the arts, 46—account of some remains of, at Shapour in Persia, 414.
Apelles, his assiduity proverbial, 54.
Arabia, coincidence of manners in, with the highlanders of Scotland, 415.
Argyle (Duke of), delineation of his character by Mr. Fox, 37.
Armenia, journey through, 410.
Arts, the ancient, compared with the modern, 47—49—what has retarded their progress in Great Britain, 57.
Asia Minor, journey through, 410.
Athens, the government of, favourable to the fine arts, 57.
Authors, conditions on which women may become, 296.
Azara Voyage dans l'Amerique Meridionale, 119—sketch of his life, 120—his zoological enquiries, 122.

B.

- Bacon* (Lord), his definition of a military nation, 218.
- Belgrano* (General), his report to the junta of Buenos Ayres, relative to the natives of Paraguay, 135.
- Beloe*, his anecdotes of literature and scarce books, 329.
- Belsham* (Rev. Thomas), his letter to Lord Sidmouth, 432—sentiments on the Toleration Act, 435, 436—his description of the purposes of Lord Sidmouth's bill, 441, 442.
- Bhatgong*, account of the city of, 365.
- Bibliography*, remarks on the study of, 327—333, 334.
- Bibliomania*, by Mr. Thomas Dibdin, 326—quotations relative to reviewers, 331, 332—to bibliography, 333, 334.
- Biography*, general observations relative to, 172—advantages of, 345.
- Birds* of South America compared with those of Europe, 132.
- Births*, average number of, to a marriage, in towns, 464—difference of their amount in town and country, 488.
- Bishop*, importance and duties of his office, 115, 357.
- Bonaparte*, remonstrances to him against the subjugation of Spain, 88—his character justly appreciated by the French, 89—the destruction of England the favourite object of, 151—his interior policy, 162—anecdote illustrative of his suspicious temper, 163—his tyranny, 169—account of his entry into one of his good cities, 169—his anxiety to create a navy, 170—remarks on Mr. Fox's conduct towards, 389.
- Book collectors*, prominent characters among, 340.
- Brahma*, remarks relative to the ancient religion of, 233.
- Brahmans*, singular mode of transferring vengeance practised by the, 243—general character of their religion, 250—disgusting species of regeneration practised by the, 256.
- Bread*, comparatively little used in South America, 128.
- Britain*. See *Great Britain*.
- Buchanan's* (Dr.), sermons and Christian researches in India, 227—his account of the worship and temple of Juggernaut, 236—account of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Malabar, 256—view of the state of religion in Hindoostan, 264.
- Budha*, temple in honour of, in Nepaul, 371.
- Buenos Ayres*, the most interesting portion of South America, 129—trade of, 130—British expedition to, 136—216—schemes for increasing the financial resources of, 139—conduct of the junta, 142—deputies from, sent to London, 147.
- Burke* (Mr.), his letter on the French revolution, 185—his description of the people, 213—sentiments respecting our church establishment, 448.
- Bushire*, deposition of the shiek of, 415.

C

- Cadiz**, bankers unknown in, 70.
- Calvinism**, sentiments of Bishop Porteus respecting, 356.
- Canning** (Mr.), his duel with Lord Castlereagh, 393.
- Carr** (Sir John), his travels in Spain, 60—his account of the Marquis Wellesley's landing at Cadiz, 69.
- Caraccas**, revolution in the, 134, 135.
- Carthage**, causes of her downfall illustrated, 220.
- Carryatides**, remarks on the introduction of the, into architecture, 50.
- Caste**, mode of recovering, in India, 265, 266.
- Castlereagh** (Lord), duel with Mr. Canning, 393.
- Catholic emancipation**, queries on the consequences of, 323.
- Celibacy**, favourable to the display of genius and learning, 492.
- Ceylon**, state of Christianity in, 256.
- Chaco**, singular phenomenon in the plain of, in South America, 126.
- Charity**, remarks on the nature and extent of the duty of, in reference to Mr. Malthus's sentiments on population, 478—enjoined by Divine Providence, 479—when properly applied tends to promote industry, 480.
- Charlemont** (Earl of), memoirs of his political and private life, 306—joins the Whigs in Ireland, 314—appointed generalissimo of the volunteers there, 315.
- Charles I.** remarks on his trial and execution, 14—16—27.
- Chehel Sitoon**, description of the palace, 422.
- Children**, sacrifice of, in India, 243—success of Lord Wellesley's law against that practice, 243.
- Chili**, incorporated with Buenos Ayres, 144.
- China**, observations relative to Lord Macartney's embassy to, 364—idleness anciently a penal offence in, 477.
- Christianity**, means by which it ought to be propagated in India, 254—state of, in Tanjore, 255—in Ceylon, 256—observations on the objections urged against the establishment of, in India, 264.
- Church**, established, state of, in England, 96—in what manner it ought to be upheld, 114—118—melancholy condition of the, in Ireland, 309—improved state of the, in Cork, 319.
- Cisneros**, viceroy of Buenos Ayres, his conduct, 139—sent back to Spain, 143.
- Civilization**, effect of its different stages on population considered, 461—474—spontaneously advances the number of those who prefer celibacy to marriage, 485—investigation respecting the progress of vice in reference to, 487—inquiry respecting the effects of its progress on the condition of the human mind, 491.
- Clarendon** (Lord), tendency of Mr. Fox's History to reproach his memory, 19.

- Clergy*, some remarks respecting the conduct of the, 96, 97—condition of the protestant and catholic, in Ireland, 320.
- Coulitions* and subsidies, remarks on, 206, 207.
- Cochabamba*, description of the province of, in South America, 130.
- Commerce*, South American, 129—combination against our, general, 201—effects of its progress on the condition of the human mind, 491—and manufactures, inquiry into their effects on population, 462, 463, 464.
- Commons*, establishment of their right, in regard to impeachment, 33.
- Confession*, advantages of the practice, in Spain, 69.
- Confirmation* service, remarks on the manner of performing the, 350.
- Conscription*, in France, 166—the engine of French ascendancy, 218.
- Cook* (Captain), elegy on, by Miss Seward, 55.
- Conversion* of the Hindoos, 262—269.
- Cork*, statistical survey of the county, 306—progress of the county in civilization, 317.
- Cordova*, plot at, against the revolutionary government, 143.
- Cotin* (Madame), criticisms on her writings, 306.
- Cowper* (Mr.), abuse of his writings by Miss Seward, 180.
- Critics*, remarks on, 331, 332.
- Cromwell*, the protector, Charles I. sacrificed to his ambition, 14—Mr. Fox's character of him, 16.

D.

- D'Alembert*, observations relative to the character of, 299.
- Darwin* (Dr.), memoirs of, by Miss Seward, 179.
- Deaths*, calculation respecting the average number of, in towns, 468.
- Defant* (Madame du), account of, 304, 305.
- Denmark*, terms of peace with, 225.
- Devi*, horrid worship of, 241.
- Dibdin's* (Mr. Thomas), Bibliomania, 326—remarks on reviewers, 331, 332—quotations relative to the study of bibliography, 333, 334.
- Dissenters*, their wealth and numbers dangerous to the church, 109.
- Dublin Society*, great usefulness of the, 324.
- Duncan* (Mr.), his successful efforts to abolish infanticide in India, 229—247.

E.

- Education*, remarks on female, 284—287—vast importance of religion in the system of, 292.
- Egypt*, ancient account of, by Saturninus, 478.
- Elgin* (Earl of), his pursuits in Greece, and West's Letters, 40—60—merit of his lordship's collections, 43.

Encyclopedia of France, 150.

England, the people of, behind the French in their knowledge of South America, 122—advantages of a free trade with, to South America, 140—her destruction, the great ambition of Bonaparte, 151—panegyric on the loyalty of the people, 195—conduct of, towards Ireland, 307, 308—the moral force instilled by, the safeguard of Europe, 431.

Erasmus, character of, 344.

Erigena (Johannes Scotus), anecdote of, and Charles the Bald, 338—his remarks on hell torments, *ib.*

Essay on the military policy and institutions of the British empire, 188—on the principle of population, &c. 454.

Etruscan vases, whether referable to the Grecians, 44, 45.

Europe, aspect of, changed by the French revolution, 150—the cause of, not hopeless, 225.

Europeans, soon degenerate in India, 268.

Evil, not necessarily increased as society advances, 487.

Execution, melancholy account of an, in France, 155.

Expedition to Zealand, 213—to the Scheldt, *ib.*—to Alexandria, 216—to Buenos Ayres, *ib.*

F.

Faber (M.), his sketches of the internal state of France, 149—second volume suppressed, 152—his apology for the cruelties committed by the French, during the revolution, 153.

Fayette (Madame de la), some account of her character and writings, 299—302.

Females, observations on the education of, 284—287—conditions of their right to become authors, 296.

Fenelon, observations on the character of, 304.

Fontenelle (M.), his remarks on M. de Valincourt's polite criticism of the *Princesse de Cleves*, 301.

For (Mr. C. J.), Vindication of his history of the early part of the reign of James the Second, 1—how far influenced in his historical works by party spirit, 7—his character, 9—11—character of Cromwell, 16—division of his history, and objections to the same by Mr. Rose, 25—his sentiments respecting the royal family of France, 28—character of General Monk, 30.

—, *Memoirs* of, by Mr. Trotter, 384—his journey to Paris, and remarks on his conduct there, 388, 389—proofs of his christianity considered, 390, 391—his death, 393—aspersions on his medical attendants, 394.

France, the people of, inimical to the war in Spain, 88—sketches of the internal state of, 149—great influence of, over Europe, 150—selfish character of the late nobility, 159—the passive state of, 160—administration of, &c. 161—163—the conscription, 166—a secure peace with, hopeless, 189—conscription the distinguishing feature of her ascendancy, 218.

French, first opened an inlet to the knowledge of South America, 120—instances of their cruelty in Spain, 86—M. Faber's apology for the, 153—anecdote illustrative of their present character, 155—naturally more cruel than the Dutch or Germans, 150—tranquillity their present object, 161—have lost their moral as well as their political liberty, 170.
 — *ladies*, comparison of, with the English, 287.
Friendly Islands, gradual improvement of the, 475.
Fuseli (Mr.), his paintings, 53.

G.

Gardanne (M.), his voyage to Turkey in Asia and Persia, 411.
Garrick (Mr. David), patronized by Mr. Walmesly, 176—Miss Seward's monody on his death, 177.
Genlis (Madame de), on the influence of women, 283—comparison of, with Mrs. H. More, 287, 288—general character of her writings, 295—quotation from, on the right of women to become authors, 296—her account of Madame de la Fayette, 299—302—anecdotes of Madame de Maintenon, 302, 303.
George I. his letter to the missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundlerus, in India, 263.
Gentry of Ireland, their character, 321, 322.
Giffard (Mr.), remarks on his political writings, 400.
Goitre, frequent in Nepaul, 370.
Goorkali, instance of his political sagacity, 361—conquests of the, 362, 363—his military policy, 364—cruelty of the, at Kirthipoor, 365, 366.
Grattan (Mr.), obligations to Ireland, 315.
Graffigny (Madame de), 297—304.
Great Britain, circumstances which have opposed the progress of the arts in, 57—what ought to be the policy of, towards South America, 148—public spirit of the nation, 193, 194—question of offensive war examined, 197—foundations of her naval power, 202—causes of her failures in martial policy, 215—ought to become a military nation, 217—could cope alone with France in the field, 191—218—owes her present grandeur to her constitution, 219, 220—parallel between, and Carthage, 220, 221—compared as a military nation with France, 221, 222—would India be lost to, if converted to Christianity, 269—her safety dependant on the self-devotion of the community, 406—comparative state of, and France in 1811, 397—406, 407.
Gymnastic exercises, the want of, in England, unfavourable to the arts of design, 58.
Guerillas, advantages derived from the, to the Spanish cause, 93.
Greeks, modern, in some respects worthy of their ancestors, 43.
Grecians, the, Lord Elgin's pursuits in, 40—60—models for the painter and statuary, 54.
Greece, circumstances which tended to advance the arts in, 54—57.

H.

- Hand-mills*; advantages of, 382, 383.
Hardy (Mr. Francis), his memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont, 306.
Heywood's (Mr.), vindication of Mr. Fox's History of the early part of the reign of James the Second, 1—quotations relative to Mr. Fox's praise of Cromwell, 28.
Hindostan, horrid worship of the Moloch of, at Juggernaut, 237—240—some observations relative to the customs of, 370—Dr. Buchanan's view of the state of religion in, 264.
Hindu infanticide, account of the origin of this custom, and some attempts to abolish it, 227, *et seq.*
 — *Jupiter*, description of a temple to his honour in Nepal, 374.
Hinduism, modern, a superstructure of priestcraft, 233.
Hindus, variety of sects among the, 234—belief of the, respecting their souls, 244—general character of their religion, 249—remarks on their conversion, 262—269—grand divisions of the, 370—customs of the different casts, 371.
History, her office and importance, 12.
House of Commons, condition of the, in Ireland, 309.
Hodgson (Rev. R.), his life of Bishop Porteus, 345.
Human mind, inquiry whether degraded by the progress of commerce and manufactures, 491.
Hume (Mr. David), his sentiments on the doctrine of passive obedience, 19—character of him as an historian, 23—his person and character, 310, 311—contrasted with Rousseau, 312—anecdotes of, in reference to his principles and history, 313.
Hurd (Bishop), remarks on his declaration respecting the residence act, 100.
Hypocrisy, from whence arising, 16.

I.

- Idc Hill*, endowment of a chapel at, by Bishop Porteus, 354.
Illustration, recipe for, 342.
Impeachment, establishment of the right of, in the commons, 33.
India, sermons relative to, and Christian researches in, 227—mixture of cruelty and humanity in the natives of, 228—trial by ordeal in, 234—some remarks on the education and character of the company's servants in, 259—261—necessity of some religious establishment, 262—observations on the objections to the propagation of Christianity, 264—268—method of readmission to ecclesiastical rites in, 265, 266—necessity of governing by equal laws, 269—the native governments of, wholly ignorant of political economy, 377—commerce of, with Nepal, *ib.*—abuses connected with our commerce to, 379, 380—low state of the mechanical arts in, 381—the conquest of, an object with Bonaparte,

- 411—striking illustration of the evils springing from the nature of our government in, 424—meritorious custom instituted for the internal improvement of, 477.
- Indians*, manners and customs of the, in South America, 128.
- Industry*, the natural result of a full population, 477.
- Inghs* (Mr.), obligations of Mr. Morier to, 413.
- Infanticide*, practice of, in India, 227—origin of the custom, 229—247—might be abolished in India, 252, 253—calculations of the annual deaths by, in Guzerat and Kutch, 247—effects of, in Otaheite, 475.
- Inquiry* respecting the cultivation of the female mind, 284—287.
- Insular conquests*, observations on policy of, 205.
- Interchange* of the Irish and English militia, 407.
- Intrepidity*, calm, instance of, in a youth of Gerona, 82.
- Invention*, some observations on, 56.
- Ireland*, political state of, 206—223—barriers to the improvement of, at the commencement of this reign, 309, 310—President Montesquieu, an advocate for its union with England, 313—volunteers of, instrumental in obtaining her freedom, 315—good effects of the union, 316—relative state of the catholic and protestant churches in, 320—the catholic peasantry not inclined to rebellion, 321—character of the gentry, 321, 322—means of improving, 324.
- Irish*, difference of national character among the, 309.
- government, advice to the, 344.
- Ispahan*, ruinous condition of, 421—description of the king's palace at, 422.
- Itinerancy*, a leading and important feature of methodism, 110.
- Jacob* (Mr. W.), his travels in Spain, 60.
- James II.*, was the establishment of arbitrary power, or of the catholic religion, the primary object of his reign, 33, 34.
- Jesuits*, their exertion contributed greatly to extend our knowledge of South America, 119.
- Johnson* (Dr. Samuel), some account of, 176—Miss Seward's opinion of his epistolary talents, 183.
- Jones* (Sir Hartford), some account of his mission to Persia, 410—reception at Bushire, 415—his introduction to the Prince of Shiraz, 417, 418—his audience of the Persian monarch, 425.
- Juggernaut*, horrid worship of the pagoda at, 237—239—expenses of supporting the idol, 240.
- Junta*, central, want of unity and energy in, in Spain, 66—plot for their overthrow, 69—74.

K.

- Khatmunda*, account of the city of, 365.
- Kings*, the divine right of, an absurd doctrine, 18—era of its commencement, 36.
- Kirkpatrick* (General), his account of the kingdom of Nepaul, 358—incident which occasioned his mission, 363.

Kirthipoor, account of the city of, 365—cruelty of the Goorkali as, 366.

Knight Templars, murder of, in France, 158.

L.

Laelos, anecdote of, respecting Bonaparte, 164.

La Plata, ornithology of, 124—soil and climate of, 125—minerals of, 126—remarks on the British expedition to, 136.

Licenses, reasons for being cautious in granting, to preachers, 438—cannot be legally obtained by any but dissenters, 444.

Life, average expectation of, at different ages, 468, 469.

Liniers (General), the defeat of the British at Buenos Ayres, not owing to him, 138—his perfidious character, *ib.*—his cruelties in Peru, 144

Literature, what branches of, should be chiefly cultivated by either sex, 289, 290.

Llangollen Vale, a poem by Miss Seward, 179.

Local militia, observations on the present system of the, 407, 408—plan for rendering them efficient, 409.

Louisa, a novel by Miss Seward, 178.

M.

Macartney (Lord), observations relative to his embassy to China, 364.

Maintenon (Madame de), anecdotes of, 302, 303.

Malabar, christianity known in, at a very early period, 256—liberal conduct of the catholic bishop in, 257.

Malthus (Mr. T. R.) his essay on population, 229—454—principles of his theory, 456—his checks to population, 457—defects of his work, 458—arguments to disprove his theory, 461—475—consequences of his theory with regard to charity, 478—investigation of his opinions respecting the mode of preventing a superabundant population, 481—483—difficulties attending his theory, when connected with the subject of marriage, 484, 485—inconsistent with the design of providence, 473—486.

Maltese, unjust treatment of the, by Great Britain, 216, 217.

Man, how far governed by circumstances, 123.

Manchester, number of deaths in, under five years of age, 468—proportion of deaths among the quakers of, 489.

Manufactures and commerce, inquiry as to their effects on the principle of population, 462, 463.

Marriage, discussion respecting a free and equal option of, to all ranks, 481.

Marriages, average number of births and, in towns, 464.

Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's pursuits in Greece, 40.

Mrs., comparison of, with women, 284—286.

Mental exertion, the necessity of, unfavourable to population, 463—465.

Methodism, for what reason its progress is to be feared, 109—observations relative to, 438.

Methodist society, resolutions of, relative to their preachers, 438.

Methodists, remarks on the term, 106—peculiar tenets of the, *ib.*—agree in essentials with the church of England, 107—statement of their numbers in Great Britain, 110—enquiry how their progress is to be checked, *ib.*—reasons for their opposition to Lord Sidmouth's bill, 444, 445.

Military greatness, not incompatible with freedom and commerce, 219—Mr. Windham's plan of military service, 224.

Mirza (Abul Hassan), account of, 425, 426.

Militia, local, institution of the, 194.

Models of antiquity, how far assistant to the art, 46.

Moir (Lady), her character and political sagacity, 396.

Money, considered as a sinew of war, 224.

Moniteur, the speeches of the opposition carefully copied by the, 162.

Monk (General), character of, by Mr. Fox, 30, 32.

Monmouth (Duke of), apology for the conduct of the bishops who attended him to the scaffold, 20—general character of, *ib.*

Monsters, unworthy of the arts of design, 51.

Monte Video, the government and population of, 142.

Montserrat, account of several actions near, 85.

Moor (Mr. Edward), his account of the measures for suppressing Hindoo infanticide, 227—of ecclesiastical regeneration in India, 266.

More (Mrs. Hannah), compared with Madame de Genlis, 287, 288.

Moreno (Dr. Mariano), his celebrated memorial relative to the trade of South America, 140.

Morier (James), his journey through Persia, Armenia, &c. 410—transactions at Bushire, 415, 416—his account of the Prince of Tabriz, 427.

Morung, conquest of, 361—account of Mr. Smith's settlement in, 362—interesting account of the widow of the rajah of, *ib.*

N.

Nation, what class of society constitutes a, 153—158.

National character, observations relative to that of the Irish, 309.

Naval power, requisites for attaining, 202.

Nazienzen (Gregory), his remarks on hell torments, 338.

Necker (Madame), account of, and character, 305, 306.

Nepaul, account of the kingdom of, 358—jealousy of its rulers, 361—its situation and extent, 359—romantic valley of, 360—disputed succession in, and its consequences, 361—rendered tributary to China, 363, 364—account of the chief towns in, 365—

scenery and cultivation of, 366—368—different sects in, 368; 369—manners and customs of, 368—distillation practised in, 370—religion, 371—373—history, 375—literature, *ib.*—military strength, 376—manufactures and commercial relations of, 377, 378—valuable forests in, 378, 379—description of a water-grist mill in, 380, 381—refined diplomatic conduct of the ministers, 383.

Nobility, their influence in a nation, 158—selfish conduct of the, in France, 159.

Northampton, number of deaths in, under ten years of age, 468.

Noses, practice of sacrificing, in India, 244.

Novel writers, common error with, 450.

O.

Observations on methodist preachers, 438—on the distribution of the inhabitants of a country, 469—471.

Ordeal, the trial by, a proof of superstition, 234—instances of, in India, *ib.*

Orders, holy, preparation and examinations for, should form a part of the system of education at College, 96.

Orissa, horrid worship of Juggernaut in, 237—240.

Ornithology of M. Azara, 124.

Otaheite, miserable state of, from the practice of infanticide, 230—great decrease of population in the island of, 475.

P.

Padre (de Schilling), his bravery and conviviality, 84.

Painting, a few general remarks on, 48, 49.

Panama, reasons for not cutting a canal through the isthmus of, 129.

Panco (Marquis of), instance of his son's heroism, 76.

Paraguay, description of the rivers in, 126.

Paris, the society of, the best in the world, 150—Mr. Fox's journey to, 388—state of the "good societies" in, 295.

Parish churches, picture of the manner in which the services of, are performed, 99.

Party spirit, its influence, 2—7—dangerous prevalence of, among the Irish gentry, 322.

Pasley (C. W.), his essay on the military policy of the British empire, 188—merits of the work, 190—his sentiments on the volunteer system, 195—on invasion, 196—on the question of offensive war, 197.

Patn, account of the city of, 365.

Patriotism, its foundation, 306, 307.

Patronage, church, liable to improper distribution in private hands, 98.

Peasantry (Spanish), description of the, 77.

People, their propensity to form hasty opinions illustrated, 204.

- Perceval* (Mr.), his rapid rise in the public opinion, 393.
- Persia*, journey through, 410—remains of antiquity at Shapour in, 414—wretched mode of conducting state affairs in, 415—manner of sitting in, described, 416—remarkable proof of the tyranny of the government, 417—education of the princes of, 420—low state of agriculture in, 421—ignorance of the nobles and ministers illustrated, 423, 424—person and character of the king, 425—character of the heir apparent, 426—anecdotes of that prince, 427—reflections on the probable improvement of, 429—a debit against England in the Gallic ledger, 430.
- Persians*, general character of the, 429.
- Peru*, insurrection of the Indians in, 134.
- Peru*, Lower, the only country in South America which adheres to the old government, 147.
- Perwuttum*, worship of the pagoda at, 244.
- Pitt* (Mr.), his proposed union with Mr. Fox, 21—sketch of his political career, 401—errors of his administration, 403—peculiar merits of, 404.
- Police* of France, 166.
- Political* confederations, how far advantageous, 4—bad consequences of, 6, 7.
- Polybius*, general remarks on his history, 191.
- Popish* plot, Mr. Fox's sentiments on the, 17, 18.
- Populace*, how far the same in every country, 154, 155.
- Population*, the too great increase of, not the cause of infanticide, 230—essay on the principle of, 454—and food, ratio of their increase, 456—checks to, 457—origin of the modern mistakes respecting the principle of, 459—progress of, in newly settled countries, 461, 462—effects of manufactures and commerce on the principle of, 462, 463—causes which retard its increase in towns, 463—465—will at length overtake the supply of surplus food, 466—the progress of, proportionably slower, as society advances, 467—great decrease of, in Otaheite, 475—all artificial checks to, unnecessary and hurtful, 476, 477.
- Porteus* (Dr. Beilby), sketch of his life, 346—348—his merits as a bishop, 350—his beneficence to the inferior clergy, 352—style of his preaching, *ib.*—exertions to advance religion and morality, 353—his sentiments respecting the Prince of Wales, 354—his conduct in parliament, 355—death, *ib.*—his sentiment son Calvinism, 356.
- Portland* (Duke of), his administration, 393.
- Portuguese*, their bigotry, 256—liberality of one of their bishops, 257.
- Prefects*, their uselessness in France, 164, 165—profits of their office, *ib.*
- Press*, wretched state of the, in Spain, 122.
- Protestant* dissenters, remarks on the general meeting of, respecting Lord Sidmouth's bill, 443.
- Puranas*, observations respecting the, 172, 173.

Q.

Quakers, proportion of deaths among the, of Manchester, 489.

R.

Rajkumars, the practice of infanticide among the, abolished, 245.

Reformation, the era of, the commencement of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, 36.

Religion, spirit of inquiry relative to, prevalent, 113—unknown to the aboriginal Indians of South America, 128—a proficiency in, improperly taken for granted, in the servants of the public, 261—Dr. Buchanan's view of the state of, in Hindostan, 264—vast importance of, in the system of female education, 292—of Nepaul; 371—373.

Residence-act, observations on bishop Hurd's declaration of the difficulty of enforcing the, 100.

Resistance to kings, observations on, 18—necessity of silence respecting the doctrine of, 19.

Restoration, the worst sort of revolution, 31.

Reviewers, reflections on, 331, 332.

Reviews, use and advantages of, 61.

Revolution, French, by what class of society effected, 154—158.

Rome, her military policy compared with that of Carthage, 220.

Rose (Hon. G.), his remarks on Mr. Fox's qualifications for a historian, 1—7—question between him and Mr. Fox stated, 22—24.

Rousseau (M.), anecdotes of, and Mr. Hume, 312.

Roxburgh (Duke of), anecdote of the, 341.

S.

Sacrament, observations on the administration of in parish churches, 100.

Salagrama, the holy stone of, 373.

Sandwich Islands, prosperity of the, 475.

Savage (Mr. I.), his British librarian, 329.

Scheldt, expedition to the, 213, 214.

Scott (Mr. Walter), his edition of Miss Seward's poetical works, 171—remarks on his preface, 172—his hunting song, 336.

Scriptures, ought to be translated into the Hindu language, 255.

Sectaries, true causes of their increase, 348, 349—353—447.

Sectary, preachers, usually persons of low education, 108.

Self Controul, a novel, 450—its general tenor and style, 452.

Seward (Miss Anna), works of, 171—sketch of her life and writings, 173—her death and character, 180, 181—quotations from her letters, 182—her critical powers, 183—affectation her predominant foible, 185.

Shapour, remains of antiquity at, 414.

Short (Dr.), his calculations respecting marriages in towns, 467.

Sicily, remarks relative to, 211—213.

Sidmouth (Lord), his sentiments on the toleration act, 435—440—purposes of his bill, 441, 442—general meetings of the protestant dissenters respecting his bill, 443—beneficial consequences of the same, 465.

Simple pleasures, what properly so called, 291.

Smith (Mr.), account of his settlement in Morung, 361—generous conduct of, towards the widow of the rajah of Morung, 362.

Society, influence of women on, 283—the different conditions of, vary the rate of population, 459.

South America, voyage to, by Don Felix de Azara, 118—an object of peculiar interest, 119—jealousy of the Spaniards and Portuguese respecting, 119—climate of La Plata, 125—soil, *ib.*—rivers of, 126—productions, 127, 128—commerce, 129—description of the province of Cochabamba, 131—birds of, 132—brief sketch of the troubles in, 134—our trade must ultimately force its way to, 201.

Spain, travels in, by Carr and Jacob, 60—country well adapted to resist an enemy, 77, 78—character of the people, 75—78—practical effects of the contest in, on the minds of the combatants, 83—probability of its being emancipated from French tyranny, 90—advantages of a protracted warfare in, 91, 92—inquiry as to the sufficiency of the means employed for her emancipation, 94—the interest of, to open the American trade to England, 140—a free constitution necessary to its salvation, 148.

Spaniards, their hatred to the French, 76—jealous of information respecting South America, 119.

Spanish South America, political state of, 133.

Spanish Creoles, enemies to innovation, and attached to the old government, 135—have produced many works of merit, 119.

Spiritous liquors, observations relative to the use of, in Ireland, 318.

Strafford (Lord), remarks on his public conduct and trial, 13, 14—27.

Subsidies, observations on, 206, 207.

Suchet (Count), his cruelty in Spain, 83.

Sumbhoonah, description of that temple, 374.

Swartz, (Mr.), extracts from his letters, relative to Hindu worship, 244.

T.

Tabriz, character of the prince of, in Persia, 426, 427.

Tanjore, Christians numerous in the kingdom of, 255.

Telemague, observations on the style of, 300, 301.

Toleration, notable definition of, in the Edinburgh Review, 34—not inconsistent with the spirit of, to require a test of competency in preachers, 448.

——— *Act*, remarks on, and quotations, 432, 433—Mr. Smith's exposition of, 434.

- Torture*, some observation relative to the use of, in England and Scotland, 37—40.
- Towns*, unfavourable to the increase of population, 460—465—Dr. Short's calculations respecting marriages in, 467—average number of deaths in, 468—number of settlers in, from the country, 468, 469— inquiry how far the abatement in the progress of population in, is owing to vice, 489.
- Townshend* (Rev. H.), his statistical survey of the county of Cork, 306—general character of his work, 316, 317.
- Travancore*, church of Syrian christians in, 256.
- Trotter* (Mr. Bernard), his memoirs of Mr. Fox, 384—character of the work, 387—his proofs of the Christianity of Mr. Fox, 390, 391—his aspersions on Mr. Fox's medical attendants, 394—specimens of his style, 395, 396.

V.

- Valincourt* (M. de), remarks on his criticism, 301.
- Vansittart* (Mr.), praised as a financier, 224.
- Voltaire* (M.), his character of the French, 157.
- Volunteers*, comparison between, and a regular army, 195.

W.

- Wake Dr.* (Archbishop of Canterbury), his letter to the Indian missionaries, 263.
- Walcheren*, importance of, to England, 214.
- Walker* (Colonel), his exertions to abolish infanticide, 248, 249—letters from the native princes to, relative to that custom, 251, 252.
- War*, expediency of offensive, 197—defensive system of, reprobated, 198—secondary causes of failures in, 210—general principles to be followed in the conduct of, *ib.*
- Waste land*, how it might be beneficially assigned.
- Wellesley* (Marquis), the delay of his departure as ambassador to Spain, pernicious, 66—account of his landing at Cadiz, 69—his law against infanticide in India, 243.
- Wellington* (Lord), his army ought to be kept up in force sufficient to check the principal army of the French, 92—his judicious behaviour towards the Spanish generals, 94—remark of a French soldier respecting, 95.
- West* (Mr.), his use of the specimens of art brought from Greece, 45—his picture of Christ healing the sick in the temple, 47.
- Windham* (Mr.), his plan of military service, 224.
- Wings*, absurdity of appending them to human forms, 51, 52.
- Women*, noble conduct of the, at the siege of Zaragoza, 78—sacrificed on the funeral pile of their husbands in India, 242—influence of, on society, 283—comparison of, with men, 264—286—

Z.

Zaragoza, account of the siege of, 78—noble conduct of the women, *ib.*—desperate bravery of the friars, 79.

Zeal, wanting in the established church, 115.

Zealand, justice and policy of the expedition to, in 1807, 213.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

T Davison, Lombard-street,
Whitefriars, London.

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

APR 19 1978

APR 30 1918

Form 410



